

JINNAH PAPERS

PAKISTAN AT LAST

26 July – 14 August 1947



FIRST SERIES

Volume IV

Editor-in-Chief

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M.A., LL.B. (Alig.), Ph.D. (London)

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT

CABINET DIVISION

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

The three previous volumes of the *Jinnah Papers*, which together covered the period from 20 February to 25 July 1947, portrayed Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's epic struggle for freedom and Pakistan in the face of formidable and concerted opposition from the Congress and the British. Even after partition had been conceded in principle, the Congress, with covert and at times not so covert support from Mountbatten, persisted in its designs to make Pakistan as "small and unattractive" as possible.

The gripping story of partition unfolds further and reaches its denouement in the present volume which covers the period from 26 July to 14 August. It describes the terminal days of the Raj climaxed by the dawn of independence and the emergence of Pakistan. It contains 262 documents from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* and the *Governor General Papers*, most of them unpublished hitherto, as well as supplementary source material culled from the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collection, the US National Archives, and the National Documentation Centre, Islamabad. From these papers, as from those already published, Jinnah emerges as a leader of extraordinary grit and determination battling against overwhelming odds. He addresses the problem of division of assets, proposes a design for the Pakistan Flag and reiterates the Muslim League policy on the accession of princely States. Apprised of the Sikh designs against Muslims in the Indian Punjab, he concurs with the Viceroy's proposal to set up a Boundary Force.

Before leaving India finally, Jinnah wishes that country "prosperity and peace". He gratefully acknowledges messages of felicitation sent to him on the establishment of Pakistan. After arrival in Karachi, he delivers his historic address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan underscoring the imperative need of framing a constitution enshrining such democratic norms and ideals and immutable principles as equality, liberty, justice, fair play, rule of law, etc.

Jinnah was opposed to religious orthodoxy and obscurantism but held liberal, enlightened and modernistic views. He assured equal treatment to all citizens, especially minorities, who were free "to go to your temples, ... free to go to your mosques or any other places of worship ...".

**QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
PAPERS**

PAKISTAN AT LAST

26 July – 14 August 1947

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QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH PAPERS

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Mohammad Ali Jinnah

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Jinnah coming out of the Constituent Assembly after his election as President on 11 August 1947

Jinnah addressing the Constituent Assembly following Mountbatten's speech on 14 August 1947

Jinnah and Mountbatten coming out of the Constituent Assembly on 14 August 1947

Fatima, Jinnah, Mountbatten and Edwina before the state drive on 14 August 1947

Jinnah and Mountbatten during the state drive

Jinnah, Mountbatten, Edwina and Fatima at Government House, Karachi

Specimen of a doodle by Jinnah

Note. Hand-written captions on three photographs are by Mountbatten

At end of volume

Some suggested Designs of Pakistan Flag

Design of Pakistan Flag adopted by the Constituent Assembly

The present volume, subtitled *Pakistan At Last*, is the fourth in the first series of the *Jinnah Papers*. It covers the final phase of the transfer of power and marks a watershed in the political odyssey of Indian Muslims, under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, culminating in the birth of the new nation-state of Pakistan. The three previous volumes in the series, subtitled *Prelude to Pakistan*, *Pakistan in the Making* and *On the Threshold of Pakistan*, together spanned the period from 20 February to 25 July 1947. The present volume covers a period of just 20 days, ending 14 August 1947, but foreshadows the gargantuan challenges that the nascent state was going to have to face. Jinnah is here seen contending with Indian leaders for an equitable share of the assets, endeavouring to persuade the princely States of the constitutional logic of his position on the issue of accession, trying to craft a new administrative and constitutional framework for Pakistan, and bracing for other new and complex problems.

The present volume comprises 262 documents arranged in chronological order and supplemented by a number of annexes and nine appendices encompassing 86 documents. The appendices relating to Partition and Joint Defence Council and All India Muslim League Funds have been downsized by abridging or excluding documents of a repetitive character. The primary documents, including those in the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* available in the National Archives of Pakistan, the *Governor-General Papers* and the *All India Muslim League Collection*, by and large portray the contemporary political scenario climaxed by the end of British rule in India. The supplementary material has been garnered from a variety of sources including the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library; the Public Record Office in the United Kingdom; the United States National Archives; the National Documentation Centre, Islamabad; and newspapers of the time.

Documents from the *Transfer of Power 1942-7* have, as before, been referred to, for example, as No. 242, TP, XII, 360-1, i.e. the document number, volume number, and page number(s). Others have been identified by quoting their source, viz. IOR or *Mountbatten Papers*. Cross-references to the documents included in the previous volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been given by mentioning the document number, volume number, and page number(s), e.g. No. 464, Vol. I, Part I, 842-5 or Appendix III.I, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

References to notes at the end of the documents have been identified by the document number. Appendices to the present volume have been referred to simply as Appendix VI.2.

The task of an editor is indeed demanding. It entails patient research and sustained hard work. Unfortunately, during the past few years, the work of the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project was occasionally mired in bureaucratic inertia, indifference, and insensitivity to criticism. Barring some very honourable exceptions, of course, the attitude of our mandarins has generally remained apathetic and casual. Proposals formulated after due deliberation were not seldom put in a deep-freeze as it were, and entreaties for disposal of cases lying in limbo evoked scant response at times.

The present volume might have come out around much earlier had the desired administrative and logistic support been forthcoming. Work in the Computer Section remained ground to a virtual standstill for the best part of the preceding two years because the section had been very nearly denuded of staff for various reasons. On two different occasions, a total of about 700 pages was wiped off the computer. And yet we soldiered on. Eventually, we did manage to find the necessary staff but it has, inevitably, taken time to train and groom them for smooth and efficient computer operation in the Project which still remains far from satisfactory. However, the pace of the stalled work has begun to pick up somewhat again.

It is gratifying that selected documents covering some 1,450 pages have been translated into Urdu for the benefit of the general reader particularly college and university students. Unlike the volumes in English which are based on chronological sequence, the arrangement of the three volumes in Urdu is thematic, mainly with a view to acquainting the reader with the various themes and issues featuring therein. These volumes are under print.

I am much obliged to Mueen Afzal, Finance Secretary, for his generous and ready response whenever his assistance was sought by me. My thanks are also due to Syed Roshan Zamir, Secretary, Culture, who, while Additional Finance Secretary, rendered inestimable help in beefing up the Project and helped us out on a number of occasions. I am grateful to my colleagues who have continued to work with zeal and devotion. Aftab Ahmed helped prepare the initial draft of the Introduction while A. A. Hanafi ably assisted in writing the final version.

We have now reached the end of the final phase of the epic struggle for freedom. I must mention here the invaluable contribution of two distinguished persons, no more in our midst, to the building up, initially, of the literature on the All India Muslim League and the Quaid-i-Azam. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, my able teacher at the Muslim University, Aligarh, painstakingly gathered and researched the pre-independence speeches and statements of the Quaid and other literature. This record has

proved most helpful to researchers and scholars on the Quaid and the Pakistan Movement. Syed Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League, identified himself completely and closely with the Quaid as well as the Muslim League. He will live on in the annals of the League.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
Cabinet Division
Islamabad
15 August 1998

PS. I cannot thank the late Hakim Muhammad Said enough. When the Project was still in the offing, he had generously and graciously offered to bankroll it. He always gave me unstinted support and encouragement. I regard him rather as patron saint of the Project, as indeed of so many worthy causes, educational, social and cultural. His tragic death has left a void which may never be filled.

I should not fail to pay tribute to my dear friend, the late Hasan Zaheer, who as Cabinet Secretary helped institute the Project; indeed, but for him it might never have materialized.

I was deeply touched by the sincere and unassuming gestures of esteem and help so willingly extended to me by my old student, Anwar Zahid, Adviser to the Prime Minister, who sadly is among us no more.

1 May 1999

Z. H. ZAIDI

Introduction

On the stroke of midnight on 14 August 1947, the British rule in India came to an end.¹ A watershed in the constitutional and political processes in India, it spelled the termination of the *Raj* and the birth on 15 August 1947² of two independent Dominions—India and Pakistan. For Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah it was his “finest hour”. He had deployed his prodigious political and legal acumen to mount an unrelenting struggle for the creation of the new nation-state of Pakistan. What really motivated Jinnah to struggle so resolutely for Pakistan was his abiding concern for the political, social, cultural and economic future of his people who had reposed implicit trust in his ability to deliver. With the emergence of Pakistan imminent, Jinnah deserved some respite but he was not the man to rest on his oars. To him Pakistan was not an end in itself but rather a means to an end. He devoutly wished to make Pakistan “one of the greatest States in the world”³—liberal and progressive in outlook, economically vibrant, and cherishing democratic ideals. In the pursuit of these objectives, the Quaid was now to wear the mantle of builder of the new nation.

It was on 7 August that Jinnah, the Governor-General designate of Pakistan, with his sister Fatima, flew into Karachi to an emotive and tumultuous welcome by a surging sea of humanity.⁴ Before leaving Delhi, Jinnah had wished Hindustan peace and prosperity and urged that the past be buried and “let us start afresh as two independent sovereign States of Hindustan and Pakistan”.⁵

Already drained and emaciated, the culmination of Jinnah’s relentless struggle for freedom left him completely frazzled. The demands on his time and energy, however, remained inexorable as he braced himself to address new and baffling problems. He had to lay the foundations of, and create an altogether new infrastructure for, the federal government in Karachi so that a sovereign nation could effectively assume its domestic and international obligations. While Jinnah remained overwhelmed by the problems confronting the incipient nation, he did articulate with clarity his views about the goals that Pakistan should strive to attain. At the banquet given in his honour by Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, on 9 August, Jinnah emphatically urged the need for creating a just social order based on equitable distribution of wealth. He regarded it as a “sacred duty” to alleviate the poverty of the masses and was implacably opposed to making the “rich richer and the poor poorer”.⁶ This was a significant principle of his political ideology to which he had often given emphatic expression while waging the struggle for freedom.

On 10 August, just five days before Pakistan came into being, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met at Karachi. Jogendra Nath Mandal, a scheduled caste member, was unanimously elected temporary Chairman of the Assembly.⁷ Addressing the Assembly, Mandal paid glowing tributes to Jinnah calling him "one of the greatest men of the world". About his own election, he observed that it augured well for the minorities in Pakistan.⁸

Next day Jinnah was elected President of the Constituent Assembly. While thanking the members for electing him, he underscored the imperative need of framing a constitution for Pakistan enshrining such ideals and immutable values as equality, justice, fair play, rule of law, etc. Arguably, the address was by far the most significant and seminal of his political career. It was a political testament, as it were, which blazed the trail along which he wished Pakistan to forge ahead and attain a position of eminence in the comity of nations. It was an enunciation of the principles on which he wanted the edifice of the nascent state to be built. Urging the people to shun intolerance, bigotry and obscurantism, he said:

You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.

As if this was not definitive enough, Jinnah went on to emphasize:

Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Looking into the future, Jinnah appeared to be prognosticating the ills that were bound to erode the moral fibre and undermine the strength of the nation when he vehemently urged the members of the Assembly to relentlessly crush the evils of nepotism and jobbery and corruption.⁹

In the course of his valedictory to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 14 August, Mountbatten read out a message from the Crown extending "warmest wishes". In an apparent, if oblique, reference to Jinnah, Mountbatten observed:

Moral courage is the truest attribute of greatness and the men who have allowed the paramount need for agreement and a peaceful solution to take precedence over the hopes and claims they so strongly held and keenly felt, have shown moral courage in a high degree.¹⁰

Jinnah thanked the Crown for the message as well as Mountbatten for his good wishes for the future of Pakistan. In the backdrop of the

escalating bitterness and violence which he had witnessed lately, he saw fit to reaffirm the dire need for communal amity and harmony. In an allusion to the tolerance and goodwill towards non-Muslims which characterized the Mughal Emperor Akbar's rule in India, he declared that such tolerance and goodwill were not of recent origin but dated back to "thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs". He emphasized that Muslim history was "replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practised".¹¹

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As mentioned in the Introduction to Volume II, there was the stupendous and daunting task of establishing the federal capital in Karachi. It was after considerable deliberation that Karachi, already the provincial capital of Sind, had been selected as the temporary seat of the federal government. But Karachi had practically no surplus accommodation for either residential or official purposes. A ministerial delegation from Sind had met Jinnah in New Delhi on 12 June and assured him that the Sind Government would be able to provide the required facilities for the federal government and offered to shift the provincial capital to Hyderabad in case the exigencies of the federal government in Karachi so dictated.¹²

However, a survey carried out by the Sind Government showed that even if it moved to Hyderabad, the accommodation available in Karachi would still be considerably short of the requirements of the federal government unless enough huttled or tented accommodation was put up hastily.¹³ The Sind Government made the Governor's House available to serve as official residence of the Governor-General and the Provincial Assembly building to house the Constituent Assembly. Beyond this, it was unable to do much; it could not find accommodation even for the federal ministers. Not even was Pakistan's meagre share of office equipment and furniture forthcoming from India. Nor could what had been apportioned to Pakistan be moved to Karachi because of communal disturbances that had disrupted communications. The relevant files and record could not be duplicated in Delhi for transfer to Karachi.¹⁴ Even the Governor-General did not have his own letter-head until some months later.¹⁵ However, the generality of officials

took things in their stride, imbued as they were with a selfless spirit of service to the new nation.

* * * *

The birth of Pakistan was attended by unusual travail. A monumental event, the emergence of the new nation should have generated unbounded jubilation. But the popular euphoria was dampened by the lurid and gruesome accounts of murder and mayhem brought by hapless men, women and children who had to flee their homes in India to escape the fury and frenzy of murderous mobs and somehow survived the carnage.

Jinnah was a modern, enlightened and pragmatic statesman. His vision of Pakistan was underpinned by Islamic values such as universal brotherhood and equality of man regardless of caste, creed, or gender.¹⁶ His approach to communal relations was that of a man of compassion who believed in the sanctity of human life.

While Jinnah preached communal harmony on the basis of equal rights for all citizens, Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, in stark contrast urged the minority communities in Pakistan not to celebrate the Independence Day on 15 August 1947. The advice appeared to have a rather sinister motive: to spark communal clashes in Pakistan.¹⁷ On the contrary, Jinnah's advice to the Muslims in India had been:

...you cannot but be loyal to your country [India]. Just as I want every Hindu [living] in Pakistan to be loyal to Pakistan, so do I want every Muslim in India to be loyal to India.¹⁸

The Sikh leaders sounded no less strident. They were reported to be instigating their co-religionists to resort to anti-Muslim violence. Jathedar Mohan Singh, a Sikh leader, disclosed to Governor Jenkins that Hindu communalists had been stoking up the fires of communal hatred by inciting the Sikhs to violence.¹⁹ In the first week of August, a Sikh plan for sabotage and killing of Muslims was revealed by Gerald Savage of the Punjab C.I.D., according to whom the Sikhs were planning to use remote control devices to blow up a Pakistan special train,²⁰ and Tara Singh wanted that "Mr. Jinnah should be killed during the ceremonies at Karachi on 15th August".²¹ In view of the seriousness of the threat, George Abell, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, recommended that Tara Singh be arrested but the Viceroy was of the view that the arrest should rather coincide with the announcement of the Boundary Commission's award.²²

In the absence of resolute, purposeful and prompt action,²³ communal violence, which embroiled all communities, could not be restrained, causing a large-scale exodus of population on both sides of the divide.

A Boundary Force, headed by Maj. Gen. Rees, was deployed from 1 August 1947 to deal with the burgeoning communal violence in the Punjab. However, the Force could not effectively deal with the situation. The communal riots spilled over into Bharatpur, Alwar and other states as well. "Harrowing accounts" of loss of life and wanton destruction of property reached Jinnah who appealed to the rulers of Bharatpur and Alwar to provide protection and safety to the Muslims.²⁴

The influx of refugees into West Punjab which began during July had by mid-August become unmanageable as more and more refugees trekked across the border into Pakistan. As refugee legions poured into Lahore and other places in the West Punjab, carrying visible signs of the fire and brimstone they had gone through and narrating grim tales of their horrific ordeal, it triggered a violent backlash in West Punjab where Muslims resorted to reprisal killings. Appeals for restraint went unheeded by rampaging mobs, causing refugees to trek into East Punjab and escalating violence on both sides of the Punjab boundary.²⁵

Deeply shocked by the poignance of the communal tragedy, some Muslim leaders of West Punjab decided against celebrating the Independence Day and pledged themselves to protect their Muslim brethren in East Punjab. They vowed that until that objective was achieved, there would be no celebration. They declared that "August 15 and the freedom it ushers gives no occasion for rejoicing." Instead, the day was reserved for prayer meetings. A statement to that effect was jointly issued by Sardar Shaukat Hayat and Mumtaz Daultana.²⁶

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Following his conference with the rulers and representatives of Indian States,²⁷ Mountbatten began to inveigle, pressure, or dragoon the dithering states into acceding to India. The overt and covert interest he took in their accession to India before 15 August intrigues a detached observer. Maybe, having been designated as new India's first Governor-General, he felt indebted for the honour and wished to requite India with undue favours. Jinnah had put paid to Mountbatten's hopes of becoming common Governor-General of India and Pakistan.²⁸ Mountbatten, therefore, used the enormous leverage he had to persuade, coerce, or bludgeon the states into accession to India.

Mountbatten could not disguise his partiality for the Congress nor act as honest broker in the matter of accession of the States.²⁹ He changed his position from time to time to suit India's interest. For example, on 22 April,³⁰ he had declared that the States would be free to decide which Constituent Assembly they wished to join, independently of geographical compulsions. However, in a *volte-face*, while addressing the rulers of States,³¹ he advised them to take into account "geographical compulsions" in deciding which Dominion they should accede to. His stance appeared incompatible with the policy of the British government. Referring to the deadline of 14 August given by him to the States for accession, Secretary of State Listowel reprimanded the Governor-General: "We must...keep balance even" as "we gave categorical assurances [to the States] that we would exercise no pressure." He pointed out that Mountbatten's statement was "inconsistent" with what had been declared in Parliament while debating the Indian Independence Bill. He emphasized that the States were "entitled to say that before deciding finally to adhere to one or other Dominion they wish to see constitutions of Dominions...as to what sort of structure they are joining." He went on to say that, accordingly, it was made "clear that States might need some time in which to make up their minds. Indeed, this fact is surely the justification for the Standstill Agreement".³²

Mountbatten, in concert with the Congress leaders, especially Nehru and Patel, pursued a carrot-and-stick policy to promote Congress's objectives—Mountbatten dangling the carrot and the Congress brandishing the stick. The bottom line was that they had both brought pressure to bear on the States which had genuine reservations about immediate accession to India. This policy paid dividends inasmuch as 500-odd Hindu majority States and one Muslim majority State, Kapurthala, had acceded to India by 15 August.³³ Exploratory exchanges were made between the non-Muslim rulers of Jodhpur and Indore and Jinnah over the likely terms for accession to Pakistan.³⁴

Jinnah's reaction to Mountbatten's arm-twisting tactics was sharp. During an interview with the Hyderabad Delegation on 4 August, he did not mince words declaring that "the Viceroy and the Congress were following a policy totally contrary to the declared policy" of the British Government. If the British Government, declared Jinnah, "had a shred of conscience, they would put [a] stop to the threats which were now being given both by the Viceroy and the Congress." As to the Nizam's future course of action, Jinnah advised him to tell the Congress:

You may do what you like and you may threaten as you like but I shall never agree to sign any Instrument of Accession or join the Union unless my

conscience says that I should do so. You have no right to coerce me and I have the right to make a free choice.³⁵

For Jinnah it was not a matter of political expediency but, essentially, a question of moral principle admitting of no compromise. Citing "the greatest martyrdom" in history of Hazrat Imam Hussain to preserve and protect the pristine purity of Islam, Jinnah declared that "one should die fighting rather than yield on a point of fundamental principle." He added:

All the sanctions in the world then existing were applied against him [Imam Hussain] and his followers but they withstood them and suffered wholesale butchery. It was a moral triumph and they gave their lives for it. That should be the attitude which the Nizam and his advisers and people should adopt. If it came to the worst, rather than yield to coercion or to the surrender of what was right, he should be prepared to abdicate....³⁶

As for Kashmir, there was no road link between the State and India except through the Muslim majority district of Gurdaspur, which had been provisionally included in Pakistan under the Indian Independence Act. Mountbatten had, as had Wavell before him, recommended, however, that Gurdaspur be included in East Punjab.³⁷ Gurdaspur provided the only land route between the State and India and its inclusion in India was a *sine qua non* for its accession to India.

A study of the relevant record dissipates the mist shrouding the role of Mountbatten in Kashmir's accession to India. Late in July, the Kashmir Government sanctioned a scheme to metal the Kathua Road linking Kashmir with Pathankot, a tehsil of Gurdaspur. The road provided the solitary link to India.³⁸

Mountbatten's anxiety to foreclose any chance of Kashmir acceding to Pakistan was apparent from the reason he gave to Listowel, in his personal report of 1 August, as to why he had dissuaded Nehru from visiting Kashmir. He said: "Kak and the Maharajah hate Nehru with a bitter hatred and I had visions of the Maharajah declaring adherence to Pakistan just before Nehru arrived...."³⁹ In the same report, Mountbatten added: "The only states that have been seriously holding out are Travancore, Hyderabad, Dholpur, Indore and Bhopal".⁴⁰ The omission of Kashmir appears significant in that it obviously reflected Mountbatten's smug assurance that the accession of Kashmir to India was no longer in doubt.

Another instance of his undisguised predilection for Kashmir adhering to India is provided by the record of his interview with the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharajah of Indore in which he pointed out that Kashmir could join India provided "part of Gurdaspur were put into East Punjab by the Boundary Commission."⁴¹

Jinnah's stance that the States would regain sovereignty on the

lapse of paramountcy derived from the stated policy of the British Government and also from his anxiety to lend support to the Nizam of Hyderabad in his quest for an independent status.⁴² Under burgeoning pressure from both Mountbatten and the Congress, the Nizam made a last-ditch effort at preserving a semblance or modicum of independence by offering to enter into a treaty with India providing, *inter alia*, for the State's right to neutrality in case the two Dominions pursued a mutually hostile policy. "In that case," wrote the Nizam, "it would be unthinkable for my State to pursue a hostile policy towards the Dominion of Pakistan..."⁴³ India, however, would not negotiate unless Hyderabad "first agreed to accede".⁴⁴ This led to a stalemate which was removed *pro tempore* when Mountbatten, with the approval of "those who will be responsible for the Government" of India, gave the Nizam a two-month extension beyond 15 August for further negotiations leading to accession.⁴⁵ The Nizam's offer to enter into a treaty was perceived as a prelude to eventual, if reluctant, accession to India.

The partition of India did give rise to problems for some States over the question of Standstill Agreement and of accession, particularly those with Muslim rulers but Hindu majority. The Nizam of Hyderabad was not the only ruler who did not wish to accede to India. The Nawab of Bhopal was also in a quandary as to the course of action he should follow. He was being pressured by both the Viceroy and the Congress to accede to India, a step he was opposed to taking. His letter of 2 August to Jinnah reflects his utter helplessness to influence the course of events in favour of the State. In the letter, he spoke of his own role in the creation of Pakistan and declared:

I am in no case prepared to sign the Instrument of Accession and join Hindustan. If that must be done it would only be done by my successors.

He went on to say: "My own personal wish is to abdicate and to serve Islam. I am a poor man... but that does not matter as long as I can...help and support you..."⁴⁶ He was, however, prevailed upon by Mountbatten not to abdicate and to sign the Instrument of Accession.⁴⁷

As for Kalat, the Pakistan States Department had already conceded⁴⁸ the Khan's claim to being an independent sovereign State unlike other Indian States. A number of meetings between the Khan and Jinnah led to the issuance of a press communique on 11 August 1947, recognizing Kalat's status as a sovereign State on the basis of treaties with the British Government. The communique provided for seeking legal opinion whether Pakistan would inherit agreements of leases as well as for negotiations to reach decisions regarding responsibility for External

Affairs, Defence and Communications. However, a Standstill Agreement was executed between Pakistan and Kalat.⁴⁹

* * * *

The Partition Council continued to deliberate a number of division-related issues. The questions relating to the division of assets and the modalities for repayment of Pakistan's share of British India's debt particularly remained contentious.⁵⁰ A crucial issue from Pakistan's point of view was the apportionment of the cash balances amounting to Rs. 4 billion held by Government of India. The Pakistan representatives had asked for allocation of Rs. 1 billion. Given that Pakistan had to start from scratch, the demand by no means was unreasonable. The Indian side, however, refused to allocate more than Rs. 200 million. The question was referred to the Arbitral Tribunal. The Partition Council at its meeting on 6 August 1947 provisionally allocated that amount to Pakistan.⁵¹ Accordingly this amount was paid to Pakistan. Since a number of issues remained to be resolved, like the apportionment of cash and sterling balances and the determination of Pakistan's debt liability to India, the life of the Council was extended till 31 March 1948.

On the question of liabilities, the principal problem was the apportionment of public debt, i.e. the excess of liabilities over assets. While the Indian side would not give more than 5 per cent of cash balances to Pakistan, they would have Pakistan accept liability for 20 per cent of the debt.⁵² They were dismissive of Pakistan's proposal that India and Pakistan assume joint responsibility for the debt and insisted that India assume liability for the entire debt while Pakistan pay its share of the total debt to India.⁵³ When Jinnah rejected the Indian proposal, Mountbatten had Sardar Patel write to him to spell out terms of repayment of Pakistan's share of debt liability to India. Mountbatten forwarded Patel's letter to Jinnah in Karachi. In terms of that letter, Pakistan was to repay the loan to India in fifty equal instalments, with a grace period of four to five years, at the average rate of interest at which India had incurred the debt. Jinnah, however, had already reiterated the Pakistan view that the debt should form a joint responsibility.⁵⁴

* * * *

The Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee, headed by Field Marshal Auchinleck and charged with dividing the Armed Forces and

their equipment, began its work in the first week of July. The British had earlier opposed the division but Jinnah and Liaquat declared that "they would not take over the reins of government in Pakistan unless they had an Army on the spot, and under their control..."⁵⁵

The division of Armed Forces, unquestionably a complex task, assumed urgency since no State could be perceived as truly independent if it lacked the means to defend itself. The Reconstitution Committee found it expedient to apply the rule of thumb to the division of the defence forces on communal basis subject to necessary adjustments in the Naval and Air Force equipment. In the Army, the ratio of non-Muslims to Muslims was 70:30. In the Navy, however, it was 60:40 but for the division of Naval equipment, it was fixed at 70:30 on the plea that India had a longer coastline. As for the Air Force, the ratio came to 80:20 but the Reconstitution Committee put it at 70:30 allowing for the fact that Pakistan had to guard the North-West Frontier. Disagreeing, the Indian side wanted eight squadrons, seven fighter and one transport, out of ten, leaving Pakistan with one fighter and one transport squadron. Mountbatten realized that such an allocation would be unacceptable to Pakistan and suggested that an additional fighter squadron with equipment and spares be assembled out of the reserve aircraft for allocation to Pakistan. Jinnah reluctantly accepted two squadrons of fighter aircraft and one transport squadron as against seven fighter and transport squadrons allotted to India.⁵⁶

* * * *

An important issue remaining unresolved on the eve of the transfer of power arose from the refusal of Dr Khan Sahib's Congress Ministry in NWFP to resign despite the overwhelming verdict of the referendum in favour of Pakistan. The Ministry claimed that it commanded a majority in the provincial legislature.⁵⁷ However, the Provisional Pakistan Cabinet advised Mountbatten to dismiss the Congress Ministry and induct a Muslim League Ministry or else impose Governor's rule.⁵⁸ Liaquat Ali Khan feared that if Khan Sahib were allowed to remain in office, he would declare an independent Pathanistan on 15 August 1947. Mountbatten decided that the Ministry be dismissed on 11 or 12 August but approached Secretary of State Listowel for his view.⁵⁹ Listowel, however, expressed reservations as to the constitutionality of the action, although "legal in the sense that it could not be challenged in courts," and advised Mountbatten to defer the matter until after the Pakistan government had taken office on 15 August.⁶⁰ The new Governor of NWFP, George Cunningham, also persuaded Jinnah to defer action against the Congress Ministry until after

15 August to enable him to assess the situation.⁶¹

* * * *

Dacca, which was to become the capital of East Bengal, was at independence nothing more than a one-horse town; it lacked even the elementary paraphernalia of a provincial headquarters. The fact that East Bengal was separated from the rest of Pakistan by more than a thousand miles of Indian territory lent urgency to the need for expeditious action to make it a provincial capital. Jinnah wanted to appoint Killearn⁶² as Governor of East Bengal but the terms stipulated by the latter were rather exorbitant. Jinnah made an attempt at persuading Killearn to accept the job by offering to raise his salary to Rs. 72,000 per year, stating however that that was the maximum he could "conscientiously" afford. Jinnah, perhaps, had no illusion that even the enhanced salary would be acceptable to Killearn and he explained to him why he could not agree to the emoluments demanded by him. He said:

... I regard it as absolutely essential to keep salaries and expenses in the new Pakistan Government down to the lowest minimum and I particularly wish to avoid creating embarrassing precedents by giving very special terms to any appointment. This is a principle which I have scrupulously followed and which in the interest of Pakistan I must continue to follow.⁶³

This is worth mentioning inasmuch as it points to Jinnah being only too mindful of the imperative need for prudence and parsimoniousness in view of the fiscal crunch that the fledgling nation was likely to have to face.

Jinnah selected George Cunningham for Governor of NWFP in consideration of his previous experience of nearly ten years in that post. However, he declined Cunningham's demand that his salary should be tax-free saying that "If this concession is given to one Governor, every Governor will ask for it and I could not in reason refuse it to them if I accept it for Cunningham".⁶⁴ Cunningham had asked for a tax-free salary to make up for the maintenance expenses of his house in the UK and for the loss of his fee as Director of a firm.⁶⁵ Jinnah wrote to Mountbatten saying that Cunningham could let out his house in the UK and that his salary as Governor should compensate him for the loss of Director's fee.⁶⁶ This is another instance of the meticulous care that Jinnah invariably exercised while addressing matters involving financial implications.

* * * *

The Quaid was averse to flaunting his authority to override the views of others, if underpinned by cogent arguments. An example of this approach may be found in the fact that Jinnah did not intervene when the Director of Civil Supplies slashed the quantity of sugar requested by the Comptroller of Governor General's Household for use during the celebrations on 15 August 1947.⁶⁷ Jinnah's known concern about austerity and frugality, with especial regard to the nascent country's need for economy in expenditure, must have persuaded the Comptroller not to request his intervention for restoring the quantity of sugar as indented.

* * * *

Jinnah's respect for the rights and susceptibilities of minorities was an article of faith with him and formed part of his deeply held beliefs. He would scrupulously avoid being drawn into actions and situations where he felt he might offend the sensibilities of minority communities. He refused the request to autograph the cover page of the *Time* magazine which carried the caption of the lead story, "Mohamed Ali Jinnah: His Moslem Tiger wants to eat the Hindu Cow". He explained to the Editor that since the caption was "offensive to the sentiments of the Hindu community, I cannot put my autograph on the cover page ... as requested by you".⁶⁸

A run-of-the-mill politician might have fallen for the offer of the *Time*, without visualizing its negative fallout. Jinnah, a statesman of acuity and insight, knew better than to seek cheap publicity without thought for the probable repercussions of his action. He devoutly wished to see both Muslims and non-Muslims as equal partners in the progress and prosperity of Pakistan.

* * * *

As the momentous event of the birth of Pakistan approached, there was a surge of interest and enthusiasm, transcending the communal divide, over the design and colour of the Pakistan Flag. A large number of people sent in designs of the Flag to Jinnah, explaining the import and significance of various shades and symbols shown therein. Among those who addressed Jinnah on the subject, a schoolboy named Syed Tehseen Ali Shah was so enthused by the impending event that he sent a number of drawings of the Flag designed by him, along with a note praying to Allah to bless the younger generation for ever with the guiding light of Quaid-i-Azam.⁶⁹

Notes

- ¹See Mountbatten's Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 14 August 1947, Annex to No. 257.
- ²Indian Independence Bill, Enclosure 1 to No. 1, Vol. III, para 1(1), 4.
- ³Jinnah's Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 11 August 1947, Appendix IX. 2, item 4. Also see Jinnah to Nawab of Bahawalpur, 3 August 1947, No. 102 and Jinnah to Nawab of Amb, 4 August 1947, No. 121.
- ⁴*The Pakistan Times*, 8 August 1947.
- ⁵Statement by Jinnah, 7 August 1947, Appendix VIII. 6.
- ⁶Speech by Jinnah, 9 August 1947, Appendix VIII. 7.
- ⁷Liaquat Ali Khan proposed Mandal's name which was seconded by Khwaja Nazimuddin. See *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Official Report*, 10 August 1947, Vol. I, Karachi, 1947, item 1, 1.
- ⁸J. N. Mandal's Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 10 August 1947, Appendix IX. 1, item 2.
- ⁹Jinnah's Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 11 August 1947, Appendix IX. 2, item 4.
- ¹⁰See Mountbatten's Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 14 August 1947, Annex to No. 257.
- ¹¹Jinnah's Reply to Mountbatten's Address, 14 August 1947, No. 257.
- ¹²*Jinnah's Discussions with Sind Delegation*, 12 June 1947, Annex III to No. 158, Vol. II, 331.
- ¹³Note by Liaquat Ali Khan, [n.d., 1947], Enclosure to No. 256, Vol. II, 506.
- ¹⁴Also see H. M. Patel to Jinnah, 25 July 1947, Case No. PC/78-9/8/47, Enclosure to No. 235, Vol. III, 691.
- ¹⁵Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States had ordered stationery for Quaid's use bearing the words "Governor-General's House, Karachi". See M. A. H. Ispahani to Jinnah, 31 March 1948, Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, 578.
- ¹⁶See note 3 ante. Also see Jinnah's speech at Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, 22 November 1942, declaring "No nation can make any progress without the co-operation of its women," Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1952, 500-1.
- ¹⁷Editorial, the *Morning Herald*, 9 August 1947, Annex to Appendix III. 11.
- ¹⁸Jinnah's Interview with Leader of Coorg State's Muslim Delegation, 25 July 1947, No. 238, Vol. III, 696.
- ¹⁹Record of Interview between Evan Jenkins and Jathedar Mohan Singh, 11 July 1947, Appendix III.1.
- ^{20,21&22}Record of Interview between Mountbatten, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Vallabhbhai Patel and Gerald Savage, 5 August 1947, Appendix V.3.
- ²³Evan Jenkins to Mountbatten, 9 August 1947, No. 403, TP, XII, 636-7.
- ²⁴Jinnah to Maharajas of Bharatpur and Alwar, 5 August 1947, No. 153. Also see Aftab Ahmed to Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan, 7 August 1947, Appendix III. 9.
- ²⁵See Statement by Swaran Singh, 10 August 1947, Appendix III. 16 and Note by Douglas Hawthorn, 11 August 1947, Appendix III. 17.
- ²⁶*The Pakistan Times*, 14 August 1947.
- ²⁷Press Communique of Mountbatten's Address to a Conference of Rulers and representatives of Indian States, 25 July 1947, Appendix VII.19, Vol. III, 993-8.
- ²⁸See Liaquat Ali Khan to Mountbatten, 4 July 1947, No. 25, *ibid.*, 89.
- ²⁹Mountbatten to Listowel, 8 August 1947, Appendix VII.12.
- ³⁰Minutes of Viceroy's Sixth Miscellaneous Meeting, 22 April 1947, No. 194, TP, X, item 2, 365.
- ³¹See note 27 ante.
- ³²Listowel to Mountbatten, 1 August 1947, No. 307, TP, XII, 460.
- ³³Mountbatten to Listowel, Viceroy's Personal Report No. 17, 16 August 1947, No. 489, TP, XII, para 51, 769 and Mountbatten to the Nizam, 12 August 1947, Appendix VII.16.

- ³⁴Maharaja of Indore to Jinnah, 9 August 1947, No. 199. Also see Memorandum by Mountbatten, 11 August 1947, No. 426, *TP*, XII, 659-62.
- ³⁵Note by Ali Yavar Jung, 4 August 1947, No. 124.
- ³⁶See note 33 ante.
- ³⁷Archibald Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 5 February 1946, Enclosure to Appendix XII. 50, Vol. I, Part II, 562.
- ³⁸The *Pakistan Times*, 29 July 1947.
- ³⁹Mountbatten to Listowel, Viceroy's Personal Report No. 15, 1 August 1947, Appendix VI.1, para 27.
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, No. 302, *TP*, XII, para 45, 453.
- ⁴¹Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Nawab of Bhopal and Maharaja of Indore, 4 August 1947, No. 335, *TP*, XII, 509.
- ⁴²Cabinet Mission's Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy, 12 May 1946, Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81. Also see Statement by British Government on Indian Policy, 3 June 1947, No. 1, Vol. II, para 18, 5.
- ⁴³The Nizam of Hyderabad to Mountbatten, 8 August 1947, Annex II to No. 90.
- ⁴⁴Record of Interview between Walter Monckton and H. L. Ismay, 10 August, No. 419, *TP*, XII, 648-9.
- ⁴⁵Mountbatten to the Nizam, 12 August 1947, No. 440, *TP*, XII, 679.
- ⁴⁶Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah, 2 August 1947, No. 85.
- ⁴⁷Mountbatten to Nawab of Bhopal, 11 August 1947, No. 435, *TP*, XII, 671-3. Also see Nawab of Bhopal to Mountbatten, 14 August 1947, No. 482, *ibid.*, 729-31.
- ⁴⁸Minutes of Viceroy's Twentieth Miscellaneous Meeting, 19 July 1947, Appendix VII. 13, Vol. III, 983.
- ⁴⁹Press Communique on situation between Pakistan and Kalat State, 11 August 1947, Annex to No. 201.
- ⁵⁰H. M. Patel to Jinnah, 12 August 1947, F. 48-GG/7-8, Case No. PC/120/15/47. Not printed. Also see Proceeding of the Partition Council, 5 August 1947, *ibid.*, No. 344, *TP*, XII, 536-7.
- ⁵¹H. M. Patel to Jinnah, 12 August 1947, F. 48-GG/15, Case No. PC/143/16/47. Not printed.
- ⁵²Mountbatten to Listowel, Viceroy's Personal Report No. 16, 8 August 1947, Appendix VI. 2, paras 31-8.
- ⁵³Vallabhbhai Patel to Mountbatten, 6 August 1947, No. 354, *TP*, XII, 549-50. Also see Note by Samuel Cooke, 6 August 1947, No. 355, *ibid.*, 551-3.
- ⁵⁴See note 52 ante. Also see Mountbatten to Jinnah, 12 August 1947, No. 235 and Enclosure.
- ⁵⁵H. L. Ismay to Mountbatten, 20 June 1947, Appendix IX. 3, item 8, Vol. II, 919.
- ⁵⁶H. M. Patel to Jinnah, 12 August 1947, F. 49-GG/7-8, Case No. JDC/42/6/47. Not printed. Also see Mountbatten to Listowel, Viceroy's Personal Report No. 15, 1 August 1947, No. 302, *TP*, XII, para 13, 446.
- ⁵⁷Minutes of the Viceroy's Twenty Third Miscellaneous Meeting, 29 July 1947, Appendix IV. 1.
- ⁵⁸Mountbatten to Listowel, 5 August 1947, Appendix IV. 7. Also see Notes by Mohammad Ali and George Spence, 30 July 1947, Appendix IV. 2.
- ⁵⁹Mountbatten to Listowel, 8 August 1947, Appendix IV. 13.
- ⁶⁰Listowel to Mountbatten, 8 August 1947, Appendix IV. 15.
- ⁶¹George Cunningham to Mountbatten, 14 August 1947, Enclosure to Appendix IV. 19.
- ⁶²Miles Wedderburn Lampson Killearn, Special Commissioner in South-East Asia from 1946.
- ⁶³Jinnah to Killearn, 26 July 1947, No. 11.
- ⁶⁴Jinnah to Mountbatten, 13 July 1947, No. 136, Vol. III, 349.
- ⁶⁵Secretary of State to Viceroy, 11 July 1947, No. 120, *ibid.*, 316-7.
- ⁶⁶See note 64 ante.
- ⁶⁷S. V. McCoy to R. R. Pearce, 8 August 1947, No. 185 and R. R. Pearce to S. V. McCoy, No. 186.
- ⁶⁸Jinnah to the Editor, the *Time*, New York, n.d., No. 61.
- ⁶⁹Syed Tehseen Ali Shah to Jinnah, n.d., F. 57-GG/11. Not printed. Also see illustrations at the end of the volume.

Abbreviations

ADC	Aide-de-camp
ADSP	Acting Deputy Superintendent of Police
AGG	Agent to the Governor-General
AICC	All-India Congress Committee
API	Associated Press of India
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BNR	Bengal Nagpur Railway
CI	Circle Inspector (Police); Central India
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CO	Commanding Officer
CP	Central Provinces
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
DPI	Director of Public Instruction
FPSC	Federal Public Service Commission
GHQ	General Headquarters
GOC	General Officer Commanding
HE	His Excellency
HH	His Highness
HMG	His Majesty's Government
IACC	Indian Army Corps of Clerks
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IDSM	Indian Distinguished Service Medal
IMS	Indian Medical Service
INA	Indian National Army
IP	Indian Police
MES	Military Engineer Services
MOL	Master of Oriental Languages
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
Nk	Naik
PS	Police Station

PSV	Private Secretary to Viceroy
QAP	Quaid-i-Azam Papers
QAPP	Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
RIAF	Royal Indian Air Force
RIE	Royal Indian Engineers
RIN	Royal Indian Navy
SE	Superintending Engineer
SI	Sub-Inspector (Police)
UP	United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh)
VCO	Viceroy's Commissioned Officer
WM&P	Works, Mines and Power [Department]

All India Muslim League Working Committee
1947

President

Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Secretary

Liaquat Ali Khan

Treasurer

Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan
(Raja of Mahmudabad)

Assam

Abdul Matin Chaudhury

Baluchistan

Qazi Mohammed Isa

Bengal

M.A.H. Ispahani
Khwaja Nazimuddin
Mohamed Akram Khan
Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

Bihar

Syed Hossain Imam
S.M. Lateef-ur-Rahman

Bombay

I.I. Chundrigar

Central Provinces and Berar

Syed Abdur Rauf Shah

Madras

Haji Abdul Sattar H. Essak Sait

North-West Frontier Province

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan

Punjab

Mian Bashir Ahmed

Sheikh Karamat Ali

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

Sind

Mohammad Ayub Khuhro

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

United Provinces

Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman

Principal Holders of Office

Partition Council

Louis Mountbatten

M. A. Jinnah	Vallabhbhai Patel
Liaquat Ali Khan	Rajendra Prasad

Provisional Government of Pakistan

19 July 1947 to 14 August 1947

Liaquat Ali Khan	Finance; External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; and Defence
I. I. Chundrigar	Commerce; Industries and Supplies; and Works, Mines and Power
Abdur Rab Nishtar	Communications; Railways; Transport; Information and Broadcasting; and States
Ghazanfar Ali Khan	Health; Food and Agriculture; and Home
Jogendra Nath Mandal	Legislative; Education; and Labour

Provisional Joint Defence Council

Louis Mountbatten

M. A. Jinnah	Rajendra Prasad
Liaquat Ali Khan	Baldev Singh
Claude Auchinleck	

Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

M. A. Jinnah	President
M. B. Ahmad	Secretary

Chronology of Important Events
26 July to 14 August 1947

- July
26 Pakistan Constituent Assembly formed, comprising 66 members inclusive of 18 belonging to the minorities.
Jinnah assures support to Indonesia in their struggle against Holland.
- 27 Sindh minorities decide to present an address to Jinnah on his arrival.
- 28 Khan Ghulam Mohammad Khan, Member, AIML Council, warns Afghanistan to keep away from NWFP which could not become an independent State.
Nizam seeks Jinnah's advice over the State's relations with India and Pakistan.
Jinnah appeals to ML Parliamentary Parties of Punjab and Bengal to elect the right men as their leaders and work as a team.
- 29 Liaquat informs Mountbatten about the design of the flag proposed for the Dominion of Pakistan.
- 30 Jinnah reiterates that the Muslim League had no intention of coercing any State into acceding to either Dominion;
urges the Frontier Pathans and tribesmen to join hands with Pakistan in setting up a "truly democratic Islamic State";
nominates Justice Mohammad Ismail as Pakistan's representative on the Arbitral Tribunal.
- 31 Jinnah urges Sindh Muslim League Parliamentary Party to choose their leader freely and fairly.
- August
- 1 Punjab Boundary Force headed by Major General Rees assumes charge to deal with communal violence in Central Punjab Districts.
- 2 Nawab of Bhopal deplores betrayal of the States by the British; apprehends coercion by the Congress for accession to India; says he would rather abdicate than accede to India and that he wished to serve Islam and Pakistan.

- 3 The Governor of NWFP declares the province as a "disturbed area", making murder, kidnapping, arson, etc., as offences punishable with death. Afghanistan had no right to interfere in the NWFP, says the Secretary of State for India in a statement issued in London.
Chitral offers to accede to Pakistan.
- 4 Jinnah advises the Hyderabad Delegation that if the Nizam decided against accession, his decision would be in consonance with the British Government policy; counsels firmness in whatever decision he took.
- 5 Iftikhar Husain Mamdot and Nazimuddin elected leaders of West Punjab and East Bengal Muslim League Assembly Parties, respectively.
Jinnah appeals to Rulers of Bharatpur and Alwar to protect their Muslim population.
- 7 On the eve of his departure for Karachi, Jinnah wishes "prosperity and peace" to Hindustan; urges the two nations to forget the past and make a fresh start.
- 8 Nizam of Hyderabad offers to negotiate a treaty with the Dominion of India without prejudice to his relations with Pakistan.
- 9 At a dinner in Karachi, Jinnah reminds his audience of their duty to solve the problem of poverty of the people, and urges mutual trust between the majority and minority communities.
- 10 The Pakistan Constituent Assembly holds its inaugural session; Jogendra Nath Mandal elected temporary Chairman.
- 11 Jinnah elected President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly; calls upon the members to concentrate on the welfare of the masses; promises equal rights to all citizens regardless of caste or creed.

- The Constituent Assembly approves the design of Pakistan Flag.
Press communique issued on Pakistan's recognition of Kalat as an independent sovereign state.
China offers to exchange Ambassadors with Pakistan.
- 12 The Pakistan Constituent Assembly approves the proposal that Jinnah be called Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah; appoints a Committee on Fundamental Rights.
Arbitral Tribunal Order promulgated; Patrick Spens appointed Chairman.
- 13 Radcliffe sends Boundary Commission Awards to the Viceroy; Mountbatten writes to Jinnah and Nehru suggesting that the decisions of the Boundary Commissions be discussed on 16 August between representatives of Pakistan and India before the Awards were published.
Jinnah addresses a state banquet held in honour of the Viceroy in Karachi.
Mountbatten presides at the last meeting of the Provisional Pakistan Cabinet in Karachi.
Nizam of Hyderabad clarifies future relations with the two Dominions in a press communique.
Jinnah greets Balochi tribals on the creation of Pakistan; promises continuation of existing agreements with the tribes.
- 14 Mountbatten conveys King's greetings to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly; pays tribute to Jinnah for help in securing peaceful transfer of power. Reciprocating, Jinnah assures Mountbatten of Pakistan's goodwill and friendship for the British people.

No.	Description	Date July 1947	Summary	Page
1	M. A. Choudhury to Jinnah Letter	26	Intimates that on Liaquat's advice several lawyers from Assam had been engaged to argue the Muslim League case before the Boundary Commission; requests that Ahmad Ispahani be instructed to remit a sum of Rs. 10,000 for meeting the expenses entailed by the Boundary Commission work.	1
2	Jinnah to Ramaswami Aiyar Telegram	26	Expresses concern at the attempt made on his life; wishes to know his welfare.	2
3	M. A. Khan and Karim Khan to Jinnah Letter	26	Intimate that they were striving to form a union of non-salute States of upper Gujerat with a view to joining Pakistan; seek his guidance in the matter as well as an assurance that their sovereign rights and interests would be safeguarded.	2
4	S. K. Shaida and Z. K. Shahed to Secretary to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	26	Enclose a copy of their article entitled <i>The Quaid-i-Azam</i> , and eulogize his struggle for Pakistan; seek permission for its publication in the English press.	3
5	N. C. Vazirani to Jinnah Letter	26	Congratulates him on appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan; commends the choice of Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as Governor of Sind; wishes him to continue to serve both Pakistan and India.	8
6	Francis Mudie to Jinnah Letter	26	Proposes going to Lahore on 7 August, a week before taking over as Governor of West Punjab, as desired by him; thanks him for his selection for that office; adds that he would seek his advice on the Punjab politics.	8
7	H. Donovan to Jinnah Letter	26	Informs that the question of setting up the US Consulate-General at Lahore would be taken up with the Pakistan Government after 15 August; states that Richard Gatewood, Second Secretary, US Embassy, would be going to Lahore on 30 July to arrange for housing, staff, etc.; adds that Charles Lewis, US Consul-General at Casablanca, would be taking over as Charge d' Affaires at Karachi	14
8	Markazi Jam' iyyat-i-Muslim Naunehalan to Jinnah Resolution	26	Felicitate him on the achievement of Pakistan and on appointment as Governor-General.	15
9	Miles Killearn to Jinnah Letter	26	Expresses inability to accept governorate of East Bengal as the terms offered fell short of his expectations.	15
10	Nooral'i Bana to Jinnah Letter	26	Felicitates him on the achievement of Pakistan and on appointment as Governor-General; informs that registration of the bungalow purchased from Mrs Perin Kapadia had been completed.	16

11	Jinnah to Miles Killearn Letter	26	17	Informs that he had given serious consideration to the terms stipulated by him for accepting governorate of East Bengal, offers a salary of Rs. 72,000 only per annum since salaries and other Government expenses in Pakistan had of necessity to be restricted to a minimum.
12	M. A. H. Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	26	17	Informs that Calcutta High Court had dismissed the petition filed in 1942 by Fazlul Huq against his expulsion from the Muslim League.
13	John Tyson to George Abell Telegram	26	34	Intimates points of difference with regard to division of assets consequent on partition of Bengal; says any guidance from the Partition Council would be welcome.
14	M. N. Nur to Habib Bank, Delhi (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	26	35	Donates the entire amount (Rs. 300) of his scholarship to the Pakistan Fund.
15	M. Nurullah and Others to Jinnah Letter	27	35	Request that League members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly be allowed to freely elect office-bearers of the Parliamentary Party; regret that the Party leader had failed to convene Party meeting requisitioned for 4 July; request that Central Parliamentary Board direct him to call the meeting immediately.
16	Elsa Tublor de Pierrefeu to Jinnah Letter	27	37	Urges maintenance of peace and friendly relations with India; warns that communists would create disorder to thwart co-operation between the two countries; extends best wishes on successful culmination of his efforts.
17	Raghub Ahsan to Jinnah Letter	27	38	Recommends that Syed Ali Ashraf, Additional District Magistrate, Patna, be appointed Private Secretary to Governor-General.
18	S. M. Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	27	39	Intimates that the Pathari State would enter into constitutional arrangements with Pakistan on defence, foreign affairs, and communications, and sign instrument of accession; recommends formation of a federation of All India Muslim States.
19	Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	28	41	Invites his views on a note appended by him concerning the State's relations with India and Pakistan; requests that a delegation comprising his Prime Minister, Constitutional Adviser, and two other members be allowed to explain contents of the note to him.
20	Jam Sahib of Las Bela to Jinnah Letter	28	48	Requests a short interview.

21	Jinnah to Jam Sahib of Las Bela Letter	28	Refers to No. 20; expresses inability to grant an interview because of pressure of work.	49
22	Jinnah to National Bank of India, Lahore Letter	28	Encloses corrected cheque for Rs. 2,100 for credit to his account.	50
23	Jinnah to Abdul Wadood Letter	28	Thanks for his support to the League campaign in the referendum in NWFP, and for his and his son's generous contributions.	51
24	Eve Jefford to Jinnah Letter	28	Confides her intention to set up an academy for dressmaking as well as a salon.	51
25	Osman Ali to All Depts. of Provisional Govt. of Pakistan Memorandum	28	Intimates procedure regarding correspondence between Secretary of State for India and Departments of Provisional Governments of India and Pakistan.	53
26	Osman Ali to Members of Pakistan Cabinet Circular	28	Circulates a note on educational arrangements made at Karachi.	54
27	Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, to Jinnah Telegram	28	Invites him to participate in a broadcast programme with Mountbatten and Nehru regarding transfer of power in India.	56
28	Ataullah to Jinnah Letter	28	Congratulates him on appointment as Governor-General; forwards copies of a statement prepared by him at the suggestion of Firoz Khan Noon and of letters sent by him to District Magistrate, Rawalpindi, reflecting background to, and happenings during, the communal riots; believes that Noon would have been a better choice than Mamdot for heading Punjab Government; accuses Presidents of Rawalpindi District and City ML branches of weakness and incompetence; denounces appeasement of non-Muslim leaders and businessmen whose behaviour remained belligerent; recommends opening of branches of Australasia and Banks in Rawalpindi and elsewhere in view of migration of Hindu bankers to India.	57
29	W. P. Spens to Jinnah Letter	29	Urges him to nominate his representative on the Arbitral Tribunal as soon as possible.	61
30	Mohammad Ishaq to K. H. Khurshid Letter	29	Attempts to explain that the resolution adopted by Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Convention, which demanded, <i>inter alia</i> , accession to Pakistan, complete internal autonomy, a representative Legislative Assembly, and allocation of defence, foreign affairs, and communications to Pakistan, did not in substance deviate from their own stand regarding independence of Kashmir; avers that if Kashmir acceded to India,	62

		Muslims across the State would put up determined resistance.	
31	H. B. Malik to Jinnah Letter	29	Expresses a desire to serve Pakistan in the USA. 63
32	H. A. Alavi to Jinnah Letter	29	Suggests that he include a saying of <i>Hazrat Omar</i> , quoted by <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> , in his inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. 65
33	R. F. Khan to Jinnah Letter	29	Thinks he had not done the Muslims any good by securing partition of India; believes it would not be long before pressure for reunification of India started building up. 66
34	Abu Sulaiman to Z. A. Ansari Letter & Enclosure	29	Reports on activities inimical to Pakistan of Faqir of Ipi, Congress, Afghan Government, and certain individuals. 67
35	O. G. H. Ormerod to Jinnah Letter	29	Enquires about the fate of British officers who had elected to serve in Pakistan Railways. 69
36	Mountbatten to Maharaj Rana of Dholpur Letter	29	Refers to his letter and the reply which was to be personally handed over by his staff officer; elaborates that he was in touch with representatives of all shades of opinion in the States; explains the advantages of accession by 14 August; concludes that he as well as the King would be sorry if he refused to accede. 71
37	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	29	Explains that Cunningham had accepted governorate of NWFP on the understanding that if at the end of his tenure he was out of pocket in any way, a small <i>ex gratia</i> payment to him might be considered. 74
38	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	29	Seeks assurance that replacement of Geoffrey Prior in Baluchistan would not be delayed after October. 74
39	S. M. Hanif to Jinnah Letter	29	Informs that the Muslim minority in Howrah was being harassed and persecuted. 75
40	M. Ramzan to Jinnah Letter	29	Recounts the sacrifice and hardship undergone for the Muslim League cause; bemoans the cupidity and complacency into which League leaders had relapsed following spectacular victory in the NWFP referendum; analyses causes of Congress debacle and League triumph; underscores the imperatives of selfless service without avarice, of steadfastness and unwavering commitment to the national cause, and of battling pro-Pathanistan elements and hostile propaganda. 76
41	Manzar-i-Alam to Jinnah Letter	30	Apprises of controversy between office-bearers of All India States Muslim League and members of the Council. 78
42	Khan of Kalat to Jinnah Letter	30	Wishes to return home; offers to assign his <i>Wazir-i-Azam</i> to carry on negotiations with Pakistan authorities. 79

43	Jinnah to M. A. Chaiwala Letter	30	Says Padampat Singhanian was interested in buying his Bombay house; instructs that inspection of the house by him, or by his representative, be facilitated.	80
44	Jinnah to W. P. Spens Letter	30	Refers to No. 29; nominates Justice Mohammad Ismail as ML representative on the Arbitral Tribunal.	81
45	G. V. Bewoor to PS to Jinnah Letter	30	Seeks interview with Jinnah before the latter left for Karachi.	81
46	Jinnah to Francis Mudie Letter	30	Refers to No. 6; thanks him for placing his services at the disposal of Pakistan; concurs with his suggestion about obtaining his (Jinnah's) advice on Punjab affairs which could be had through cypher telegrams.	82
47	Sultan Mahmud to Jinnah Letter	30	Regrets that Hindu members of the staff of Comptroller, NWFP, Peshawar, who had elected to serve in Hindustan, were going to be retained up to February 1948; urges immediate arrangements to replace them.	83
48	Proceedings of meeting of Markazi Jami 'yyat-i-Mus- lim Naunehalan, Calcutta	30	Inform that the meeting held on 26 July had expressed jubilation over the achievement of Pakistan and the appointment of Jinnah as Governor-General; states that teenagers had taken active part.	85
49	C. J. Stracey to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	30	Forwards copies of resolutions passed by the All India INA Convention held from 15 to 17 July; urges that the proclamation, if issued on 15 August to mark the transfer of power in India, should include an announcement regarding rehabilitation of ex-INA personnel.	86
50	General Secretary, District Kisan Committee, Ferozepore, to Mountbat- ten (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	30	Requests that higher authorities intervene to save Muslim tenants from the clutches of a Muslim landlord who had unleashed a ruthless campaign of intimidation and terror to extort transfer of their lands to his name on the plea that he was migrating to Pakistan.	88
51	M. M. Khan to Nawab of Bhopal Letter	31	Informs of his arrival in New Delhi on 2 August for consultation about the impending constitutional changes; intimates about arrival of Nawab of Tonk and Qadri in Delhi the same day.	90
52	Nawab of Chhatari to Jinnah Letter	31	Requests grant of interview to Monckton who had resigned from membership of the Negotiating Committee; seeks an appointment for the delegation, after meeting with Monckton, to discuss contents of the letter the Nizam had sent him earlier the same day.	90
53	Natal Indian Congress to Jinnah Telegram	31	Request a design of the Pakistan Flag for celebrations on 15 August 1947.	91

54	Julian Tritton to Jinnah Letter	31	Offers services of his firm of Consulting Engineers.	91
55	S. Qadri to Jinnah Letter	31	Sends a sketch of the Pakistan Flag.	93
56	M. Sabir to General Managers, Reuters and API Letter	31	Requests arrangements for supply of copies of telegrams of Reuters / API from 7 August 1947 to Governor-General of Pakistan and his Military Secretary.	94
57	A.M. Ruhul Amin to Jinnah Letter	31	Criticizes ML arguments before Bengal Boundary Commission and seeks his intervention; requests that the Boundary Commission be urged to award Kishangunj Subdivision of Bihar and Andaman, Nicobar, Maldives and Laccadive Islands to Pakistan; suggests creation of Moplah State and a corridor to Nepal through Punjab and UP.	94
58	F. K. Asif to Jinnah Letter	31	Gives suggestions for improvement in administrative and other fields in NWFP.	98
59	Jinnah to Khan of Kalat Telegram	n.d.	Asks that he reach Delhi as soon as possible.	100
60	Niazul Haq to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Requests acceptance of their option to serve in Pakistan and issuance of orders for their move to Karachi, which had not been issued in case of fifty per cent of such employees.	101
61	Jinnah to the Editor, the <i>Time</i> , New York Letter	n.d.	Returns the cover page of the <i>Time</i> without autographing it for fear that the caption <i>Mohamed Ali Jinnah: His Muslim Tiger Wants to Eat the Hindu Cow</i> might offend Hindu feelings.	102
62	Mahmudullah to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Offers to serve in the Constituent Assembly, diplomatic service, or in a responsible administrative post in Pakistan.	102
63	Bashir Ahmad to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Suggests that Pakistan claim compensation in respect of industries like sugar, steel, textile, etc., which had been established and had flourished in India due to Government protection.	104
64	I. H. Zuberi to Jinnah Memorandum	n.d.	Urges inclusion of Cachar, Nowgong and Goalpara Districts of Assam and of 24 Parganas and Sunderbans in East Bengal; suggests a referendum in West Bengal to enable Muslims and Scheduled Castes to indicate which of the two Constituent Assemblies they wished to join.	106
65	Note by Anonym on the Economics of Western Pakistan	n.d.	Emphasizes the imperative of economic development in Pakistan by construction of new dams, afforestation in tribal territory, and encouraging local industry.	110
66	A Musalman to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Urges that he press the Viceroy to disregard the Sikh claims concerning demarcation of the Punjab boundary as the Sikhs had betrayed the British during the War; urges too that he press for inclusion in West Pakistan of Amritsar, Jullundur,	114

			Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, and half of Ludhiana, since the Muslims in those districts, excluding the Untouchables, were in majority as well as far ahead in payment of land revenue and in ownership of land.	
67	Press Questionnaire for Jinnah with Enclosure	n.d.	Questionnaire drawn up by the Arab News Agency, Cairo, about the policies to be followed by Pakistan.	115
68	Note by Sheikh of Mangrol	n.d.	Traces the history of differences between Mangrol and Junagadh, and demands for Mangrol a status equal to that of Junagadh.	117
69	Draft of joint statement to Indian Armed Forces in Japan	n.d.	Eulogises the services rendered by the Indian Armed Forces in the defeat of Japan and reposes confidence in them for upholding and enhancing their reputation.	122
		<i>August</i>		
70	M. Z. K. Achakzai to Jinnah Letter	1	Felicitates him on the achievement of Pakistan and on his appointment as Governor-General; draws attention to the appalling educational backwardness of Baluchistan and requests immediate steps to improve the situation; points to the unfair system of representation in the province and hopes he would remedy it.	124
71	Agha to Fatima Jinnah Letter	1	Complains that Pakistan having been achieved, Liaquat had become "inaccessible" and "haughty" and that Ghazanfar, an "uncultured brute," lacked the vision to structure a health programme for Pakistan; says that senior Muslim officers like Ikramullah, Madani, et al., were busy jockeying for positions in Pakistan; states that Madani, a Deputy Secretary in Health Department, was incompetent and yet aspired to promotion as Health Secretary; reports that Col. Jafarey and Col. Jafar were vying with each other for the post of DG (Health); criticizes inefficiency of Transfer Office which had failed to arrange transfer of all Muslim personnel to Pakistan by 15 August; regrets that those left behind would have to bear the agony of saluting Indian flag on 15 August.	125
72	Aga Khan to Jinnah Telegram	1	Thanks Jinnah for his miraculous achievement and for assuring Islam's future in the subcontinent; says that European colonial powers and elements in the Conservative Party were dismayed over Indian independence; draws attention to imperialist designs against subject peoples, mostly Muslim; suggests that Nawab of Bhopal be considered for representing	127

			Pakistan at the forthcoming United Nations conference; emphasizes the need of capital for development of East Bengal, but prefers American capital to that of Hindu India; reasons that American interest would afford protection against Russia; adds that the Nawab might get important people to take interest in Pakistan's economic future.	
73	C. E. Gibbon to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	1	Encloses a copy of his statement made before the Punjab Boundary Commission declaring allegiance to Pakistan and claiming that his community had a Muslim ancestry as well as pleading that insecurity prevailed in Hindustan.	129
74	Abdul Hafiz to Jinnah Letter	1	Informs that some junior Superintendents and Assistants had been promoted as Administrative Officers and Superintendents, respectively, out of turn; urges that such favouritism be nipped in the bud; suggests that the principle followed at GHQ be adopted to regulate promotions.	133
75	A. Hamid to Jinnah Letter	1	Recalls that he had visited him in Bombay last April and obtained his consent to a sola hat being presented to him; adds that the hat, specially made for him, was being sent by post.	134
76	Nawab Mirza Janee to Jinnah Letter	1	Claiming to be legal heir to the late Nawab Fakhruddaula of Oudh, requests restoration of the royalty on the departure of the British; also requests payment of pension dues withheld by the British.	135
77	Jinnah to J. Dalmia Letter & Enclosure	1	Informs that he would give him vacant possession of 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, on or before 31 August 1947; sends receipt for Rs. 10,000 paid as earnest money.	136
78	Abdul Qaiyum Khan to Jinnah Letter	1	Feels that his choice of Governor for NWFP was the best in the circumstances; suggests that he take the people of the province into confidence in the matter.	138
79	S. Sirdar Mohamed to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	1	Forwards a copy of his letter to Liaquat Ali Khan claiming he had "a plan and location of very rich mines" of gold, platinum, and iridium, which could be developed with great benefit to Pakistan; requests "interest and consideration".	139
80	Firoz Khan Noon to Jinnah Letter	1	Thanks him for the confidence reposed in him; states that Begum Tasadduque had told Begum Fatima that Chundrigar was bringing some secret instructions and that if there was no settlement, he would suggest that Ghazanfar "be put in"; says he knew that to be wrong but warns that Chundrigar had better be careful lest his	140

			name was misused; fears that Ghazanfar, who was coming to Lahore, would canvass against him and urges that he be neutral.	
81	G. A. Parwez to Jinnah Letter	1	Suggests that celebration of Independence Day on 15 August be confined to simple observance, some future date being fixed for ceremonial observance; suggests, too, that orders staying execution of death sentences be issued forthwith if amnesty was to be granted to condemned prisoners as well on Independence Day.	141
82	Ian Stephens to J. K. Cowley Letter & Enclosure	1	Sends a clipping from the <i>Eastern Express</i> of 31 July, reporting that Jinnah had bid goodbye to Indian Muslim leaders and advised them to remain loyal citizens of India.	142
83	W. H. Theobald to Jinnah Letter	1	Wishes to be invited as a state guest to the celebrations marking the birth of Pakistan and his installation as Governor-General.	144
84	S. Mozaffer Ahmed to Jinnah Letter	2	Congratulates him on his greatest achievement, Pakistan; laments that the Provincial Muslim League had failed the Muslims of Bihar in the wake of the carnage; says the Muslims of the province, like the Israelites, yearned for a Moses to deliver them from the oppression of the new Pharaoh, the Congress; regrets that neither Bengal nor Western Pakistan had taken steps to absorb the distressed Biharis; says the Muslim minority in Bihar, as elsewhere, looked up to him for guidance.	145
85	Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah Letter	2	Recalls his staunch support for Pakistan and the Muslim League; says he had done his bit for securing Pakistan by seeing to it that the States did nothing to thwart it; recalls also that, Pakistan having been conceded, he had resigned the Chancellorship of the Chamber of Princes and would have abdicated as well but for the advice given him to not act in a hurry; states that he had endeavoured to maintain the independence of Bhopal and other Muslim States but had been frustrated by Hindu Rulers infected with the communal virus; says ruefully that Bhopal was out on a limb, England already having betrayed the States; apprehends coercion and intimidation and cessation of essential supplies; asserts that he would in no case accede to India; says he wished to abdicate and serve Islam and Pakistan; seeks to discuss matters with him that evening.	146

86	M. Qadir Baksh and Others to Jinnah Letter	2	Narrate how Muslim League had worked and secured a firm foothold in Baluchistan in the face of Congress opposition; add that without much help from the central leadership, and in spite of the obstacles created by Congress, they had organised the Muslims of the province; wish to see Qazi Isa as their representative in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, given his sincere services and his ability.	148
87	M. Burhanul Haq to Misra (Copy to Jinnah) Letter & Enclosure	2	Forwards complaint of one Ziaul Hasan that his life and property were in danger; urges action to protect lives and properties of Muslims; requests that Ziaul Hasan's impounded gun be returned to him for self-defence.	152
88	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	2	Acknowledges No. 37; confirms that the record of the talk they had had about Cunningham was substantially correct, i.e. "If he was in any way out of pocket, the question of a small <i>ex gratia</i> payment might be considered"; adds, however, that this did not form part of the agreement.	153
89	Edwina Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	2	Recalls having raised the question of the position in Pakistan of organisations such as the Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association, Girl Guides Association, etc.; urges that the question be examined as soon as possible after 14 August; suggests that those concerned be allowed to have preliminary meetings with the Health and Education Departments to see what action, if any, was needed; welcomes the decision that some of the All India Technical Institutions were to continue extending their facilities to the people of both Dominions pending duplication of those facilities.	153
90	Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah Letter	2	Requests an appointment for the Nawab of Chhatari and Monckton to discuss the terms of reference he had proposed to send to the Viceroy regarding the future of Hyderabad; presses for his final views, in writing, by next Monday (4 August) as very little time was left for deliberation of the issues involved.	154
91	Beverley Nichols to K.H. Khurshid Letter & Enclosure	2	Encloses an article for forwarding it to the Editor of <i>Islampura</i> ; requests him to convey his regards to Jinnah.	161
92	B. B. Parab to G.H. Hidayatullah (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	2	Informs that a public meeting of the Maratha community held on 27 July had resolved, <i>inter alia</i> , that in view of the Quaid-i-Azam's public assurances that minorities in Pakistan would be treated not only justly but generously; Marathas in Sind should	164

			not leave Pakistan and should cooperate with the Government.	
93	Secretary of State for India to Viceroy Telegram	2	Asks him to convey Cunningham's message to Jinnah that he had felt honoured by being invited to serve Pakistan and the NWFP.	165
94	F. M. Khan to Jinnah Letter	2	Felicitates Jinnah on his appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan; lauds him on being the only person in the world who placed an ideal before the Muslims, fought for it, and achieved it in his own lifetime.	166
95	Nawab of Amb to Jinnah Letter	3	Informs about political situation in the NWFP; lauds his selection of Cunningham as Governor; says religion played an important role in politics in the NWFP and, especially, the tribal areas; gives details of the personal rivalries and animosities between <i>Mullahs</i> and <i>Faqirs</i> in the tribal areas which needed to be dealt with immediately.	166
96	Mehtar of Chitral to Jinnah Letter	3	Offers heartiest felicitations on the emergence of Pakistan; informs that his decision to accede to Pakistan had been conveyed telegraphically; gives some historical information about Chitral State and its relations with British Government; demands retrocession of Gilgit District on the lapse of paramountcy.	169
97	Fazal Din to Jinnah Letter	3	Informs of large-scale retrenchment of non-Muslims from Military Engineer Services, Northern Command, and requests his intervention; suggests issuing a statement assuring protection and equal treatment to minorities since the new State would require skilled labour.	171
98	H. Ghulam Haider to Jinnah Letter	3	Says he had been to Delhi to discuss the Frontier question with him but, because of his heavy preoccupation, had met Nishtar instead.	173
99	Sahib Gul to Jinnah Letter	3	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; requests to serve in Islamic Army.	173
100	M. Burhanul Haq to Francis Cole (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	3	Informs of the incident of communal violence at Panagar; states that the incident had been preplanned by Hindus with connivance of local police; requests impartial investigation as well as help to evacuate Muslims from Panagar and adjacent villages.	174
101	Jinnah to Aga Khan Telegram	3	Refers to No. 72; assures him of his most careful attention.	177
102	Jinnah to Nawab of Bahawalpur Letter	3	Thanks for extolling his services in his previous letter; appreciates his proposals; says they would discuss them when he (Jinnah) was in Karachi.	177

103	Jinnah to Columbia Broadcasting System, New York Telegram	3	Refers to No. 27; accepts proposal for broadcast.	178
104	Jinnah to Ramakrishna Dalmia Letter	3	Sends a list of articles for sale at prices indicated; asks for his consent.	178
105	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Letter	3	Sends a demand draft for Rs. 115 along with a pay-in slip for credit to his Current Account No. 2.	178
106	Jinnah to Income-tax Officer, Bombay Letter	3	Sends first instalment of income-tax due on 15 September 1947.	179
107	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	3	Informs that Cunningham and his wife were due in Karachi on 11 August; suggests that he invite them to stay with him.	179
108	S. M. Nasiruddin to Jinnah Letter	3	Seeks advice about Mangrol's constitutional position in relation to Junagadh and the State's accession to Pakistan.	180
109	A. Samanta to Jinnah Letter	3	Requests that employees of Rationing Directorate of Bengal be absorbed in Pakistan since they had had no assurance of security of service in India.	181
110	S. Z. Ali to Jinnah Letter	4	Cherishes a strong wish to see him but says he would not like to intrude on his precious time; requests acceptance of a few phials of the choicest 'litr' being sent by Syed Abdul Qadir, a perfumer, as a token of love and adoration for him.	182
111	S. A. Ashraf to Jinnah Letter	4	Requests him to consider his transfer to Pakistan; says all efforts made hitherto in that behalf had proved abortive.	183
112	G. D. Barne to Jinnah Letter	4	As Anglican Bishop of the Lahore Diocese, congratulates him on assuming the office of Governor-General and invokes divine assistance in the discharge of his great responsibility; says his diocese comprised West Pakistan and Kashmir, recalls meeting him in Lahore when he (Barne) was Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University.	184
113	Eileen Bond to Jinnah Letter	4	Says her husband was gravely ill and that she had been advised to take him to England as soon as possible for medical treatment; since she had not the wherewithal to do so, says she wanted quickly to sell her house in Quetta, which the Baluchistan Government had agreed to buy for Rs. 90,465; apprehends that sanction of the Director-General of Agriculture, Delhi, was unlikely until partition was effected; wonders if, in order to help her out, some friend of his, or Member of his Government, would care to buy the posh house	185
114	Lahiri Choudhury to Jinnah Telegram	4	Suggests that the Pakistan Flag represent all citizens and be blue in colour with the crescent and star on it.	186

115	Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, to Jinnah Telegram	4	Refer to No. 103; express delight at his consent to give a broadcast talk; enquire whether it would originate from New Delhi.	186
116	An ex-Khan Bahadur to Jinnah Letter	4	Expresses joy over achievement of Pakistan, but laments the loss of Delhi, Aligarh and Calcutta and the sorry plight of Muslims in India; prays for the glory of Islam and prosperity of Muslims in Pakistan; fears that otherwise God would not forgive its architects.	186
117	Sarwat Fatima to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	4	Requests her admission to the Dow Medical College, Karachi, which had been refused by the Principal.	187
118	Geti Ara to Miss Jinnah Telegram	4	Sends congratulations on appointment of Jinnah as Governor-General.	188
119	S. A. Haque to Jinnah Letter	4	Urges that ML leaders be instructed to arrange for the shifting of Bihari refugees living in Asansol to Pakistan as they were unwilling to go back to Bihar.	189
120	Ismay to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	4	Refers to his meeting that morning with Viceroy and Khan of Kalat at which it was agreed to issue a communique defining the situation in respect of Kalat; sends a draft.	190
121	Jinnah to Nawab of Amb Letter	4	Appreciates his sentiment that all should endeavour to make Pakistan one of the greatest states in the world.	193
122	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	4	Extends invitation through him to Sir George and Lady Cunningham for overnight stay with him at Karachi <i>en route</i> to Peshawar.	194
123	S. L. Johar to Jinnah Letter	4	Requests statutory protection for those adversely affected by the Punjab riots to enable them to join in the celebrations on 15 August; suggests that claims of the sufferers, submitted under the relevant Ordinance, be taken into account while dividing assets and liabilities between the two Dominions.	194
124	Note by Ali Yavar Jung	4	Records Jinnah's advice that if the Nizam decided against accession, it would be in consonance with the declared policy of the British Government; adds that he should then stick firmly to his decision, remain undaunted, and refuse to yield to coercion from the Viceroy as well as the Congress.	195
125	S. N. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter	4	Sends him a copy of his book, <i>Strong Arguments for Pakistan</i> , and pledges half of the profit from it each to Masjid Nawab Qasimjan Fund and ML Fund.	197
126	S. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter	4	Regrets he could not reach Delhi a day earlier as his son had met with an accident; hopes to see him in Karachi some other time.	198

127	Waris Khan to Jinnah Letter	4	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; promises to visit Karachi to pay his respects after recovery from illness.	199
128	M. I. Malik to Jinnah Letter	4	Congratulates him on the achievement of Pakistan and on his appointment as Governor-General; sends a group photo which included Jinnah and himself; offers to serve as his ADC.	199
129	M. Ismail to Jinnah Letter	4	Requests that the departmental proceedings pending against him, which he alleged had resulted from the "Hindu mentality," be either concluded before the partition or quashed.	200
130	The Muslim Students Society, Rangoon, to Jinnah Letter	4	Congratulate him on the formation of the largest Muslim State as well as on his inspiring leadership which had given the Indian Muslims renewed self-assurance; prays for a prosperous future for Pakistan.	201
131	A Pakistani to Jinnah Letter	4	Complains that the "optees" were in the dark about their movement to Pakistan and that they were receiving a discouraging response from the authorities concerned; appeals that they be given the choice of serving in either wing of the country.	202
132	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	4	Warns that Punjab ML leaders were unable to foil the nefarious activities of Unionists who wished to come to power again; suggests that he take personal interest in guarding against the mischievous activities of Congress leaders; suggests, too, that due share to Christians and special seats to women be given in the Constituent Assembly.	203
133	W. P. Spens to Jinnah Letter	4	Acknowledges No. 44 regarding nomination of Justice Ismail on the Arbitral Tribunal.	209
134	H. S. Suhrawardy to Jinnah Letter	4	Laments Radcliffe's bias in favour of Hindus in demarcating boundary between East and West Bengal; cites specific instances of injustice towards Muslims.	210
135	H. S. Suhrawardy to Jinnah Telegram	4	Regards joint military control in Calcutta and Howrah as indispensable; believes that replacement of Muslim officers and policemen had encouraged Hindus to attack Muslims, search their houses, and disgrace their women, in connivance with the Sikh military, thus causing panic among the Muslims.	216
136	M. M. Zakria to Jinnah Letter	4	Recalls having met him in 1942; congratulates him on achieving Pakistan and on his appointment as Governor-General; requests acceptance of his contribution to Pakistan Fund.	216
137	Ziauddin to Jinnah Letter	4	Intimates prevailing market price of Chevrolet de luxe model car and offers to purchase his car; asks him to send plans	217

			about his Malir Estate, and also requirements relating to a prefabricated aluminium house which he (Jinnah) desired erected.	
138	Notes by Osman Ali and M. W. Abbasi	4	Say that Govt. House, Karachi, had alternating current; forward Mudie's suggestion that Jinnah consider inviting Jenkins to stay with him overnight at Karachi while returning to the UK; Abbasi states that Jinnah did not agree.	218
139	Abdul Ghani to Jinnah Telegram	5	Informs of dismissal of appeal filed by convict Naik Sodan Khan jailed in Singapore; requests approach to Governor-General of Singapore for commutation of his death sentence to life imprisonment.	219
140	George Abell to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	5	Sends a copy of a report of the Federal Court of India regarding the cases of eight ex-INA convicts.	219
141	George Abell to Viceroy Note	5	Suggests names of some British officers for stop-gap arrangements in Pakistan.	244
142	Nazir Ahmad to Jinnah Telegram	5	Requests intimation of date of arrival in London of the Pakistan High Commissioner; suggests that he arrive before 15 August for the flag-hoisting and the thanksgiving day on that date and for the celebration fixed for 18 August.	244
143	Raghib Ahsan to Jinnah Letter	5	Sends notes and press clippings on the boundary problems drawing attention in particular to a study of the boundary between Hindustan and Pakistan; suggests that he show it to both the Viceroy and the Chairman of Boundary Commission; tells of large-scale arrests of Muslims in Calcutta and of persecution and killings by non-Muslim Police and troops.	245
144	H. M. Ahson to Jinnah Telegram	5	Informs him about the resolution of the Karachi Municipal Corporation to present an address of welcome on his arrival in Karachi, followed by the Mayor's reception; requests acceptance and intimation of a suitable date and time.	246
145	Anjuman-i-Haidariya, Nizamabad, to Jinnah Telegram	5	Voices the Shia demand for a seat in the Constituent Assembly for <i>Mujtahid Maulana</i> Mohammad Bashir.	246
146	Anjuman-e-Sodagran-e-Delhi to PS to Jinnah Telegram	5	Congratulate Jinnah on achievement of Pakistan and wish to invite him to an 'Id at-home on 19 August 1947 or thereabouts, as might be convenient to him, to which they intended inviting members of the Constituent Assembly and officers of the Central and Provincial Governments as well.	246

147	Anonym to Winston Churchill Letter	5	Thanks him for his letter of 16 June; encloses a clipping from the <i>Tribune</i> to show what policy India was likely to follow, including forced emigration of Muslims to Pakistan and of Hindus and Sikhs to India; recommends a corridor, along Terai, to link the two parts of Pakistan, as well as a corridor to connect Hyderabad with Pakistan; suggests that British troops be retained until the completion of migration and the settlement of boundary.	247
148	Orr Dignam & Co. to M. A. H. Ispahani Letter	5	Enclose their current account statement along with bill of costs debited thereto, showing a balance of Rs. 141-3-0 in favour of Jinnah; attach a cheque for that amount and ask that the necessary adjustment be made with Jinnah.	249
149	Peshoton Dubash to Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah Letter	5	Welcomes them to Karachi; sends publicity material regarding his firm as well as a press clipping about his contributions in various fields; invites Miss Jinnah to his house.	249
150	Secretary, Friends of Indonesia, to Jinnah Telegram	5	Requests a message on the Indonesian Day celebrations.	251
151	Pir of Gotra to Jinnah Telegram	5	Recommends that a Consultative Committee of 'Ulama be set up, if more 'Ulama could not be added to Pakistan Constituent Assembly.	251
152	Ismay to Jinnah Letter	5	Says he had been informed by the Khan of Kalat that the draft communique was acceptable to him except for the word "treaties" in clause 2, which he had suggested be replaced with the words "agreements for leases"; requests his views.	251
153	Jinnah to Maharajas of Bharatpur and Alwar Telegram	5	Requests them to protect their Meo population from atrocities and create a sense of security and confidence among them.	253
154	Jinnah to Ismay Letter	5	Refers to Nos. 120 & 152; suggests several amendments to the draft communique.	253
155	Begum Bahadur Yar Jung to Jinnah Letter	5	Apologizes for writing to him so long after the announcement of the Partition Plan; congratulates him on his epoch-making triumph in realizing Iqbal's dream of a national homeland for Indian Muslims in the face of Hindu India's antagonism; says the news that he had been designated Governor-General had filled the Muslims with great joy; poignantly recalls memories of her late husband who, if he had been alive, would have helped draw up plans for Pakistan's future; prays for Allah's help to enable him to make Pakistan a true Islamic State; hopes he was seized of the Hyderabad problem.	255

156	Aziz Khan to Jinnah Letter	5	Lauds his services to Islam; congratulates him on his appointment as Governor-General; offers his services for Pakistan in any suitable capacity.	256
157	D. B. Khan to Jinnah Telegram	5	Requests inclusion of Basirhat, Badurea and Sarupnagar <i>Thanas</i> , Khulna District, and Calcutta in Pakistan area.	257
158	Hedayatullah Khan to Jinnah Telegram	5	Informs of armed attacks on Muslim <i>bustees</i> of Beliaghata in Calcutta by the Sikh military and the Hindu miscreants; appeals to Jinnah to save them from extinction.	257
159	K. H. Khurshid to M. Azim Letter	5	Sends a bill for Rs. 100 on account of salaries of guards posted at Jinnah's residence.	258
160	Acting President, Muslim Conference, Rampur State to Jinnah Telegram	5	Reports that the Jat Regiment had opened fire nine times, killing 15 and injuring some 150 Muslims; adds that a 48-hour curfew had been imposed; prays for protection of Muslim lives.	259
161	I. H. Qureshi to Jinnah Letter	5	Informs of the anxiety of some Sikh leaders, who feared that they might not enjoy the same advantages in India, to come to a settlement with Pakistan; spells out the Sikh demands and suggests that they be invited for talks with him.	259
162	Begum Sadaqat to Jinnah Letter	5	Congratulates him on his appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan; hopes to celebrate the Pakistan Day somewhere in Pakistan.	260
163	Note by the Viceroy	5	Proposes dates on which the Union Jack was to be flown on public holidays.	261
164	Dr Yos to Jinnah Telegram	5	Informs of large-scale killing of Muslims in Hoshiarpur and surrounding villages by Hindus and Sikhs; reports that the attitude of the Hindu police and military and of the Civil Hospital staff was hostile; requests intervention.	262
165	M. Y. Akbary to Jinnah Letter	6	Refers to his earlier communication regarding the Pakistan Flag as well as his offer of 20 trucks for use in Karachi free of cost; bemoans the silence over his offer.	262
166	Bengal Burmese Buddhist Association, Bakargunj Dis- trict, to Jinnah Letter	6	Request specific provisions in the Constitution for safeguarding their political, economic, educational, and service rights; desire an agreement with Burma at Government level for maintaining their cultural ties with that country.	263
167	M. C. Davar to Jinnah Letter	6	Offers advice on issues of governance, minorities, Pathanistan, relations with India, socialism, etc.	264
168	R. N. Deo to Jinnah Letter	6	Says he was delighted to learn that he (Jinnah) had been designated as Governor-General of Pakistan; congratulates him on achievement of what had been	267

			regarded at one time as an impossibility; recalls their association in the Indian Legislature, especially when they and seventeen others had proposed certain constitutional changes; says great credit was due to him for the constitutional developments in India.	
169	H. Donovan to A. R. Nishtar (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	6	Suggests that if the house that was being offered to the Manager, Standard Vacuum, was a suitable one, it might be offered to Dinshaw for whom the residence of the said Manager was being requisitioned; expects that the matter would be satisfactorily solved.	268
170	A. K. Fakruddin to Jinnah Telegram	6	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; requests telegraphic intimation before 15 August of the national song to be sung at flag-hoisting ceremonies.	269
171	Jinnah to H. Donovan Letter	6	Assures him that arrangements for establishing the US Embassy at Karachi would be made as desired; intimates about sending Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States; regrets he could not see Lewis due to preoccupation.	269
172	A. R. Kheiri to Jinnah Letter	6	Suggests that the emblem of the "rising sun" be substituted for that of the "crown", as per report in the <i>Dawn</i> , in his personal flag.	270
173	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	6	Recommends that Lt. Gen. Gracey be appointed temporary Governor of East Bengal pending the availability of Archibald Rowlands.	271
174	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	6	In connection with the celebrations to take place on 14 August, advises that his PS's proposal that the President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly should occupy the seat of honour at the session of the Assembly, called for that date, was based on misunderstanding; clarifies that the practice throughout the Commonwealth was that when the Governor-General represented the King, his precedence was supreme.	272
175	G. K. Ojha to Loomba (Copy to PS to Jinnah) Letter	6	Desires that the sale deed be signed by Jinnah in favour of Seth Ramakrishna Dalmia and that the power of attorney as well be executed by him; adds that the sale deed would be registered at Delhi.	272
176	I. H. Qureshi to Jinnah Letter	6	Refers to No. 161 and intimates that Baldev Singh was prepared to come to an arrangement with Pakistan on the basis of a Sikh State.	274
177	M. A. H. Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	7	Encloses (i) original letter and statement of account from Messrs Orr Dignam & Co., (ii) his reply to that firm, and (iii) his cheque in favour of Jinnah for Rs. 141-3-0 in	274

			lieu of cheque for an equal amount received from the firm in settlement of account.	
178	A. A. Yousuf to Jinnah Letter	7	Says that he was filled with boundless joy on the achievement of Pakistan; seeks two plots in downtown Karachi for establishing business.	275
179	George Abell to S. H. Raza Telegram	7	Enquires whether the forms of oath proposed for the Governor-General, Governors and Ministers were acceptable to Jinnah; if not, requests that his suggestions be telegraphed forthwith for transmission to HMG by 10 August.	276
180	Muzaffar Beg to Jinnah Letter	8	Felicitates him on the achievement of Pakistan; prays that the new State may prosper and flourish; points out the features of the Indian Flag which reflected the Hindu ethos; urges that the Pakistan Flag symbolize the Islamic tradition; makes suggestions to that effect.	279
181	Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, to Jinnah Telegram	8	Intimate that Nehru and Mountbatten were unable to take part in the broadcast on 15 August; offer him full 13-minute talk to be recorded at a time convenient to him on 13 August, for transmission to New York for broadcast on 15 August.	280
182	George D' Castellias to Jinnah Letter	8	Suggests a design of the Pakistan Flag with a white triangle, encompassed by a green setting, which he says represented religion, art and science as well as the three great religions, viz. Islam, Hinduism and Christianity; requests urgent consideration.	280
183	Miss M. Fraser to Jinnah Letter	8	Congratulates him on his achieving so much so soon; asks if he or other leaders had pondered the fate of young working women of all communities after the partition; voices misgivings and fears about their freedom and security; urges strong measures for protection of life and honour of young women from "wolves" going about in "sheep's clothing" or else his fight for freedom would have been in vain.	281
184	Brijmohan Lakshminarayan to Jinnah Letter	8	Refers to Appendix I 17, Vol. II, to which he had received no reply; reiterates claim to dividend on 35 shares of Simplex Mills Co. Ltd., which, though standing in Jinnah's name when the dividend was declared, actually belonged to him, as evidenced by the certificates from the Union Bank of India; accordingly demands payment of Rs. 315 being dividend on the 35 shares.	282
185	S. V. McCoy to R. R. Pearce Letter	8	Requests urgent supply of 280 lbs. of sugar for the Governor-General's Hou-	283

			sehold; also requests supply of two maunds of sugar for functions scheduled for 15 August; asks for delivery to Messrs Pereira, appointed contractors for the purpose.	
186	R. R. Pearce to S. V. McCoy Letter	8	Informs that he was issuing one bag of sugar but advises that the Household keep its demand as low as possible because sugar was already in short supply and because of the impending arrival of the staff of the Central Government; suggests that the special supply be put to optimal use by not letting staff members holding ration cards or Messrs Pereira draw on it, the latter having already received a month's supply for the Household functions.	284
187	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	8	Says that Admiral Palliser, who planned to visit Karachi, <i>en route</i> to the Persian Gulf in the first week of January 1948, intended to call on him; seeks to know the most convenient period for the visit.	285
188	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	8	Says he was worried that the terms of the communique seeking to define Pakistan-Kalat relations had not yet been settled; encloses Ismay's letter and hopes he would be able to accept the suggestions contained therein; requests urgent response.	286
189	N. C. Nag to Jinnah Letter	8	Submits three designs of the Pakistan Flag drawn by him; says that designs of coins and postage stamps for Pakistan could be sent, if required; requests acknowledgement.	289
190	Miss J. Osman to Jinnah Letter	8	Encloses a draft for Rs. 1,000 as contribution from ladies of Durban; congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; thanks the Almighty for infusing into him the Islamic spirit, determination and steadfastness; seeks God's blessings to guide him and grant him long life.	290
191	J. B. Singh to Jinnah Telegram	8	Requests a message on the occasion of Pakistan emerging as a Dominion.	291
192	D. R. Smith to Jinnah Letter	8	Congratulates him on his appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan; recalls their last meeting in Ziarat when he was Political Agent at Sibi; says he had advised higher authorities of his willingness to serve Pakistan; adds that since his appointment to the Indian Political Service in 1923, he had held varied political and consular appointments in India and Iran.	291
193	Ruler of Swat to Jinnah Letter	8	Draws attention to the strategic importance of Swat which had given unwavering support and loyalty to Muslim League and Pakistan; apprehends trouble from	292

			people of adjoining areas; requests supply of arms, on payment, to beef up security.	
194	Mahomedali Talpur to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	8	<p>Informs that the Ruler of Khairpur, who was <i>non compos</i>, had been deposed on 19 July, and his minor son installed as Ruler, by the Crown Representative; claims that the Political Department had bungled the affairs of the State and was favouring the <i>Sahebzadas</i> who had a vested interest in the <i>gaddi</i> of Khairpur; urges that the life of the minor Ruler be saved and that the State be rescued from the clutches of those who were out to exploit the situation.</p>	293
195	Note by E. St. J. Birnie Letter & Enclosure	9	<p>Informs that the Military authorities had issued orders to conform to the approved programme of ceremonies scheduled for 13-15 August.</p>	302
196	Mehtar of Chitral to Jinnah Letter	9	<p>Thanks him for his sympathetic attitude towards the affairs of Chitral, as reported by his representative; says he had written to him regarding some problems of his State and looked forward to an early meeting with him.</p>	305
197	U. N. Ghosh to Jinnah Letter	9	<p>States that the flag adopted by India and the one proposed to be adopted by Pakistan failed to give expression to his ideals; as Provincial Commissioner, Bengal Scouts Association, informs that the scouts in both wings of Bengal had been instructed to hoist and salute the flag of their respective Dominions; feels that a union of hearts might be possible if the green part of the Indian Flag had the crescent and star in white, and the white part of the Pakistan Flag the blue wheel.</p>	305
198	Headquarters, Lahore Sub Area, to S. Wajid Ali Letter	9	<p>Request a meeting with him to discuss certain issues regarding de-requisitioning of Bungalow No. 53 Lahore Cant. owned by Jinnah.</p>	306
199	Maharaja of Indore to Jinnah Letter	9	<p>Refers to his meeting with him on 6 August and requests a copy of the terms offered, or proposed to be offered, to the States wishing to accede to Pakistan; says the information, which would be of interest to Bhopal as well, would help Indore in the current negotiations with India regarding accession; felicitates him on his appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan.</p>	307
200	Jinnah to Ismay Letter	9	<p>Acknowledges Enclosure to No. 188; conveys his approval to the amended clauses of the draft agreement between Pakistan and Kalat recognizing Kalat's status as</p>	309

			an independent sovereign state; approves of the draft notification to be issued on 15 August 1947.	
201	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	9	Acknowledges No. 188; intimates his acceptance of the draft agreement between Pakistan and Kalat and asks that the press communique be issued; agrees with Ismay issuing a notification on 15 August 1947 to the effect that all laws in force on 14 August in the leased areas in Baluchistan would remain in effect for the time being.	309
202	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter & Enclosures	9	Sends for his approval the forms of oath of allegiance and oath of secrecy for Governor-General of Pakistan, Governors and Ministers; intimates that Cooke had taken down a formula regarding the vesting of land, which he hopes would meet with his (Mountbatten's) approval; adds that Cooke had agreed to convey to him his (Jinnah's) view that the public debt should be a joint responsibility until other provision was made by agreement.	311
203	A. J. Khan to Jinnah Letter	9	Suggests that at the centre of the Pakistan Flag, the sun rather than the crescent and stars be shown with its rays diffused with a view to symbolizing the <i>raison d'être</i> of Pakistan.	313
204	Ali Khan to Jinnah Telegram	9	On behalf of the Great Britain Muslim League, requests instructions for hoisting the Pakistan Flag on 15 August as well as a message each for the occasion and a grand dinner on 18 August.	314
205	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	9	Wonders if he would like to have a British Chief Justice for Pakistan to begin with; says that, other than Patrick Spens who was not available, the best British Judge in India by far was Leonard Stone, Chief Justice of Bombay; informs that he had sounded him out and that he was prepared to consider an offer as Chief Justice of Pakistan; encloses a copy of a letter received from Stone and suggests that he be written to directly.	314
206	A. M. Sungani to Jinnah Letter	9	Eulogizes him for achievement of Pakistan and for his supreme courage and resolute efforts to ward off threats to Islam, and to safeguard the rights of Muslims; reminds him of their wholehearted support during the freedom struggle, and pledges continued cooperation though living in India; sends a draft for Rs. 179 as a humble contribution.	315
207	B. R. Uppal to Jinnah Letter	9	As Secretary, Hindu-Sikh Minority Protection Board, felicitates him on the attainment of independence; hopes that the minority rights would be safeguarded in	316

			Pakistan; requests a special message on the occasion of celebration of Independence Day under the auspices of the Board.	
208	Mohammad Yusuf to Jinnah Letter	9	Greets him and the Muslim nation on the foundation of Pakistan; praises <i>Allah</i> for having endowed him with the determination, vision, political acumen, steadfastness, and sagacity to attain the goal; prays that Pakistan become a true Islamic State, free from sectarianism, where <i>Allah's</i> commandments be obeyed so that the quality of life may improve, and economic development, moral reformation and educational advancement take place; prays also that Musalmans develop a sense of justice as well as of duty so as to foster peace and security, love and affection; presents a copy of his work entitled <i>Syed-us-Shuhada</i> .	317
208A	A. W. Akhtar to F. Amin Letter & Enclosure	10	Recalling the talk he had had with him, requests that the Quaid-i-Azam be informed of the arrival on 11 August of a trade delegation comprising leading merchants of Bombay and Calcutta; seeks an appointment for the delegation with the Quaid; encloses a copy of his letter to Chundrigar requesting a conference with the Central Ministers for evolving a plan to industrialize Pakistan speedily.	318
209	Chia-Luen Lo to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	10	Encloses in advance a telegram of congratulations on the creation of Pakistan from the President of the Republic of China; suggests that a reply be sent so that both messages appear in the press in Pakistan and China on 15 August.	320
210	S. I. H. Faroghi to Jinnah Letter	10	On behalf of Muslims of Bihar, felicitates him on attainment of Pakistan as well as on appointment as Governor-General; says the Hindus of Manbhum District, who were in majority, affluent and influential, were out to ruin the Muslims in the district with the connivance of the local administration; thanks him for deputing his representative, Abdul Ghafoor Shamsi, to help and guide them; says further that Shamsi had steadfastly and unflinchingly stood by them in their dire straits when their full quota of civil supplies and job opportunities had been denied to them; urges him to let Shamsi stay in Bihar to continue his mission or to assign another distinguished person to succour them.	321
211	F. Amin to Eileen Bond Letter	11	Refers to No. 113; requests a few photographs of her house from different angles;	322

			asks if she had received any formal offer from the Government of India to enable Jinnah to consider the matter further.	
212	T. J. Bhojwani to K. H. Khurshid Letter	11	<p>11</p> <p>323</p> <p>Informing that the Karachi Municipal Corporation had resolved to present an address of welcome to the Governor-General designate; requests intimation of the date and time convenient to him; encloses a copy of the telegram sent to the Quaid by the Mayor to his Delhi address earlier in the same connection.</p>	
213	Shah Nawaz Bhutto to Jinnah Letter	11	<p>11</p> <p>324</p> <p>Referring to his interview with him on 16 July, says that he had conveyed to the Nawab of Junagadh his (Jinnah's) advice not to accede to either Dominion until 15 August; states further that the Nawab had been immensely relieved by his assurance that he would not let Junagadh be starved out or otherwise tyrannized by India; adds that Junagadh had held out against all threats and refused to go under; says that Hindus regarded Junagadh as the holy of holies and that the State was surrounded by Hindu Rulers and Congress-ruled provinces; States further that Junagadh needed protection against external trouble and economic pressure; requests that their emissary be granted an interview and given such advice as he deemed best.</p>	
214	Chia-Luen Lo to Jinnah Letter	11	<p>11</p> <p>327</p> <p>Intimates his Government's decision to exchange Ambassadors between China and Pakistan; suggests that the news be released in both countries on 15 August; seeks confirmation.</p>	
215	Sh. Enayatullah to Jinnah Letter	11	<p>11</p> <p>327</p> <p>Presents a copy of the holy <i>Qur'an</i> in the fervent hope that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly would frame the Constitution in conformity with its injunctions; requests his views about the quality and get-up of the copy of the <i>Qur'an</i> printed at the Taj Company's press.</p>	
216	B. I. Evans to Jinnah Letter	11	<p>11</p> <p>328</p> <p>Recalls having met him over twenty years ago; says he had been taking keen interest in cultural interaction between India and England; wonders if the time had not come to build up genuine cultural contacts; says he could outline specific proposals if he (Jinnah) held the same view.</p>	
217	Simeon Goldstein to Jinnah Letter	11	<p>11</p> <p>329</p> <p>Encloses a copy of his article suggesting a constitution combining major elements of both British and American Constitutions, hoping that the article would help frame a Constitution for Pakistan.</p>	
218	Jinnah to Maharaja of Indore Letter	11	<p>11</p> <p>329</p> <p>Acknowledges No. 199; says that a committee had been appointed to negotiate with those States who wished either to</p>	

			join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or to enter into arrangements with Pakistan as independent States; thinks that the States should not be hustled into formulating their response; indicates that the States ready to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly were in no position yet to execute the Instrument of Accession to India.	
219	Nawab of Junagadh to Jinnah Letter	11	Felicitates him again on his appointment as Governor-General of the world's largest Muslim State; thanks him for his message received through the Dewan, Shah Nawaz Bhutto; says he had decided to accede to Pakistan and to declare so before 15 August; adds that he was sending his Private Secretary to negotiate the terms of accession; informs further that he had authorized the Private Secretary to settle also the terms of Standstill Agreement.	330
220	Liaquat Ali Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	11	Forwards a letter from Mountbatten enclosing a telegram from Lockhart; suggests that he thoroughly discuss the political situation in NWFP with Cunningham; fears that Mountbatten had played into Congress' hands by declining to direct the Governor to impose Section 93 so that the new Governor could appoint a new Ministry on 15 August.	331
221	Enid Lakeman to Jinnah Letter	11	Motivated by a desire to help make Pakistan's future great, sends literature to help with developing an electoral system, particularly one of single transferable vote based on the smallest unit, namely the village, as electoral college; offers to help with further suggestions and schemes, should they be needed.	333
222	Paul Menezes to Jinnah Letter	11	Sends a copy of the <i>Topical Review</i> magazine for a review and a message for the Christians in general and the Goans in particular; says the magazine had received a favourable press; adds that he assumed responsibility for most of the views aired in the magazine, though he held independent views himself.	335
223	Shan Hin to Jinnah Letter	11	Conveys felicitations on his victory and greetings from Muslims in China to Muslims in Pakistan as well as to him; prays for Allah's blessings and mercy on him.	336
224	S. L. Thar to Jinnah Letter	11	Enquires where to send 1,000 shares of Bengal Steel transferred to his name, and hopes that he had received the shares of Osmanshahi and Azamjahi, transferred to his name, directly from them; informs	336

			that he had discussed the proposition of Karachi Electric Company with Hasan Ispahani and Yusuf Haroon and hopes that they would let him know about it.	
225	George Abell to Francis Mudie Telegram	12	Conveys Addison's regrets at being unable to stay with Jinnah on his outward journey; says he (Addison) hoped to visit Jinnah at end of October.	337
226	H.M. Ahson to M. W. Abbasi Letter	12	Requests the date and time convenient to the Quaid-i-Azam for the address of welcome to be presented to him by the Karachi Municipal Corporation followed by the Mayor's reception for him and Miss Jinnah.	337
227	Wajid Ali to Jinnah Telegram	12	Congratulates him on the achievement of statehood; prays for his longevity to ensure Pakistan achieving greatness and prosperity; says he looked forward to calling on him.	338
228	Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, to Jinnah Telegram	12	Inform that Columbia Broadcasting System, London, would advise him regarding the time for his broadcast.	339
229	Alim T. Gidwani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	12	Requests that he and Miss Jinnah attend the 'Id dinner of the Karachi Municipal Club as principal guests; recalls a previous dinner at which communal harmony and goodwill were evident.	339
230	Jinnah to M.Y. Akbary Letter	12	Acknowledges his two letters; regrets delay in replying owing to pressure of work; says he would revert to the matter after a fortnight.	340
231	Jinnah to Nawab of Junagadh Letter	12	Thanks him for No. 219; says he was glad of Junagadh's decision to announce accession to Pakistan before 15 August; suggests that he send his representatives after that date to negotiate the terms of accession as well as a Standstill Agreement with the Negotiating Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.	341
232	Jinnah to Columbia Broadcasting System, New York Telegram	12	Refers to Nos. 115 & 181; confirms that 13 August would suit him for the recording of his talk for broadcast; asks that the arrangement be made in Karachi.	341
233	Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Bhutto Letter	12	Keeps him posted about his meeting with his representative.	342
234	Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter	12	Encloses Nos. 209 and 214; desires that a letter, to be signed by him, be sent to the Chinese Ambassador conveying his thanks for President Chiang Kai Shek's message of good wishes as well as Pakistan's agreement to the exchange of Ambassadors between the two countries.	342
235	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	12	Says Cooke had (i) advised him of the outcome of his (Jinnah's) talks with him and Mohamed Ali, and (ii) given him his	343

			(Jinnah's) letter briefly stating his view; as regards the assets, tells that India had accepted the revised formula; sends a copy of Sardar Patel's letter which showed that the terms for repayment to India of Pakistan's share of the national debt were not burdensome; says he had sought Secretary of State's decision, given the importance of the matter, and sent Cooke to England to brief him.	
236	Muslim Society, Bulawayo, to Jinnah Telegram	12	Congratulate him on the achievement of Pakistan; request urgent intimation regarding colour and design of Pakistan Flag.	345
237	S. Osman to Jinnah Letter	12	Presents his portrait "artistically finished" by him; requests return of the unmounted copy with his autograph.	345
238	Nawab of Amb to Jinnah Letter	13	Refers to No. 95; states the background to the long-standing friendship between the Pir of Manki Sharif and the Wali of Swat; claims that the enmity between Nawab of Dir and Wali of Swat stemmed from the usurpation by the latter, some twenty five years ago, of the territory on the right bank of River Swat claimed by the former; says such claims were bound to arise when fresh agreements were negotiated by Pakistan Government with Frontier States etc.; notes that the announcement made by him on 31 July constituted Pakistan Government's policy; urges that the tribal representation in the Constituent Assembly required enlargement; explains that the principle of one representative per million of population would not secure adequate representation for the Frontier States and Tribes.	346
239	F. Amin to A. W. Akhtar Letter	13	Says that the Quaid was pleased to know that a delegation of Memon merchants of Bombay and Calcutta was seeing the Prime Minister and all Ministers of Sind Government; says further that the Quaid wished them to see also the Central Minister for Industries; regrets that the Quaid was too busy to meet such delegations himself.	347
240	F. Amin to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter	13	Sends him copies of the correspondence among the Nawab of Junagadh, his Dewan and the Quaid-i-Azam.	348
241	M. Atta Mohammad and Others to Jinnah Telegram	13	State that Kalat had long been hostile to, and wanted to absorb, Kharan State; declare that the move would be resisted.	349

242	M. R. Busheri to Jinnah Letter	13	On behalf of his colleagues and himself, sends sincere greetings on the eve of birth of Pakistan; prays that the new nation be the harbinger of Islamic revival; says that the Muslims not only of India but of the whole world looked on him as their leader and liberator; prays for his long life.	349
243	Estate Officer, Delhi, to Jinnah Telegram	13	Requests that in view of the extreme shortage of accommodation in Delhi, he place his house (10 Aurangzeb Road, Delhi) at the disposal of Estate Office, and not sell it to Dalmia as reported in the press.	350
244	N. D. Gupta to Jinnah Letter	13	Applauds him on his great fight which had translated into independence; assures him that the expression of his emotion was sincere and spontaneous; prays for a long and happy life for him.	350
245	Yusuf A. Haroon to Jinnah Letter	13	Requests a date for the address of welcome by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce on his assumption of the office of Governor-General of Pakistan.	351
246	Jinnah to Beverley Nichols Telegram	13	Thanks for his good wishes as well as for his advocacy of the righteous cause of Pakistan.	352
247	Draft of Jinnah's Speech at State Banquet for Viceroy	13	Calls the occasion "momentous" in that it marked the emergence of two independent States in fulfilment of the pledge given by the British Government to prepare the Indian peoples for self-government and ultimately to grant them full independence; thanks Premier Attlee and Parliament for passing the Independence Bill; expresses gratitude to King George VI for the first ever peaceful and smooth transfer of power in world history; eulogizes the way the Viceroy had conducted the political parleys leading to the independence and partition of India; commends the services rendered by the British officers throughout the British rule; appreciates the cooperation extended by the British people which enabled the British Government to divide the subcontinent into two independent Dominions: Pakistan and Hindustan.	352
248	M. Nazar Khan and Others to Jinnah Telegram	13	Declare their readiness to make any sacrifice for Pakistan; hope that Pakistan would preserve the independence of Kharan.	354
249	Farhat Z. Qureshi to PS to Jinnah Letter	13	Informs that in her ardent desire to secure the Quaid's autograph, she had sent her autograph album to Miss Jinnah with a letter requesting her to help obtain the desired autograph, but had received no reply from her; requests him to persuade her to return the album to her along with the autograph requested.	355

250	Secretary of State to the Chief Secretary, Sind Telegram	13	Intimates that Commissions for Governor-General of Pakistan and Governor of Sind would be signed by the King at Balmoral on 14 August.	356
251	M. W. Akhtar to Jinnah Letter	14	Refers to No. 208A; informs of the formation of Memon Merchants Welfare Society; states that their objective was to promote economic, social, educational, and cultural uplift of the Muslims in particular and of Pakistan in general; requests an interview.	356
252	Columbia Broadcasting System, London, to Jinnah Telegram	14	Inform of the inability shown by Indian Post Office to clear (telephone) lines for his broadcast; advise him to contact BBC, New Delhi, to arrange the facility; intimate that they had advised BBC that they could take his speech earliest after 1800 GMT.	357
253	George Cunningham to Jinnah Letter	14	Thanks for the hospitality extended during his stay at Karachi; informs that he had had a meeting with Lockhart and discussed all important matters; states that Dr Khan Sahib, whom he had met, appeared to have mental reservations about some of the assurances he gave him (Cunningham); says he would let him know the outcome of his meeting the next day with Dr Khan Sahib; adds that Qaiyum, whom he had met as well, thought Congress Party's bark was worse than its bite; hopes that in a week's time all difficulties would have been overcome.	358
254	Habib Bank, Delhi, to K. H. Khurshid Letter	14	Inform that since there was no branch of Habib Bank in Kashmir, his cheque had been sent to Imperial Bank of India for collection.	359
255	Henry Holland to Jinnah Letter	14	Congratulates him on his becoming Pakistan's first Governor-General, for which high office he was doubtless the obvious choice; states that he was quite certain, ever since he had first heard him speak, that he and the Muslim League would achieve Pakistan; says he was looking forward to calling on him and Miss Jinnah who was an outstanding personality and a hostess with dignity and charm.	359
256	Maharaja of Indore to Jinnah Letter	14	Refers to No. 218; sends his good wishes for the success of Pakistan; informs of his having signed the Instrument of Accession to India and also signified his assent to the revised Standstill Agreement; adds that Nawab of Bhopal was following suit; extends his hand of friendship to	360

			him; requests him to suggest an agreement, which would be confidential, on matters of common concern for the mutual benefit of Pakistan and Indore; hopes that both India and Pakistan would be able to address matters like defence and foreign relations on a mutually friendly basis.	
257	Jinnah's Reply to Viceroy's Address to Pakistan Constituent Assembly	14	Thanks the King for his message of sympathy and support and reciprocates his sentiments; conveys his assurance of goodwill and friendship for the British people; also thanks him and Lady Mountbatten for his good wishes; affirms commitment to work for the welfare of all communities in Pakistan and hopes everyone would be imbued with the spirit of public service and help make the nation great; lauds those in Government service and in the Armed Forces who had volunteered for service in Pakistan; assures tolerance, goodwill and regard for all non-Muslims as enjoined by Islam.	361
258	D. M. Malik to Jinnah Letter	14	Reports that lakhs of Mewati Muslims were faced with the stark choice between conversion and genocide; says that a large number of villages in Gurgaon District and Bharatpur and Alwar States had been burnt down and legions of people rendered homeless; seeks an interview to discuss the problems of relief and rehabilitation of the refugees.	366
259	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	14	Expresses his thanks for his (Jinnah's) co-operation during negotiations; wishes him and Pakistan every success; sends him two photos as a souvenir for him and Miss Jinnah.	367
260	Mrs V. K. Khan to Jinnah Letter	14	Says her husband had been murdered two years ago and that she was being hounded by his enemies who were out to ruin her children and grab their property; requests that he send for her eldest son, who had been admitted to a school in Simla, and send him on to school; adds that she only wanted moral assistance and that she herself would meet all expenses.	368
261	Valiullah Hussaini to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Informs that the citizens of Hyderabad and Berar were celebrating their independence on 19th August; requests a message for the occasion.	369

No.	Description	Date July 1947	Summary
1	J. Makhmoor to Jinnah Letter (F. 990/127-8)	27	Says he would be as glad to serve the Muslim League if it renounced the demand for Pakistan as he was serving the Congress which had complete independence in the pursuit of its goal and was untainted by class conflict, racial discrimination, and communal strife; adds that the Muslims supporting the League, the Muslim Knights and Nawabs, had lent support to the British imperial rule and sabotaged the Indian national movement.
2	Anonym's draft speech in reply to an address by Delhi women (F. 1136/426-8)	27	Lauds the efforts of the Muslim women, especially those of Delhi, alongside of their brethren for attaining the goal of Pakistan; felicitates them on the achievement of the goal; hopes that they would help in the uphill task of nation-building.
3	PS to Khan of Kalat to PS to Jinnah Memorandum (F. 34/26-30)	27	Sends for verification a bill for Rs. 276-4-0 on account of railway fare, etc., of two non-commissioned officers of the Kalat State Force detailed on guard duty with Jinnah.
4	Peoples Motors Corpora- tion, New Delhi, to PS to Jinnah Letter (F. 156/261-2)	28	Reminds him of the payment due on account of repairs to Jinnah's car.
5	Dewan Chand to Jinnah Letter (F. 676/26)	28	Seeks to know why non-Muslim Army personnel had been given the option to serve in Pakistan which was to be a Muslim Dominion with no representation of non-Muslims in its Parliament.
6	M. M. Qureshi to Jinnah Letter (F. 163/15)	29	Seeks a job in Pakistan; requests a passport and other travel facilities.
7	S. A. Saeed to Jinnah Letter (F. 162/353)	29	Seeks employment as his junior personal assistant.
8	S. K. H. Shah to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure (F. 57-GG/12-3)	29	Sends a musical composition for rendition on the Independence Day.
9	M. S. H. Khan to Jinnah Letter (F. 163/16)	30	Seeks permission to carry on legal practice in Pakistan.
10	S. Rasool & Co. to Jinnah Invoice (F. 861/127)	30	Send a bill for auditing the accounts of the National Fund.
11	M. L. A. Kadri to Jinnah Letter (F. 163/17-8)	30	Applies for a refreshment room contract in the new Pakistan Secretariat.

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| 12 | Miss A. B. Khan to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 163/19-20) | 30 | Applies for a post in Pakistan Women Police Force. |
| 13 | H. H. Khan to Secretary,
Education Department, Pa-
kistan
Letter
(F. 162/363-5) | 31 | States his qualifications as a Chartered Architect; seeks transfer to Karachi. |
| 14 | K. H. Khurshid to
M. A. Azhar
Letter
(F. 683/433-4) | 31 | Sends him Rs. 14 (apparently for supply of newspaper <i>Manshoor</i> to S. G. M. A. Khan of Gwalior). |
| 15 | Note by Anonym
(F. 4/67-89) | n.d. | Provides facts and figures about sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India; suggests a fair division thereof. |
| 16 | S. T. A. Shah to Jinnah
Letter & Enclosures
(F. 57-GG/6-11) | n.d. | Sends sketches for the proposed Pakistan Flag. |
| <i>August</i> | | | |
| 17 | S. M. A. Mir to Jinnah
Application & Enclosure
(F. 162/357-8) | 1 | Seeks employment in the External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations or the States Department of Pakistan; encloses his bio-data. |
| 18 | A. M. Yusuf to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 918/87-93) | 1 | Recounts the difficult time he and his family had in Java before returning to India; requests a house, arrangements for the education of his children, and help for setting up a business. |
| 19 | Muhammad Sharif to Jinnah
Letter & Enclosures
(F. 886/298-320) | 1 | Recounts his services as a social worker; offers to do social work in Pakistan. |
| 20 | A. G. Khan to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 163/24-5) | 1 | Requests some land and employment for his son. |
| 21 | Muhammad Sharif to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 886/32-3) | 1 | Suggests setting up of a fund entitled "Jehangir Fund" for social activities in Pakistan. |
| 22 | S. H. Ali to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 162/368-71) | 1 | States his qualifications; requests appointment as his Private Secretary. |
| 23 | A. Ghaffar to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 57-GG/4) | 1 | Forwards a design of Pakistan Flag showing scales at the top and a sword in the lower corner along with a Quranic verse. |
| 24 | S. H. Karim to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 163/30-2) | 2 | Requests consideration for a post of Ambassador or Secretary. |
| 25 | H. H. Khan to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 162/362) | 2 | Informs him that he had opted for Pakistan but was not aware of his fate. |
| 26 | A. A. Khan to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 163/26-7) | 2 | Encloses proposals regarding the Indonesian issue; requests employment suited to his qualifications. |

27	H. L. S. Gupta to Jinnah Letter (F. 928/18-9)	2	Requests a suitable job in East Pakistan.
28	Nawab W. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter (F. 162/366-7)	2	Offers his services gratis to Pakistan Government; emphasizes his devotion to Islam.
29	C. V. Raghavachari to Jinnah Letter (F. 163/29)	2	Expresses disillusionment with the Congress regime; requests employment in Pakistan.
30	C. V. Raghavachari to Jinnah Letter (F. 928/10-17)	2	Laments victimization by the Indian Govt.; seeks a job in Pakistan.
31	Frank R. Moraes to Jinnah Letter (F. 65-GG/77)	2	Requests a message for the Indian Independence number of the <i>Times of Ceylon</i> .
32	M. Ali to Jinnah Letter (F. 57-GG/21)	2	Referring to his earlier letter submits another design of Pakistan Flag for due consideration.
33	Nyaz to Jinnah Letter (F. 163/34-5)	3	Offers his services for Pakistan.
34	Syeda S. Sultan to Jinnah Letter (F. 163/39)	4	Offers to serve in Pakistan; seeks interview for the purpose.
35	Islamuddin to Jinnah Letter (F. 886/337)	4	Sends a design of Pakistan Flag for consideration by the Committee appointed for the purpose.
36	N. Mahomedbhoy to Jinnah Letter (F. 908/124-5)	4	Cites instances of hypocrisy and duplicity practised by Gandhi as well as by Congress; proposes setting up of a fund to help Muslims.
37	Narinder Singh to Jinnah Receipt (F. 684/448)	4	Acknowledges receipt of a sum of rupees twenty from him on account of refund of double payment made to him.
38	S. M. Asghar to Jinnah Letter (F. 57-GG/1-3)	4	Suggests a new flag for Pakistan in green, blue and yellow colours to represent the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs, respectively, with six stars to represent the five provinces and the tribal territories and allied states.
39	Bhawani & Sons, Delhi, to Jinnah Receipt (F. 757/181)	5	Send receipt for payment of bill No. 595 dated 31 July 1947.
40	B. S. Sial to Jinnah Letter (F. 65-GG/5)	5	Requests a message for the Independence Day to be read out to the students and staff at the educational institutions in Dehra Dun District.
41	M. O. Adhani to Jinnah Letter (F. 65-GG/7)	5	Requests a message for the first issue of the <i>Public Servant</i> , which aimed at focussing on the problems of government employees.

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| 42 | H. A. Khan to Jinnah
Letter & Enclosures
(F. 163/47-67) | 6 | Writes that his son-in-law, an officer of Madras Civil Service, had been barred from joining service in Pakistan under the Government Servants' Conduct Rules; requests his absorption in civil service in Pakistan, after his resignation. |
| 43 | Indian Armed Forces Officers, New Delhi, to Jinnah
Invitation
(F. 129/38) | 6 | Invite him to a party to bid farewell to officers of the Dominion of Pakistan. |
| 44 | Phipson & Co., Karachi, to Jinnah
Invoice
(F. 1113/32) | 6 | Send invoice for Rs. 7,005-14-0 for supply of certain articles. |
| 45 | Phipson & Co., Karachi, to Jinnah
Invoice
(F. 1113/33) | 6 | Send invoice for Rs. 832-3-0 for supply of certain articles. |
| 46 | Phipson & Co., Karachi, to Jinnah
Invoice
(F. 1113/34) | 6 | Send invoice for Rs. 441-4-0 for supply of certain articles. |
| 47 | Phipson & Co., Karachi, to Jinnah
Invoice
(F. 1113/35) | 6 | Send invoice for Rs. 2,737-11-0 for supply of certain articles. |
| 48 | Saudur Rahman to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 65-GG/2) | 6 | Requests a message for the minorities in Indian Union for publication in the weekly <i>Reflector</i> . |
| 49 | H. S. Wodeyar to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 65-GG/4) | 6 | Requests a message for publication in the weekly <i>Udaya Chandra</i> to be launched on 16 August. |
| 50 | K. N. Swamy to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 76-GG/12) | 6 | Requests acknowledgment of the samples of pencils, bearing his (Jinnah's) name and produced at his factory. |
| 51 | Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 684/452) | 7 | Acknowledge his letter of 3 August enclosing a demand draft for Rs. 115 for credit to his account No. 2. |
| 52 | B. R. Bhat to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 1013/75-6) | 7 | Forwards copies of Bhat's <i>Import & Export Information of India & Ceylon</i> and Bhat's <i>All India Textile Year Book & Directory</i> ; informs that he intended to publish the Pakistan directory for which he required photos and profiles of the Governor-General, Cabinet Ministers, President of the Constituent Assembly, and Governors of provinces; also seeks information on trade and commerce for inclusion in the directory. |
| 53 | Indonesian Information Service, Delhi, to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 65-GG/3) | 7 | Requests a message for the special number of the <i>Merdeka</i> to be published on 17 August, the anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia. |

54	Qurban Waris to Jinnah Letter (F. 65-GG/9)	7	Requests a message for the Independence Day number of the weekly <i>Mashriq</i> .
55	R. M. Shiri to Jinnah Letter (F. 57-GG/47-52)	7	Submits a design of Pakistan Flag with a detailed note on the significance of the various colours.
56	Swami Brahmanath to Jinnah Letter (F. 57-GG/14)	7	Wishes him well rather ironically; says that Pakistan was founded on the blood of Hindus and Sikhs; warns that 'empires' built on fanatical zeal and ruled through oppression and terror could not last long; refers to his statements on the rights of minorities and asks him to give concrete expression to them; advises him to respect the wishes and aspirations of all citizens, regardless of religious denomination; suggests a change in the name of Pakistan and replacement of Pakistan Flag by one around which the people of different persuasions could rally; pleads for joint electorate to reflect political equality and unfettered access to all trades and professions to foster harmony and integration.
57	S. M. Quaraishi to Jinnah Telegram (F. 65-GG/144)	7	Requests a message on the occasion of Pakistan Independence Day; seeks instructions for a design of Pakistan Flag.
58	Phipson & Co., Karachi, to Jinnah Invoice (F. 1113/36)	8	Send invoice for Rs. 166-10-0 for supply of certain articles.
59	Tejindar Singh to Jinnah Letter (F. 86-GG/4-5)	8	Requests an autograph on a self-addressed post card.
60	A. R. Joosab to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures (F. 65-GG/40-72)	8	Requests a message for the next issue of the <i>Indiana</i> magazine which was to carry an illustrated profile of Pakistan's First Lady, Miss Fatima Jinnah.
61	Frank R. Moraes to Jinnah Letter (F. 65-GG/76)	8	Refers to No. 31; reiterates his request for a message.
62	A. M. A. Siddiqui to Jinnah Letter (F. 57-GG/30-1)	8	Suggests different designs of Pakistan Flag; explains the merits and demerits of various designs.
63	Manomohan Ghose to Jinnah Letter (F. 65-GG/31)	9	Requests, on behalf of the Celebration Committee of residents of Baghbazar, Calcutta, a message for the Independence Day.
64	A. B. A. Haleem to PS to Governor-General designate Letter (F. 25-GG/5)	9	Requests an interview with Jinnah.

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| <p>65 Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 76-GG/14)</p> <p>66 F. Amin to A. B. A. Haleem
Letter
(F. 25-GG/6)</p> <p>67 K. M. Mujtaba to F. Amin
Letter
(F. 25-GG/7-8)</p> <p>68 F. Amin to K. M. Mujtaba
Letter
(F. 25-GG/9)</p> <p>69 Currimbhoy Ebrahim to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 25-GG/14)</p> <p>70 Phipson & Co., Karachi, to Jinnah
Invoice
(F. 1113/40)</p> <p>71 Jafferally G. Agha to E. Birnie
Letter & Enclosure
(F. 76-GG/19-20)</p> <p>72 A. B. A. Haleem to F. Amin
Letter
(F. 25-GG/4)</p> <p>73 S. M. H. Nainar to Jinnah
Letter
(F. 65-GG/132-3)</p> <p>74 S. M. Abdullah to S. V. McCoy
Letter
(F. 76-GG/38)</p> <p>75 British High Commission, Karachi, to PS to Governor-General designate
Letter
(F. 57-GG/41)</p> | <p>9</p> <p>10</p> <p>11</p> <p>11</p> <p>11</p> <p>12</p> <p>12</p> <p>12</p> <p>12</p> <p>12</p> <p>13</p> <p>13</p> | <p>Congratulates him on the achievement of Pakistan and on his appointment as Governor-General; sends a complimentary copy each of the <i>Constitutional Documents of Major Islamic States</i> and the <i>Constitutional Development of Islamic States</i>, in the hope that those might be of interest and help while framing Pakistan's Constitution.</p> <p>Advises that because of his extreme preoccupations, Jinnah could not see him before end of August.</p> <p>Requests an interview with Jinnah.</p> <p>Refers to No. 67; says that because of his extreme preoccupation, Jinnah was unable to meet him; adds that he had directed that he (Kazi Mujtaba) discuss labour problems with the Minister for Labour.</p> <p>Requests an interview.</p> <p>Send invoice for Rs. 68-6-0 for supply of certain articles.</p> <p>States that the Managing Director of London Pipe Co. Ltd., Sialkot, had offered a complete Pipe Band for presentation to Jinnah; encloses the letter of offer; asks if the band could be sent to him.</p> <p>Requests an interview with Jinnah in the first week of September.</p> <p>Requests a message for the first issue of <i>Sudandira Nadu</i>, a Tamil daily, to be brought out by Nuri Press Ltd., a company organized by the Muslims of Madras with a capital of one million rupees.</p> <p>Referring to his earlier letter requests that Jinnah would be pleased to accept the furniture at his house as a humble present from him; hopes for a positive response.</p> <p>Returns the extract from the relevant files regarding the Pakistan Flag, which had been lent to the High Commissioner on 12 August.</p> |
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76	Sreenivas to Jinnah Telegram (F. 65-GG/6)	13	Hopes that he has received his previous telegram; awaits his message.
77	Branch Manager, Army & Navy Stores, Bombay, to PS to Governor-General Letter (F. 57-GG/38)	13	Requests specifications and colour combination of Pakistan Flag as they had the facilities to produce exact version.
78	F. Amin to Currimbhoy Ebrahim Letter (F. 25-GG/15)	14	Expresses Jinnah's inability to meet him before 20 August.
79	Habibullah to Jinnah Letter (F. 76-GG/10)	14	Sends a calendar.
80	Anjuman-e-Hilal-e-Ahmar, Patna, to Jinnah Sketch (F. 57-GG/19)	n.d.	Send a sketch of Pakistan Flag.
81	A Member of Armed Services of Pakistan to Jinnah Letter (F. 57-GG/77-8)	n.d.	Sends designs of Flags for Pakistan Defence Services.

1

Mayyeen Uddin Ahmed Choudhury to M. A. Jinnah

F. 249/1-2

HOTEL BILTMORE,
105 C PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 July 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to confirm the following telegram which I have sent you today:

Arrangements for presentation our case before Boundary Commissions made. Mr. Ahmad Ispahani¹ wants your authority for payment of money for our Boundary Commission works from Referendum Fund. Assam League Boundary Committee require at least ten thousand for purpose. Kindly issue instructions Mr. Ispahani.

I met Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on the 21st and 23rd July last and in accordance with his advice Messrs Wasim,² Syed Moh[amma]d Sa'adullah,³ Hamidul Huq,⁴ and Fazlul Huq⁵ assisted by other lawyers of Assam, have been engaged by the Muslim League Boundary Committee, Assam, to conduct our case before the Boundary Commission.

In obedience to your instructions I approached Mr. Ahmad Ispahani and requested him to advance us money from the Sylhet Referendum Fund⁶ to meet the expenses of the Boundary Commission but in the absence of any written instruction from you, he regrets his inability to advance us any money from that fund.⁷

We shall be grateful to you if you kindly issue necessary instructions to Mr. Ahmad Ispahani on the subject and oblige.

With best regards,

I am,
Yours obediently,
M. A. CHOUDHURY
M. A., LL. B.,
MLA, Assam

¹Chairman, Assam Referendum Committee.

²Muhammad Wasim, Bar-at-Law, a leading lawyer of UP.

³Leader of the Opposition in the Assam Legislative Assembly.

⁴Members, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

⁵See No. 4, Vol. III, 48. Also see Nos. 47 and 80, *ibid.*, 123-4 and 204, respectively.

⁷Sideline in the original.

2

M. A. Jinnah to C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

Telegram, F. 673/54

NEW DELHI,
26 July 1947

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, Trivandrum

Extremely sorry hear sad news attack your life. Am glad your fortunate escape [with] only injuries and that you are improving. Please wire your condition. Anxious.

JINNAH

3

Malik Alladat Khan and Karim Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/274-5

CAMP GRAND HOTEL, DELHI,
26 July 1947

SUBJECT: JOINING OF INDIAN STATES TO PAKISTAN DOMINION—
DASADA TALUKA

Your Excellency,

May it please Your Excellency to know that Dasada Taluka in North Gujarat was attached to Baroda State in June 1943, in order to achieve the objects of Federation Scheme.

With the lapse of paramountcy on the 15th August 1947, Dasada, like other states, will automatically become an independent and sovereign state.

We, Malik Shree Alladat Khan and Karim Khan, Talukdars and Bhagdars of Dasada, having been duly authorised in this behalf, with the concurrence of the other twenty-two Bhagdars of Dasada, hereby express our intention to join the Pakistan Dominion with the hope that the Dominion Government will safeguard our sovereign rights, independence and interests.

We are striving to form a union of the non-salute States, estates and Talukas of upper Gujarat both with Muslim and non-Muslim rulers with a view to joining the Pakistan Dominion. The States in upper Gujarat hold an important strategic position with respect to both Pakistan

and Hindustan, as they are situated at a place where the boundaries of Bombay Presidency, Baroda State, Jodhpur State, Palanpur and Radhanpur States, Dhrangadhra and other eastern Kathiawar States and Sind meet.

We had conferred with the Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar on this subject on the 25th instant¹ and the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on the 26th instant² at New Delhi who, after their advice in the matter, had asked us to communicate with Your Excellency on this very important issue.³ We shall be highly grateful if it pleases Your Excellency to guide us on the above subject.

We beg to remain,
Your Excellency,
Your most obedient servants,
MALIK ALLADAT KHAN
KARIM KHAN

¹² Not traced.

³ Underlined in the original.

4

S. K. Shaida and Z. K. Shahed to Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

F. 921/180-1

RAJPURA J[UNCTIO]N, N.W.R.,
26 July 1947

Dear Sir,
Salaam-i-Masnoon

Allow us to say that we, both brothers, are one [*sic*] of those old admirers (although young in age) of Quaid-i-Azam, M. A. Jinnah, who recognized in him a great leader at a very early stage of his struggle.

In the enclosed copy of an article captioned the *Quaid-i-Azam*, we have precisely dealt with his work.

Please see that this article is a faithful account of his struggle and does not suffer from any distortion of fact[s] and over-praising.

If you, please by [*sic* for of] your own accord or in consultation with our Quaid-i-Azam, approve it, we would like to give it soon to the

English press. Its Urdu version has just appeared in *Zamindar*, a leading Urdu daily of Lahore.

Please convey our respects and compliments to Quaid-i-Azam.

We beg to remain,

Yours truly,

SANAULLAH KHAN SHAIDA
ZAFARULLAH KHAN SHAHED

Enclosure to No. 4

F. 921/182-4

THE QUAID-I-AZAM

On the evening of historic June 3 this year [1947] the whole world was amazed at the resounding victory of a man who sprang a surprise on the world by his unique and bewildering achievement of Pakistan, a national homeland for his homeless 100 million people. This undoubted triumph means a creation of a new Muslim State, the biggest and possibly the most powerful State of the Muslim world comprising an area of 2.5 lakh square miles with its 80 million population. After 38 days to that, another important news was flashed by the B.B.C., telling the world that the same man had given his consent to be installed as the first Governor-General of the Muslim State of Pakistan.

HE COMES TO INDIA

Our memory travels back, when some 13 years ago a tall and slim figure wrapped in a perfect western dress landed quietly at Bombay harbour and drove to Malabar Hill. It was the then Mr. M. A. Jinnah, known to his countrymen only as a shrewd lawyer, a patriot, and a politician of his own type. His famous 14 points¹ had by the time earned him a certain amount of reputation as a constitutionalist.

For some time he had been a prominent Indian settler in England² who was in the habit of making frequent visits to his motherland and always left behind him some bubbles by his stirring speeches in the comparatively still and stagnant pond of Indian politics. But this time he came to settle the whole accounts. He had cast a die and was resolved to cross the Rubicon.

He was a lawyer, but he decided to be an architect, a founder and builder of a model Muslim Republic. It was not a simple performance of the Arabian Nights type. His was a Herculean task. His difficulties were many and formidable too. Presently he had to overcome three major obstacles:

1. to shake away the shackles of strong alien rule;
2. to meet the fiercest attacks of a well-entrenched contemporary political party; and
3. his own house was divided against itself. His own people stood as opposing barriers in his way. They had no political aspiration. They had no political future and they had no flag of their own. They were camp followers in the surging forces of the Congress command, and seemed content to remain so. In addition to that, almost in every part of the country there were Judas, who were carrying on a free trade of selling their nation for silver and gold.

This was the prevailing situation. But he was not a creature of common clay to be easily moulded, coerced or taken in. He proved to be a man of sterner stuff who could stand against all the storms and tests of the time like a firm rock. In the manner of a God's warrior, he unsheathed his sword of truth and demanded a right place for his trampled nation lying low in the dust of misery and humiliation. But his was a voice crying in the wilderness.

SOME EARLY REMARKS

"It is a bad stroke of luck. Isn't it? He has taken birth among you, who have no appetite for his political deliberation". We remember it vividly. It was in the summer of 1937, the Central Legislative Assembly session was on, and, after the day's work, about a dozen members of the Assembly belonging to different political parties sat chit-chatting in the Longwood Hotel, Simla, when a prominent member of the Congress High Command made this honest remark, "He is a priceless gem". The same member said to us: "It is a pity that you cannot judge his high value, his preciousness. If he were from our community, I tell you our present leadership could not survive a day". Lord Linlithgow, the then Viceroy of India, was often heard passing the following remark: "I know perfectly one thing, that Mr. Jinnah is the League and the League is Mr. Jinnah". It would be very interesting to note at this stage what his own people were thinking about him at the time. "He is a Utopian, and always produces fantastic ideas". One of our respectable Muslim friends expressed his views in this way. The man had no idea at the moment that one day he would himself fall under the spell of the same leader and would gladly renounce his so hardly earned titles. But events tell us there was no sign of abatement or coldness in the frantic efforts of this Utopian. He became louder and louder in his cries for a separate sovereign state. He became more and more serious on the question of division of the country. With him it was one dream, a master-passion of his life. While walking or talking, working or

sleeping, it was always omnipresent with him. For the sake of this cause he was determined to dare all things, risk all things, endure all things.

HIS CEASELESS WORK AND ITS FRUIT

During the next 7 years he loyally and faithfully pursued the idea (originated by Allama Iqbal, the great philosopher, poet of the East) even to a point which most men accounted [as] madness. He infused new spirit and blood in his dejected people, gathered his scattered army under one banner, organized a press, arranged for the formation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce, introduced strict discipline and revolutionary changes almost in every department of national life. He was mad, mad with his ceaseless work—"This fool is dashing towards his own destruction". He did not care a bit for his opponents' remarks and went on with his work. "His garments are not religious garments, his ways are the ways of devil". He gently smiled at the verdict of the so-called 'Ulama and continued his strides up, up and up until he succeeded in arriving at his goal.

It is indeed a miraculous achievement, undreamt and unheard of in our present era when the atom bomb has become a final arbiter of man's destiny; it is an unparalleled success ever so peacefully gained in the history of mankind. So many emperors, dictators and warriors have built and unbuilt empires, but on the mounting heaps of human skulls and bones. It is argued that Mr. Churchill had steered the ship of his empire successfully through World War II. Who can deny that his nation had to cross an ocean of blood and fire, and in addition to that he received the effective support of American dollars and arms? It is true, Stalin heroically fought against Hitler's might. Isn't it a fact, he did so by dint of American and British help? But Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah has been the sole fighter throughout his struggle for the emancipation of his people from the continuous economical [sic] exploitation and political domination of Anglo-Hindu capitalist combine. He had no American dollars. He had no Russian soldiery to fight hard battles for him. He had no outside support, as the Congress propaganda had already painted him in the international circles as another Hitler. His atom bomb was and has been his forceful, persuasive and unanswerable reasoning. His formidable fighting machine was and has been his noble principles and his own admirable character. When seven years back, he promised to his nation to give them Pakistan, even his own people did not take it seriously at that moment. Pakistan was considered then an impossible dream. Truly, Mr. Jinnah had no necessary materials, no tools, no chisel to construct such a magnificent edifice.

However, Mr. Jinnah has fulfilled his promise. "Pakistan is no longer a fantastic dream but a stark reality for consummation of which neither the earth has split nor heavens have fallen. Pakistan has placed itself on face of the globe with a bang", as Mr. Beverley Nichols³ would put it. Mr. Gandhi has nothing to stand a comparison with this thumping victory. Where Jinnah is a triumph, Gandhi is a failure, and his failure is tragedy of principle.

A DIGNIFIED AND HAPPY LEADER

Today Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah is the most dignified and the happiest leader of his age, who has realized his cherished dreams in his own life. He is like Garibaldi⁴ "a knight-errant of politics" who achieved his nation's unity and freedom in his life time. He is like Abraham Lincoln of the United States who successfully struggled to gain liberty for the slaves. True, he has never courted arrest. True, he has never stood any court trial. Yet it is amazing, he gained success after success, victory after victory.

Today Quaid-i-Azam is an acknowledged and accredited leader of 100 million Musalmans. He has been the moving spirit of the Muslim League organization. His word is a command to his nation, a nation of simple and brave people who have ruled over India for 900 years, contributed to the wonders of the world, the Taj [Mahal] and the Kutab Minar, and who fought for the Allied cause in the largest number of [*sic* for in the] Indian forces. He is a towering figure with a dynamic personality. He is extremely industrious, strict disciplinarian, honest and resolute. His legal and constitutional knowledge is beyond dispute. He is a selfless leader and never seeks to feather his own nest at the cost of nation's interest. He has recently presided [9 June 1947] over his national parliament, the All India Muslim League Council, when he was greeted by full-throated shouts of the Muslim National Guards *Shahinshah-i-Pakistan Zindabad*. But he is the last man to accept such laurels and sternly ordered the National Guards not to use such words about him. He is 71 years old now, may he live long to serve the noble cause of establishment of permanent peace in Pakistan and Hindustan, and through them in the world at large.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

SANAULLAH KHAN SHAIDA
ZAFARULLAH KHAN SHAHED

¹Annex to No. 319, Vol. II, 617-8

²Stayed in London from October 1930 to January 1934.

³Author of *Verdict on India*, published in 1944.

⁴The hero of Risorgimento, the 19th century movement for the liberation and unification of Italy

5

Nihchaldas C. Vazirani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1085/33

SHEIKHA BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD, KARACHI,
26 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have received millions of congratulatory letters. In fact in the first few days, the messages must be too numerous to be noticed personally by you.

They say better late than never. Let me also add my congratulations. I am proud of you. You proved your grit and integrity and won your case. I am so glad to find Sindhis prospering everywhere.

The choice of Sheikh Ghulam Hussain [Hidayatullah] as Governor of Sind is also probably the best. It would satisfy Sindhi sentiment.

You are a patriot. Do kindly continue to serve not only Pakistan but the whole of India. Entire creation has one Almighty. Our country is long overdue for regaining its old glory. Civil war would put us a century backward.

With regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
NIHCHALDAS C. VAZIRANI
MLA, Advocate

6

Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 499/8-9

D. O. NO. 561

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI-14,
26 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just heard from the Viceroy that you wish me to go to Lahore for a week before I take over and that you will probably be arriving in Karachi about that time. I have also had a letter from Jenkins¹ saying

that he will be able to put me up from the 7th August. I propose, therefore, leaving here by air on the morning of 7th August. I hope that will be all right.

The Viceroy also asked whether I thought that I could continue to be Governor of Sind between the 7th and 15th. I discussed this with Ghulam Hussain [Hidayatullah]² yesterday and neither of us much liked the idea. As I understood from him that he is to succeed me, the simplest solution would appear for me to hand over to him on the afternoon of 6th. This may mean that he will have to be appointed Governor of Sind twice, once under the existing constitution and once again under the new one. But I don't think that matters. I have made this suggestion to the Viceroy.

Your Military Secretary-designate³ is to arrive here shortly. So there is no need to go into domestic details, but I think that you will find everything all right. I have taken a great interest in the garden and claim to have improved it considerably. I have planted a lot of trees this year which, I hope, will improve it even further. I have an excellent head *mali*, a Muslim from near Lucknow whom I hope you will retain.

In conclusion, may I thank you for the confidence that you have placed in me by recommending me for the Governorship of the West Punjab. I am a little diffident about taking on that very complicated situation, but I can assure you that I will do my best and I hope that I will not fail. I should have liked to have had an opportunity of obtaining your views on the Punjab politics before I went there. That now seems impossible, and as I will now be able to find out how the land lies before I take over, what I propose, if you are agreeable, is, after I have got there, to put the situation before you as I see it, and ask for your advice. I would do this by cypher telegram to the Governor of Sind in time to get your reply before the 15th August, when I take over.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
FRANCIS MUDIE

¹Evan Jenkins, Governor of the Punjab, 1946-47.

²Also see Annex.

³Colonel Eugene St. John Birnie, Military Secretary to Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48.

Annex to No. 6
H. Gordon Minnigerode to George Marshall
U. S. National Archives, 845.00/7-2947
[Extract]

NO. 16
SECRET

AMERICAN CONSULATE, KARACHI, INDIA,
29 July 1947

SUBJECT: RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND SITUATION IN
SIND

Sir,

[Para 1 omitted]

The announcement... that Sheikh Ghulam Hussain is to be the future Governor of Sind² has caused surprise to many people since in addition to the recent denials from Sheikh Ghulam Hussain that he was likely to be appointed the Governor in any of the Pakistan provinces, certain rumours, which apparently originated in New Delhi, mentioned the Khan of Mamdot or I. I. Chundrigar as successor to Sir Francis Mudie. It is now felt that the League must have decided at the last moment that Sind should have a Governor from this province, in view of the strong feeling prevailing here toward officials brought in from other provinces.

Although Sheikh Ghulam Hussain has received the usual congratulations expected upon such an occasion, there is a definite lack of enthusiasm. While it is generally recognized that for political cunning and sagacity he is surpassed by few, his integrity, like that of most Ministers in Sind, leaves much to be desired.... For nearly the whole of last year Sheikh Ghulam Hussain's majority in the Legislative Assembly of Sind was so slight as to make his Government precarious; on two occasions he was kept in power only by the most high-handed methods on the part of the British Governor, Sir Francis Mudie. In view of his advanced age (he is nearly 70) and his failing health there are at present many who were formerly his ardent admirers but now view his appointment as Governor with no elation.

Yusuf Haroon, son-in-law to Sheikh Ghulam Hussain, and President of the Sind Muslim League, has endeavored to arouse some enthusiasm for the appointment by the following declaration:

It is a matter of gratification and great satisfaction for all people of Sind that Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah has been selected for the Governorship of this Province. In my opinion, no better choice can be made for this high position, the honour of which is enhanced now owing to the establishment of Pakistan and complete withdrawal of

British power.

With a man of Sheikh Ghulam Hussain's calibre, parliamentary experience and administrative capacity at the helm, a good start has been made to face the great task of building the Pakistan State in which Sind as the most important province of Pakistan has a great part to play.

The enthusiasm has not been forthcoming, however, and most people have not forgotten the recent rift between Sheikh Ghulam Hussain and Yusuf Haroon when the latter was suspected of attempting to oust the Prime Minister from the League Ministry. The general reaction appears to be that while Yusuf Haroon would have preferred to see Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, present Minister of Public Works appointed, he is making the best of the situation in order to "stand in" with the "powers that be".

Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah will formally replace Sir Francis Mudie as Governor of Sind on August 15, 1947. Sir Francis Mudie, who has been appointed Governor of the West Punjab, leaves Karachi with his personal and official family on August 7, and for about a week will apparently act as Governor of both West Punjab and Sind.

The elevation of Sheikh Ghulam Hussain leaves the post of Prime Minister of Sind to be fought over politically, and it is believed probable that Mohammad Ayub Khuhro will be called upon to form a ministry, or he should be appointed to the Central Pakistan Cabinet, which may be his real ambition. Pirzada Abdus Sattar, present Minister of Revenue, will probably succeed to the premiership.

The reputation of Mohammad Ayub Khuhro has been a standing scandal even for Sind political circles. Only a little over two years ago he was brought to trial for the murder of the former Prime Minister, Allah Bakhsh, but through blunders on the part of the local police in the presentation of evidence and the powerful support of Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the indictment was squashed. It is a sad commentary on the politics of Sind that a man whom many persons regard as no better than a murderer should not only be a Minister of Government but be in a position where he will probably succeed to the premiership of Sind, or become a Minister of State in the Government of Pakistan.¹

The situation is the more unfortunate since for many months there has been bitter antagonism between Khuhro and Sheikh Ghulam Hussain. This was precipitated by the fact that Khuhro had turned against his former friend despite the fact that his support at the time of his trial was probably responsible for saving his life, and had intrigued to replace him in the Prime Ministership. It was because of suspicions

that Yusuf Haroon was intriguing with Khuhro to bring this about that the rift previously mentioned occurred between Sheikh Ghulam Hussain and his son-in-law. Although a reconciliation between Sheikh Ghulam Hussain and Yusuf Haroon has been reached on the surface, it is impossible to say how deep or lasting it will be.

For Khuhro, however, Sheikh Ghulam Hussain has nothing but contempt and hatred which he has no hesitation whatever in expressing in the presence of anyone. I have myself heard him declare before a dozen persons including both Europeans and Indians that Khuhro was a "scoundrel" and was "intriguing with the Hindus". For a Prime Minister to publicly make such statements on one of his ministers could hardly be considered diplomatic language in any part of the world. The reason Sheikh Ghulam Hussain has not ousted Khuhro in view of the open antagonism between the two is of course due to the fact that owing to the Prime Minister's narrow margin in the Sind Legislative Assembly, Khuhro held the balance of power and by persuading a few members to vote against the Government, which he would no doubt have been influential enough to do, could probably have brought about a fall of the Ministry.

It has been predicted that major changes in the Sind Ministry are imminent, and will be announced by August 1, since if either Khuhro or Pirzada should be called upon to form a Ministry, all of the remaining Ministers will submit their resignations immediately.

There is some evidence to substantiate the belief that some of the most enthusiastic adherents of Pakistan in Sind are now beginning to wonder as to where the movement may lead. As the Department is aware, the entire population of the province of Sind is about 4,500,000 while it is estimated (as yet only approximately) that the total population of Pakistan will probably be in the neighborhood of some 70,000,000 souls. In consequence, many persons in Sind are beginning to wonder whether with the establishment of the Pakistan Government in Karachi, the Province of Sind may not be completely swamped by an inflow of persons from other provinces. The average Sindhi is inclined to be provincial in his outlook, which probably accounts for the appointment of Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as Governor, and to be faced with an inflow of persons from other provinces, most of whom would take the best in Sind, is not an attractive prospect.

In addition, it has now been reported that the Pakistan Cabinet³ will have a maximum of nine ministers, including two non-Muslims, and that Sind will have only one seat on the Cabinet. The different provinces will be represented in the Pakistan Cabinet as follows:

Bengal	two Muslims, one non-Muslim
West Punjab	two Muslims, one non-Muslim
Sind	one Muslim
North West Frontier Province	one Muslim
Baluchistan	one Muslim

As might be expected, speculation is rife as to the probable representative of Sind on the Pakistan Cabinet. The names being most freely mentioned are Pirzada Abdus Sattar, Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, Yusuf Haroon and Syed Miran Mohammad Shah. There appears little doubt that many persons feel that since Sind was the first Muslim State to embrace the Pakistan Movement, and its capital will be the temporary capital of Pakistan,⁴ it should have at least two seats in order to prevent it from playing an entirely negative role in Pakistan. Local rumors report that Khuhro will be offered this seat in the Pakistan Cabinet, and should he be obliged to refuse by obtaining the premiership, Pirzada is believed likely to be chosen.

Although it appears that no Minister of the Sind Government may serve on the Central Pakistan Cabinet, members of the Sind Legislative Assembly may participate, if elected, in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly without being required to resign from the Legislative Assembly. The most recent information obtainable by this office is to the effect that the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan will consist of approximately 66 members,⁵ of which 41 will be from East Bengal, 17 from the West Punjab, 4 from Sind, 3 from the North West Frontier Province, and one from Baluchistan. Representatives of the Sylhet District have not yet been elected. The Sind representatives on the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will be:

Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdul Rahman
 Mohammad Hashim Gazdar
 Mohammad Ayub Khuhro
 Jairamdas Doulatram

The fact that Sind which inaugurated the formation of Pakistan will have only four representatives out of about 66 is also a source of grievance to many people and may cause serious friction in the future.

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly is scheduled to meet at Karachi on August 30; a preliminary session which will begin on August 10 will last only a week, during which time a number of committees will be appointed.

According to the latest reports, Mohammad Ali Jinnah is scheduled to arrive in Karachi on August 4 or 5, and all of the Ministers of the new Pakistan Government are expected here by August 7. The new Pakistan Government as well as the Government of Sind will both enter into

effect with elaborate ceremonies on August 15.

Respectfully yours,
H. GORDON MINNIGERODE
American Consul

¹These views are value judgements which the Editor does not share. For another version, see Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khuhro – A Life of Courage in Politics*, Lahore, 1998, 249-68.

²See No. 237, Vol. III, 694.

³For list of ministers, see Annex to No. 48, *ibid.*, 134.

⁴See Annex III to No. 158, Vol. II, 331.

⁵See Enclosure to No. 232, Vol. III, 674-7.

7

Howard Donovan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 112/4

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
NEW DELHI, INDIA,
26 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to our conversation of several days ago regarding the establishment of a Consulate-General at Lahore, I wish to state that the question of this office will be taken up with the Government of Pakistan as soon as possible after August 15. Mr. Richard D. Gatewood, Second Secretary of Embassy, New Delhi, is proceeding to Lahore on July 30, to arrange for housing, staff, etc., in connection with the office which we hope to establish there. However, no formal action will be taken with respect to the office until after August 15.

Mr. Charles W. Lewis, Consul-General at Casablanca, has been assigned to Karachi as Consul-General. It is contemplated that Mr. Lewis will assume the post of Charge d'Affaires at Karachi as soon as our Embassy is established. After the arrival of the Ambassador, it is further contemplated that Mr. Lewis will remain on as Counsellor of the Embassy. Mr. Lewis will be in New Delhi within the next few days and he will, I am sure, be desirous of meeting you at that time. I shall get in touch with you subsequent to his arrival.

Very truly yours,
HOWARD DONOVAN
*Counsellor,
for Ambassador*

8

Markazi Jam'iyyat-i-Muslim Naunehalan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 908/110

23 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 July 1947

RESOLUTIONS¹

This meeting of the Central Jam'iyyat-i-Muslim Naunehalan, Calcutta, expresses its hearty delight and rejoicing on the attainment of the Muslims' long cherished goal of Pakistan, and offers its thankfulness [*sic*] to God and respect to the beloved leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah whose unerring statesmanship, selfless devotion and unfaltering courage have led the nation to a victory unparallel[ed] in the annals of history, within the brief period of a decade.

This meeting further records satisfaction and join [*sic*] at the most suitable selection of Quaid-i-Azam, a singular statesman of Asia, to [*sic* for for] the most honoured place of Governor-Generalship of Pakistan Dominion and offers him heartfelt [*sic* for heartfelt] congratulations and warmest felicitations, and places its loyalty and devotion to his guidance [*sic*].

May he live long! *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!*

This meeting [was] held under the presidency of Master S. M. Usman, a *naunehal* on 26-7-[19]47.

¹Also see No. 48.

9

Miles Killearn to M. A. Jinnah

F. 675/107

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
26 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received Mr. Mohamad Ali's letter of the 26th July¹ enclosing a statement showing the salary and allowances which I would receive as Governor of East Bengal.

I think I made it clear last night how proud I should have been to be associated with your great new Dominion and how sincere my desire, as indeed that of all the British, is to help.

Unfortunately, however, I am so circumstanced, and the terms which you have been good enough to offer me vary so considerably from what I am afraid I had assumed they would be from the analogy of the present Governorship of Bengal, that it would not be fair to my family to leave my present position.²

It was such a pleasure to have met you again last night with Miss Jinnah.

With sincere good wishes for the future of Pakistan,

Yours sincerely,
KILLEARN

¹Not traced. See No.11.

²Special Commissioner in South-East Asia, 1946-7.

10

Noorali Bana to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/352

BRITTO ROAD,
GARDEN QUARTER, KARACHI-5,
26 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Before I write anything I should congratulate you on having achieved crowning success by way of getting Pakistan for us and your appointment as first Governor-General of our Pakistan. May God give you a long life and excellent health to guide the destiny of our nation in this fateful new era.

The registration of Mr. Jamshed's sister Mrs. Perin Kapadia's bungalow¹ that you agreed to purchase is complete.

May I look forward to get some more business from you?

With the best regards,

Yours truly,
NOORALI BANA
Estate Broker

¹Refers to New Survey No.1, Frere Town Quarter, Karachi. See Enclosure 1 to Appendix I.8, Vol. II, 720-1.

11

M. A. Jinnah to Miles Killearn

F. 2/255

26 July 1947

Dear Lord Killearn,

I have given long and anxious consideration to the terms which you authorised Lord Ismay to communicate to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as representing the minimum which you would feel able to accept as Governor of East Bengal. On the one hand, I fully appreciate that even on these terms you would be making some financial sacrifice and I am most grateful to you for having been ready to do so. On the other hand, I regard it as absolutely essential to keep salaries and expenses in the new Pakistan Government down to the lowest minimum and I particularly wish to avoid creating embarrassing precedents by giving very special terms to any appointment. This is a principle which I have scrupulously followed and which in the interest of Pakistan I must continue to follow.

Accordingly, the most that I can conscientiously propose as a salary for the Governor of East Bengal is Rs. 72,000 per annum; and this, I know, is so much below the figure that you suggested that you could not even consider it.

In conclusion may I say what a pleasure it has been to meet you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

12

M. A. H. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 110/1

5 HARINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA,
26 July 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a letter from Messrs Orr Dignam & Co., your solicitors, which speaks for itself.

I am keeping a copy of it on my file.
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. H. ISPAHANI

Enclosure to No. 12
Orr Dignam & Co. to M. A. H. Ispahani

F. 110/2

101/1 CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA,
24 July 1947

Dear Sir,

A. K. FAZLUL HUQ v[ersu]s M. A. JINNAH

This suit¹ appeared in the list of Mr. Justice Ormond today and was dismissed each party paying his own costs.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

M. A. H. Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Harington Street,
Calcutta

¹Annexure I

Annexure I to Enclosure to No. 12

F. 109/9-25

13 February 1942

SUIT NO. 201 OF 1942

In the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal
Ordinary Original Civil Jurisdiction

Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq residing at 88/2 Jhowtala Road, in the
suburb of Calcutta, at present Chief Minister of the Government
of Bengal—Plaintiff

VERSUS

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of All India Muslim League,
residing at Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay, at present residing at
No. 5 Camac Street, Calcutta, within the jurisdiction of this Hon'ble
Court—Defendant

The Plaintiff states:

1. He was at all material times a member of the Muslim League and was primarily at all times connected with the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

2. He was and has been a Member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly since its inception and returned from Patuakhali constituency in the District of Barisal as a candidate on behalf of Proja Party of Bengal defeating his rival candidate, Sir Nazimuddin, who was a candidate on behalf of the Muslim League, by an overwhelming majority.

3. Since the creation of the Provincial Legislative Assembly (under the Government of India Act, 1935), he has been the Chief Minister, and elected leader of the former Coalition Party. The said party was composed of members of the said Assembly and comprised most of members elected on the Proja Party ticket, *certain members on the Muslim League ticket*,¹ some members of the Scheduled Castes.

4. The Defendant was at the material time hereinafter mentioned **the President of the All India Muslim League**. The said Muslim League was founded by certain persons including the Plaintiff at Dacca in December 1906. Since its formation the Plaintiff was associated with the said League and occupied offices of Secretary of All India Muslim League, Member of the Working Committee and President of the League. He presided over the 18th session of the League in 1918 at Delhi.

5. The Defendant was not originally a member of the Muslim League but joined the League in or about the year 1914. He was elected President in 1935 and is continuing as such.

6. The said League came into prominence throughout India to a considerable extent as a result of the exertions of the Plaintiff.

7. **The All India Muslim League has framed rules.** A true copy of **such rules** (which are at present in force and were in force at all material times) is filed herewith and marked with the letter "A". The **aims and objects** of the League are *inter alia* stated in section 2 of the said rules.² **Such objects *inter alia* are:**

a. **The establishment** of completely independent states formed by **demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Musalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern Zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute independent states as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.**

b. **In other parts of India where the Musalmans are in minority,**

adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

- c. To protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Musalmans.
- d. To promote friendly relations and unity between the Musalmans and other communities of India.

8. Under the rules of the League every candidate for membership of a primary branch of the All India Muslim League must be a Musalman and shall become a member of a Primary League on payment of an annual subscription of annas two in advance. It is provided in Section 8 that annual subscriptions of members shall expire *on the 31st day of December every year, irrespective of the date of their enrolment and member shall cease to be a member unless he renews his membership by paying subscription for the next following year within three months.*

9. By Section 7, the following officers are constituted **under the League:**

- a. President
- b. Honorary Secretary
- c. Honorary Treasurer
- d. Honorary Joint Secretaries

10. Section 11 provides that the Council of All India Muslim League shall be constituted of 465 members elected by the different Provincial Leagues with quotas for membership allowed to different provinces plus 20 members to be nominated by the President.

11. Section 12 provides that every member of the Council shall pay in advance an annual subscription of Rs. 6.

12. Section 14 provides that a Working Committee of the League consisting of not more than 21 members besides the President and the Secretary shall function.

13. Section 3 provides that the organisation of the All India Muslim League shall consist of annual and special sessions of the League, the Council of the All India Muslim League, the Working Committee of the League, the Provincial Muslim League, District Muslim League and their branches.

14. Section 25 provides for the functions of the Council. Section 25 (j) of the said rule enables the Council to take disciplinary action against its members who violate the decisions of the League and act in contravention of its aims and objects.

15. Section 27 provides for discharge [of] the functions of the Working Committee.

16. Section 28(2) provides that the Working Committee shall be empowered to take disciplinary action against individual members of the Council of the All India Muslim League who violate the decisions of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

17. Sub-clause (c) of the said Section 28 empowers the Working Committee to take disciplinary action against any office bearer of the Provincial League who fails in his duties or ignores the decision or directions of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

18. The said Coalition Cabinet in the Bengal Provincial Assembly of which the Plaintiff was the Chief Minister amongst others consisted of Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Mr. Tamizuddin Khan who were also members of the League.

19. Although the Coalition was formed as aforesaid, the Plaintiff and the said Proja Party at all times continued independent existence as did the other parties whose members were members of the said Coalition Party.

20. Some time prior to the dissolution of the said Coalition Cabinet in November 1941, the said Sir Nazimuddin and Messrs. Suhrawardy and Tamizuddin combined and conspired with certain other persons to oust the Plaintiff from political power. The said Sir Nazimuddin throughout bore a grudge against the Plaintiff as also the said H. S. Suhrawardy, and Tamizuddin Khan (formerly a member of the Proja Party) particularly combined with each other and with others to oust the Plaintiff from the leadership of the Coalition Party and turn him out of the Cabinet and also from the Muslim League. Such persons continually intrigued against the Plaintiff with such object in view.

21. Owing to the activities of the said persons and others' feelings between the Muslim community and the Hindu community in Bengal became embittered. The Plaintiff attempted to perform his duty as Chief Minister for the benefit of all sections of the population including the protection of legitimate rights of the Muslims whose interest the Plaintiff was furthering by all legitimate means. The said persons used the machinery of Government for their personal ends and advantage.

22. Different members of the Proja Party and other parties, namely, Forward Bloc, Scheduled Caste, Independent and other groups being disgusted with the manner in which the said persons were running the Government formed a new party called "Progressive Coalition Party" and sought to make the Plaintiff as its leader.

23. The Plaintiff was at first unwilling to become the leader of the said

Progressive Coalition Party as he was the *leader of the Coalition Party*.

24. A Cabinet meeting was held on the 29th November 1941 at which various charges were made against the Plaintiff by the said Mr. Suhrawardy in consequence of which the Plaintiff issued a statement in the press denying *such* charges. Thereafter the said Mr. Suhrawardy and his supporters finding that they had been exposed, without reference to the Plaintiff, tendered their resignation along with three other ministers with a view to compel the Plaintiff to dissolve the Cabinet. The Plaintiff also tendered his resignation in consequence thereof on the said date the Cabinet was dissolved.

25. On the 2nd December 1941 the said Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Tamizuddin issued a statement to the press that they were forming a new party inside the Assembly to be called the "Muslim League Assembly Party" and issued notices for a meeting of selected members on the 4th December 1941 to *formally inaugurate their Party which was done on the said date. As a result the old Coalition Party was dissolved.* Thereafter the Plaintiff, as he was entitled to do, accepted the invitation of those who formed the Progressive Coalition Party to become its leader and joined the said party on the 5th December 1941. The said Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Suhrawardy and their creatures sent representations to the Defendant against the Plaintiff prior to and at this time. The Plaintiff is unable to give particulars but will do so after discovery.

26. In spite of the efforts of the said Sir Nazimuddin and Mr. Suhrawardy to induce His Excellency the Governor to call upon them to form a cabinet, His Excellency did not do so. The Progressive Coalition Party, formed as aforesaid, had a considerable majority in the said Assembly which consisted of 265 members.

27. The Plaintiff was called upon by His Excellency to form a cabinet and the Plaintiff in the best interests of the Province and its population consisting of Hindus, Muslims and others decided to form a cabinet in which he included the representatives of different parties.

28. On December 5, 1941 the Defendant issued a statement to the press throughout India to the following effect:

I congratulate the members of the Muslim League Party in Bengal for having formed the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and having elected Sir Nazimuddin as their leader. I appeal to every Muslim Leaguer in particular, and other Muslim members in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, to join the Party and maintain the solidarity and unity of Muslim Bengal, to meet the machinations of half a dozen miscellaneous groups who have come together and call themselves a Coalition Party merely on the basis of causing disruptions amongst the Musalmans and are otherwise poles asunder. And Mr. Fazlul Huq has accepted the leadership of such a combination.

I regret that Mr. Fazlul Huq has been a party to intrigues with other groups and has broken away from the Muslim League. He has been for some considerable time trying to stab the Muslim League in the back and now his open departure from the League, I hope, will enable the Muslim League Party to work on sound, healthy and honourable lines.

Finally, I appeal to all Muslims inside and outside the Legislature to stand by leadership of Sir Nazimuddin and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly. I assure Sir Nazimuddin and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly the fullest support and help of the All India Muslim League.

The said statement was published in the press in Calcutta and elsewhere.

29. On the 6th December 1941, the Defendant sent a telegram to the Plaintiff and released such telegram to the press:

Prima facie your action and conduct highly improper and wrong in joining the miscellaneous groups in Bengal Assembly whose only object is to break the Muslim League and Muslim solidarity in Bengal. It is also contrary to all rules of the constitution of Provincial and All India Muslim League, which have [been] defined [*sic* for defied] by your action. I call upon you to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against you as member of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League. Please send me any explanation you may have to give within 48 hours of the receipt of this telegram, before I take action against you. Failing the receipt of explanation I proceed *ex parte*—Jinnah.

The said telegram was received by the Plaintiff within the said jurisdiction.

30. On the 7th December 1941, the Plaintiff sent a reply to such telegram from *within the said jurisdiction* as follows:

Most painfully surprised at your telegram received to-day. It is incorrect that I have joined miscellaneous groups whose only object is breaking Muslim League and Muslim solidarity in Bengal. Nor is it correct that what I have done is contrary to all rules and constitution of the Provincial and All India Muslim League. Nor is it correct that I have defined [*sic* for defied] the Muslim League. Present Party alignments are exactly the same as when Coalition Party was formed in 1937 and modified in 1939 with the sole addition of the Forward Bloc which is on the analogy of lines on which the League formed a pact and working with the Forward Bloc in Calcutta Corporation. Interested persons are invoking the League for personal ends. I request you as President to judge the situation impartially and postpone action until I have been given full hearing.

The Plaintiff in the said telegram asked for a full hearing and was entitled to proper and sufficient time to state necessary facts and to

produce his evidence. The Plaintiff was also entitled to know what the specific charges against him were and who his accusers were.

31. The Defendant on the 8th December 1941 sent a telegram to the Plaintiff as follows:

Your telegram dated the 7th. The statement embodied therein is contrary to facts and documentary evidence. *According to known facts your conduct amounts to treachery.* I am not influenced by individual quarrels of which you never informed me before nor even now as to what it is. *You have defied the Provincial League and its decision of which you happen to be President without reference to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or me. You have formed a Coalition.* It is not open to individual members of the League to form a *clique or coalition without the approval of the Provincial or the All India Muslim League.* You have declined to join the Muslim League Party decided upon by the Provincial Muslim League. You have betrayed the former Coalition Party of which you were the Leader and in which the Muslim League group was the largest, by your intrigues with Parties in opposition behind the League's back. I cannot postpone action and allow dilatory tactics and you passing off, in the meantime as a *loyal Muslim Leaguer.* I give you an opportunity to send me your fullest explanation if you have any further explanation. You may send it before the 10th or else I must proceed to take action.

By the said telegram the Plaintiff was refused full or any hearing and sufficient opportunity to submit his explanation.

32. The Defendant did not inform the Plaintiff of what the alleged facts and the documentary evidence were, nor was the Plaintiff informed of particulars of treachery nor of particulars of the alleged decision of the Provincial League. The Plaintiff was likewise not informed under what *authority or provision of the rules* he was required to consult the Defendant or the Working Committee or under what power it was not open to the Plaintiff to join a Coalition without the approval of the Provincial or the All India Muslim League. The Plaintiff was not also informed of any specific action of betrayal or intrigues alleged to have been committed by him. The Defendant sent the said telegram, although he had no authority to prejudice the conduct of the Plaintiff without reference to him, *in collusion and conspiracy with the said Sir Nazimuddin and his creatures to oust the Plaintiff from his position.* The time purported to be given by the said telegram was inadequate and insufficient and was deliberately calculated to prevent the Plaintiff from putting forward the facts to have *his conduct and that of the group headed by him justified.* The said telegram was sent mala fide by the Defendant who had made up his mind to expel the Plaintiff from the League whatever his explanation was.

33. On the 11th December 1941 the Defendant purported to expel the Plaintiff from the membership of all branches of the League.

34. The Plaintiff was elected President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League since April 1937.

35. The Defendant had no authority to act as he purported to do in expelling the Plaintiff. Further the Plaintiff was not given an opportunity to explain himself. No decision could be made by the Defendant under rules of the All India Muslim League or otherwise. No decision was made either by the Council or the Working Committee. The Plaintiff was not called for explanation or given an opportunity to explain to the said Council or the Working Committee. Further the Plaintiff was neither given an adequate proper opportunity to clear the charges against him nor was he given an opportunity of producing evidence or making his submissions in answer to the said charges.

36. The Defendant acted maliciously, unreasonably without any reasonable or probable cause and giving the Plaintiff an opportunity of meeting the charges that had been preferred by the said Sir Nazimuddin and others, who was never supplied with copies of the informations sent by such persons or given an opportunity to meet such charges.

37. The Defendant has acted illegally, mala fide and maliciously and without authority.

38. The Defendant has been jealous of the influence of the Plaintiff over the Muslim community in India.

39. The action of the Defendant was not authorised by the rules of the said League and was contrary to natural justice.

40. The order of such expulsion was to try to break up the Coalition which the Progressive Coalition Party with the Plaintiff as its leader has formed in the highest interest of the people of Bengal and to promote harmony which is one of the primary objects of the said party.

41. The Plaintiff has suffered greatly in mind and he claims Rupees one lakh as damages.

42. The Plaintiff sues the Defendant in his individual capacity and also as representing the members of the All India Muslim League which consists of over 1,000 members who are too numerous to be made parties to this suit.³

The Plaintiff claims:

1. The said order of expulsion by the Defendant be declared to be illegal, *ultra vires*, improper, contrary to justice and should be set aside

and a permanent injunction be granted restraining the Defendant and / or members of the League from giving effect to the said alleged decision expelling the Plaintiff.

2. Leave to sue the Defendant personally and also on behalf of the members of the Muslim League under O. 1 R. 8 of the Code.
3. Direction that the alleged expulsion is illegal, *ultra vires* and not binding on the Plaintiff and that the same should be set aside and declared to be void and of no effect.
4. Injunction restraining the Defendant and/or the members of the League from acting upon and giving effect to the said decision expelling the Plaintiff from the membership of the said League and the Bengal Provincial League.
5. Rs. 1,00,000 as damages alternatively an enquiry into damages.

CHARU CHANDRA BOSE

A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

Plaintiff's Attorney

I, Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq, the Plaintiff do declare and state that the statements contained in paragraphs 1, 24, 27, 29, 30, 34, 38 and 41 of the foregoing *Plaint* and the cause title thereof are true to my knowledge and those contained in paragraphs 25 and 28 are based upon information received which I believed to be true and those contained in paragraphs 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, and 42 are my submissions to this Hon'ble Court. I sign this verification at No. 9, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta, this 13th day of February 1942.

DRAWN BY S. N. BANERJEE

A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

Barrister-at-Law

¹Underlined or sidlined here and subsequently in the original.

²See F. 109/27-37, QAP. Not printed.

³The following remarks are recorded in the margin: "Cannot sue on behalf [of] the members of the Muslim League".

Annexure II to Enclosure to No. 12

F. 110/3-21

SUIT NO. 201 OF 1942

In the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal
Ordinary Original Civil Jurisdiction

Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq, residing at 88/2 Jhowtala Road in the suburb of Calcutta, at present Chief Minister of the Government of Bengal—Plaintiff.

VERSUS

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of All India Muslim League, residing at Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay, at present residing at No. 5 Camac Street, Calcutta, within the jurisdiction of this Hon'ble Court—
Defendant

WRITTEN STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH,
THE DEFENDANT ABOVE-NAMED

1. The Defendant submits that this Honourable Court has no jurisdiction to entertain the suit herein inasmuch as the Defendant never dwelt and no part of the cause of action herein (if any) arose within the jurisdiction of this Hon'ble Court and the Defendant further submits that any leave granted under Clause 12 of the Letters Patent ought to be revoked.

Without prejudice to his submissions as aforesaid, the defendant pleads specifically to the several allegations contained in the plaint as hereinafter stated.

2. The Defendant admits that the Plaintiff was at all material times member of the All India Muslim League and of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League but save as aforesaid makes no admission as to the allegations in paragraph 1 of the plaint contained.

3. Save that the Plaintiff was at all material times after its inception a Member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and Chief Minister in the former Coalition Government therein, the Defendant has no knowledge of, and, therefore, makes no admission as to the allegations in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the plaint contained.

4. With reference to the allegations contained in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the plaint, the Defendant states that he was at all material times and has been for some considerable time past President of the All India Muslim League and that he is now its President-elect. The Defendant further admits that at the time of his said expulsion the Plaintiff was a member of the Working Committee and of the Council of the All India Muslim League. Save as aforesaid the Defendant makes no admission as to any of the allegations in the said paragraphs contained and submits that in any case the same are only matters of prejudice and are wholly unnecessary and irrelevant.

5. With reference to paragraphs 7 to 17 inclusive of the plaint, the Defendant will crave leave to refer to the said rules therein set forth as well as to all other relevant rules and resolutions of the All India Muslim League for their full and exact terms.

6. The Defendant admits the allegations in paragraph 18 of the plaint as substantially correct.

7. With reference to the allegations contained in paragraph 19 of the plaint, the Defendant denies that after the formation of the said Coalition the Plaintiff continued his independent membership of the said Proja Party as therein alleged. The Plaintiff was or professed to be at all material times up till the date of his said expulsion a member of the Muslim League group in the Bengal Legislative Assembly which was the main group of the said Coalition whereas the greater part of the said Proja Party was in opposition.

8. With reference to the allegations contained in paragraphs 20 to 27 inclusive, the Defendant has no personal knowledge and makes no admission in respect thereof (except as to the statement of the press mentioned in paragraph 25). The Defendant submits that, in any case, the said allegations are only matters of prejudice and are wholly irrelevant and unnecessary.

9. The Defendant admits the telegram set forth in paragraph 29 of the plaint subject to reference to the original thereof for its full and exact terms.

The Defendant released the said telegram to press agencies in Delhi at their request and did not publish the same in Calcutta or elsewhere as alleged in paragraph 29 of the Plaintiff.

10. The Defendant admits the telegram set forth in paragraph 29 of the plaint subject to reference to the original thereof for its full and exact terms. But the Defendant does not admit that the said telegram was received by the Plaintiff within the said jurisdiction.

11. The Defendant admits that he received at Delhi the telegram of the 7th December 1941 from the Plaintiff set forth in paragraph 30 of the plaint subject to reference to the original thereof for its full and exact terms; but he does not admit that such telegram was sent by the Plaintiff from within the said jurisdiction.

Further, the Defendant denies that the effect of the said telegram is accurately stated in the said paragraph. The Plaintiff was at the date of the said telegram fully aware of the nature of the charges against him and also of the fact that it was the Defendant as President of the Muslim League who was making such charges against him. In all the circumstances the Plaintiff was afforded every reasonable opportunity to make any explanation that he could possibly make.

12. The Defendant admits the telegram of the 8th December 1941 set forth in paragraph 31 of the plaint subject to reference to the original thereof for its full and exact terms.

The Defendant denies that the effect of such telegrams is accurately stated in the said paragraph or that the Plaintiff was then or at any time refused a full or any hearing or a sufficient opportunity to submit

any explanation that he could possibly make.

13. Instead of submitting any or alternatively any proper explanation (as continually requested by the Defendant to do) the Plaintiff on or about the 8th December 1941 sent the following telegram addressed to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League at Delhi:

Present Cabinet crisis in Bengal is solely due to personal differences between me and few members of the Provincial League. My loyalty to the League is as unshaken as ever. I assure you that our personal differences have nothing to do with the League. I appeal to you to take steps so that an impartial enquiry may be made into the happenings in Bengal, and I also earnestly request you that I may get a fair and impartial hearing before I am branded as being disloyal to the League. It would be a great pity if League members could utilise their position to cloud the issues and invoke the name of the League in order to serve their private ends. Kindly explain the situation to the President.

To the Plaintiff's said telegram a reply was sent by telegram by the said Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on or about the 9th December 1941 in the following terms:

Your telegram of yesterday was placed before the President. You have already violated the rules and resolutions of the All India Muslim League, among other things, by forming a Coalition with miscellaneous groups whose policy and programme are antagonistic to the Muslim League and have accepted the leadership of this combination. After the *fait accompli*, you now assert loyalty to the League and suggest an impartial enquiry regarding the differences between you and a few members of the Provincial League of which neither the President nor the Working Committee were apprised by you before.

Your request for an enquiry cannot be considered unless you comply with the condition precedent, namely, resign forthwith the leadership of the newly formed Coalition and dissociate yourself completely from it and communicate your resignation to the President before December 10 [1941]. The President and the Working Committee would be willing to hold an enquiry regarding the alleged differences on receipt of your resignation from the newly formed Coalition Party and give you and others concerned the fullest opportunity to plead the case and hearing, respectively. If your resignation, as indicated above, is not communicated before December 10, the President must proceed to take action.

No reply was ever sent by the Plaintiff to the said telegram, nor did the Plaintiff comply with the conditions therein laid down. The Plaintiff has deliberately and wrongfully omitted to disclose or even refer to the said further telegrams in the plaint.

14. The Defendant denies that he did not inform the Plaintiff of the

several matters mentioned in paragraph 32 of the plaint or any of them.

The Defendant denies that he ever prejudged the conduct of the Plaintiff or that he sent the said telegram to the Plaintiff in collusion or conspiracy with the said Sir Nazimuddin and his alleged creatures or that in fact he ever conspired or colluded with the said persons or any of them as alleged in the said paragraph or at all.

The Defendant further denies that the time given in the said telegram was inadequate or insufficient or that it was intended to prevent the Plaintiff vindicating himself had he been in the position to do so (which is denied).

Further the Defendant denies that he acted mala fide in sending the said telegram or that he had made up his mind to expel the Plaintiff from the League whatever his explanation might be.

15. The Defendant admits paragraph 33 of the plaint.

16. The Defendant states and submits that by reason of the facts and circumstances set forth hereunder, such expulsion was regular, was bona fide after giving the Plaintiff ample opportunity of explaining his conduct, and that the same was entirely justified:

- a. For some years prior to the said expulsion, it had been the settled and declared policy of the Muslim League as expressed *inter alia* in a succession of resolutions that: (1) the said League should maintain the integrity of its independence and position as the only authoritative and representative political organisation of the Muslims of India; (2) that no member of the Muslim League, who associated with any party whose general policy was opposed to the Muslims, should be allowed to remain a member of the Muslim League; and (3) that in provincial legislatures where Muslim League parties had been formed, all members of Muslim League should be asked to join the League parties and any member who refused to join should be subjected to disciplinary action.

The Plaintiff as a member of the Muslim League and /or as an office-holder therein and /or as a member of the Working Committee and Council thereof was at all times well aware of the said policy and had in fact been a party to the said resolutions.

- b. The allegation stated with particularity in the telegrams from the Defendant which are set out in paragraphs 28, 29, and 31 of the plaint as well as in that set forth in paragraph 13 hereof clearly indicated that the Plaintiff had acted not only in contravention of the said policy of the Muslim League, but also with grave disloyalty to all his fellow members and in a manner detrimental

to their interests as well as to the interests of the Muslim community in India generally and furthermore that his actions were such as were calculated to disrupt the All India Muslim League and also the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

- c. The Defendant in his said telegrams formulated specific charges against the Plaintiff. By reason of his long association with the Muslim League and his knowledge of the rules, resolutions and general policy thereof, the Plaintiff was or should have been fully aware of the nature and import of those charges. The Defendant by the said telegrams repeatedly called upon the plaintiff to give his explanations to those charges.
- d. Instead of meeting the said charges with promptitude and candour (as his duty was), the Plaintiff employed delaying tactics whilst he was intriguing within the old Coalition and with other parties for the purpose of overthrowing the old Coalition and establishing the new Coalition with such other parties. The Plaintiff did not apply for the consent or even seek the views of the said former Coalition and/or of the said Muslim League group or of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League or of the All India Muslim League, and in fact abstained from attending their meetings. In so acting, the Plaintiff was concerned only with his own interests and not with those of the Muslim League, and he was playing for time in order to confuse or mislead not only members of the Muslim League group in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, but also other members of the public with the object of roping in more members of the said Muslim League group and thus securing the majority for the new Coalition over the Muslim League group and the late Coalition Party, and also of causing division amongst the members of the Muslim League group and/or of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.
- e. It was, therefore, a matter of serious importance and of great urgency (as the Plaintiff well knew) that the Plaintiff should give his explanation to the said specific charges immediately. Having regard to all these circumstances, the Plaintiff was afforded ample time and more than one reasonable opportunity to give any possible explanations.
- f. In fact, the Plaintiff was never in a position to give any explanation or alternatively any reasonable or satisfactory explanation of his said conduct.
- g. In view of the circumstances above stated, the Defendant acting as he was entitled to do under and by virtue of the plenary and/or

concurrent powers vested in him by the resolution of the 28th annual session of the said League held at Madras in April 1941,¹ expelled the Plaintiff from the said League.

- h. In expelling the Plaintiff as aforesaid, the Defendant acted absolutely bona fide and for the purpose of protecting the interests of the Muslim League and its members and not otherwise.

17. Paragraph 34 of the plaint is admitted.

18. With reference to the allegations contained in paragraph 35 of the plaint, the Defendant denies that he had no authority to expel the Plaintiff or that the Plaintiff was not given an opportunity to explain himself. The Defendant further denies that he was not empowered to make a decision in the matter as alleged in the said paragraph. The Defendant states that by reason of the facts and matters set out in paragraph 16 hereof, it was unnecessary for any decision to be made either by the said Council or the Working Committee. The Plaintiff, in fact, never challenged the authority of the Defendant to come to a decision or to take any action against him, but on the contrary by his said telegrams recognised the powers and/or authority vested in the Defendant. The Defendant denies each and every other allegation contained in paragraph 35 and repeats paragraph 16 hereof.

19. The Defendant denies that he acted maliciously or unreasonably or without any reasonable or probable cause or without giving the Plaintiff an opportunity of meeting any charges as alleged in paragraph 36 of the plaint or at all. The Defendant specifically denies that any charges were at any time preferred against the Plaintiff by the said Sir Nazimuddin or any others as alleged in the said paragraph.

20. The Defendant denies that he has acted illegally or mala fide or maliciously or without authority as alleged in paragraph 37 of the plaint or at all.

21. Paragraph 38 of the plaint is denied.

22. With reference to the allegation contained in paragraph 39 of the plaint, the Defendant does not admit that his action was not authorised by the rules of the said League. Alternatively, the Defendant states that his action was authorised by the plenary and/or concurrent powers vested in him by virtue of the resolution referred to in paragraph 16(g) hereof. The defendant denies that his action was contrary to natural justice.

23. The Defendant denies that the purpose of the said order of expulsion was as alleged in paragraph 40 of the plaint or that the objects of the Plaintiff in forming the said Coalition were as therein stated. The Defendant repeats paragraph 16 hereof and states that the

actions of the Plaintiff were mala fide and were dictated entirely by self-interest with the object of retaining his power as Chief Minister whilst destroying the old Coalition and disrupting the said Muslim League group and/or the said Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

24. The Defendant denies that the Plaintiff has suffered any damage as alleged in paragraph 41 of the plaint or that he is entitled to any damages as therein claimed. Alternatively the Defendant submits that the damages claimed are too remote and/or are otherwise not in law recoverable.

25. The Defendant submits that the plaint herein discloses no cause of action against him either in his individual capacity or as representing the members of the All India Muslim League.

26. Further the Defendant submits that in any event the Plaintiff should not be granted any declaration or injunction inasmuch as the same could and would be rendered nugatory by further action of the Muslim League to enforce his expulsion. The Working Committee of the said League has, in fact, by resolution passed at Nagpur on the 26th and 27th December 1941,² noted with great satisfaction the action of the Defendant in expelling the Plaintiff.

27. By reason of the premises, the Defendant submits that the Plaintiff is not entitled to any of the reliefs claimed in the plaint and that the suit herein should be dismissed with costs.

M. A. JINNAH

DEFENDANT'S ATTORNEYS

This written statement has been drawn by
S. C. Isaacs, Barrister-at-Law

I, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Defendant above named do declare and state that the statements in paragraphs 2 to 15 inclusive, and 17 to 23 inclusive (except the last sentences in paragraphs 4 and 8 respectively) are true to my knowledge and those contained in paragraph 16 are partly based upon information received which I believe to be true and those contained in paras 1, 16, the last sentences of paras 4 and 8 respectively and paras 24 to 27 are my submissions to this Hon'ble Court.

I sign this verification at [place left blank] this [date left blank] day of March 1942.

M. A. JINNAH

¹See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 373.

²See A. M. Zaidi, ed., *The Demand for Pakistan*, Vol. V, 336.

13

John Tyson¹ to George Abell

Telegram, F. 127/521

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 222-C

[CALCUTTA],
26 July 1947

In continuation of my telegram No. 220-C of 25th July.² Separation Council. Points on which serious difference of opinion remain unresolved as yet are:

1. Whether roads and road bridges, forests, *khals*, *mahals* (estates of which Government holds *Zamindari* right) and rivers should be included among "assets"; vide para 2 of minutes of sixth meeting.³

2. Whether, in case of divisible assets, party in whose region assets fall on partition has right to retain sufficient share to satisfy its own requirements before making over all or part of surplus only to other party, with or without further financial adjustment, or whether divisible assets should be shared equally or in some proportion to be decided upon so that both new administrations may have something to start off with even if both are thereby a little short till new purchases can be made. Matter came up as regards certain electric fittings vide para 2 of minutes of seventh meeting but has also produced deadlock as regards typewriters and is likely to prove a source of fundamental difference of approach.

3. Method of assessing present value of Government buildings and lands (vide para 3 of minutes of seventh meeting).⁴

4. Any guidance Central Partition Council can give on these matters would be most welcome. I should however make it clear that this telegram which is in further reply to your No. 2924-S of July 24th⁵ is not the result of any official reference by Bengal Partition Council itself for reasons explained in my telegram quoted above.

¹Secretary to the Governor of Bengal, 1945-7.

^{2,3,4 & 5}Not traced. See No. 287, TP, XII, 416-21.

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*Masood Nabi Nur to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F. 861/124

MUSLIM STUDENTS FEDERATION,
JULLUNDUR,
26 July 1947

Sir,

Seeing the pressing financial needs of our beloved new-born country, Pakistan, I have decided to donate Rs. 300, the entire amount of my scholarship, which was awarded to me by the University of the Punjab in 1945, on the result of my Intermediate Examination, to the Pakistan Fund. This is also in response to the appeal¹ made by our spirited leader, the Quaid-i-Azam.

I enclose herewith a draft (No. D 01726) of the said money through the Jullundur Branch of the Australasia Bank Ltd. Please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
MASOOD NABI NUR
S/O K. B. NABI NUR
Retd. Collector (Sind)

¹No. 128, Vol. II, 297-9.

15

M. Nurullah and Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/126-8

PERSONAL / CONFIDENTIAL

2 CHARING CROSS,
LAHORE,
27 July 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

So far we have refrained from troubling you about the Punjab League affairs because of your pre-occupation in matters of high importance but now we feel it our duty to draw your attention to the serious situation in the Province.

For the sake of solidarity of the Muslims and in order to strengthen your hands the Muslims have remained united in spite of the many serious causes which could have obliged them to approach you earlier.

We do not know what impression has been created in your mind about the Muslim League Parliamentary Party. We fear that the situation in the Punjab may not have been brought to your notice as it actually exists.

Uptill now on every important occasion we have been told that it is the wish of Quaid-i-Azam that high matters connected with the League organisation should be decided in a certain manner. Without ascertaining your wishes, we the MLAs have always moulded our conduct in the way we thought would be your pleasure to see us act. At the moment we are completely in the dark as to what your wishes in the matter are. We have no doubt in our mind that Islamic democracy in Pakistan is your creation and that you will do everything in your power to encourage the spirit of freedom of action amongst us so that we can look forward to an era of freedom in Pakistan, broad-based on public opinion.

The main object of our addressing this letter is to request you to grant us the freedom to elect our own office-bearers. No matter what the newspapers say or what individual visitors tell you, there is not the least doubt that there is a very widespread discontent among vast majority of Muslim MLAs against the position as it exists. We sincerely hope that you will not allow your exalted name to be exploited by any clique in the party to serve their own purposes. Our present leaders are openly saying that the All India High Command will nominate them for high offices irrespective of the wishes of the majority of Muslim MLAs. Our fears are being confirmed by the fact that in spite of the requisite number of members requisitioning a meeting of the party on 4th July, the leader, whose duty it was to call a meeting, did not act according to the rules and regulations.

We shall be very grateful if you very kindly advise the Central Parliamentary Board to ask our leader to call party meeting immediately as is the case in Bengal where a party meeting is being called on 3rd August to elect office-bearers for East and West Bengal.

To sum up, our request is, and it is backed by an overwhelming public opinion and the Muslim Press, that the Punjab in future be governed by democratic Islamic principles by electing leaders of their

choice and no Government be installed in the Punjab which has not the backing of the Muslim League MLAs.

Yours sincerely,

M. NURULLAH

Secretary, Punjab ML Assembly Party

MUBARIK ALI SHAH

MLA

MOHAMMAD ABDUSSATTAR KHAN NIAZY

M. A., MLA

AZIZUD DIN

Advocate, MLA

16

Elsa Tublor de Pierrefeu to M. A. Jinnah

F. 676/65-6

HANCOCK, NEW HAMPSHIRE,

[U.S.A.],

27 July 1947

Dear Mr. President,

This is the way we address President Truman. So I hope it is correct in India.

So you have your Pakistan! For your sake and India's I hope it will mean peace and a friendly interchange so that India may be strengthened, not weakened. All will depend on your will for peace and co-operation. Since we talked together you must have noticed that all Europe, not under the communist heel, is trying to co-operate, but the communist groups in all countries, ours as well, will do their best to create disorder and chaos to prevent co-operation. "Divide and rule" was used by the Romans, the British and no doubt goes back to very ancient extinct civilizations. Unity is the mainspring of creation and if man tries to divide, he in time fades away. The law of *Allah* is unchanging; it must be to destroy chaos.

So my best wishes attend you in this culmination of your hopes. Muslims or Hindus, Americans or Chinese, we are all the children of *Allah*, the Merciful, the Great.

Very sincerely,

ELSA TUBLOR DE PIERREFEU

17

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 144/105-6

30 QUEEENSWAY, NEW DELHI,

27 July 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Re: Syed Ali Ashraf, Additional District Magistrate, Patna—A suggestion¹

1. I beg your permission to take the liberty of penning a few lines concerning Syed Ali Ashraf, Additional District Magistrate, Patna. I believe he is known to you as you kindly helped him in 1941 when he was victimized and harassed by Sir Evan Jenkins, the then Secretary, Supply Department, Government of India, for the fault of appointing a large number of Muslims in the Supply Department.

2. Syed Ali Ashraf is the scion of an illustrious family. His grandfather, Nawab Bahadur Syed Amir Hasan Khan was the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta. His elder brother, *Syed Ali Manzar, M. A. (Oxon)*,² *Bar-at-Law, MLA*, was the first leader of the Muslim League Party in the Bihar Assembly. Syed Ali Manzar, as General Secretary, Reception Committee, All India Muslim League Conference and Exhibition, Patna, held under your presidency, worked hard day and night for the success of the Conference, caught cold and died of pneumonia only four days after the League session of Patna. As Additional District Magistrate (Operations), during Bihar carnage, Syed Ali Ashraf, worked at great risk of his life and saved thousands of Muslims in Patna District and for this his life has been made a hell and he is being oppressed, persecuted and harassed by the Bihar Congress Government for he always worked hard for the cause of the League.

His academic career has been brilliant throughout and his service record is exceptionally good. Eminent British administrators and High Court Judges, including Hindu Judges, have paid glowing tributes to his high ability and work.

I venture to make the suggestion to you that *kindly appoint Syed Ali Ashraf as one of the Private Secretaries* attached to you. He is fitted [sic] for this work and he is ready rather anxious to resign his post of Additional District Magistrate, Patna, and prefers to serve Pakistan

under your kind patronage.

Hope you will kindly give your kind consideration to this suggestion and you will not reject it on the ground that Syed Ali Ashraf belongs to Bihar and not to Pakistan Zone of Sind and the Punjab.

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

¹ See Nos. 460 and 478, Vol. I, Part I, 836-8 and 866-7. Also see No. 116, Vol. II, 251-2.

² Underlined here and subsequently in the original

18

S. M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 712/1

DELHI,
27 July 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In view of the liberty granted to me officially to join either of Dominions of India or Pakistan, I have after meeting the Hon'ble Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar and the Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan, and after careful consideration come to the conclusion that it would be most beneficial for the interest of my State to enter into constitutional relations with the Dominion of Pakistan for the purposes of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications and such other subjects of common concern as may be considered necessary. I shall sign the instrument of accession on behalf of my State when the occasion arises.

I am forwarding this letter for favour of your information and taking necessary action. A brief account of the history and the present position of my State shall be submitted to you shortly.¹

With best respects and regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHARA MUHAMMAD KHAN
[Ruler of Pathari State²]

¹ Not traced. However, for his appeal about formation of the All India Muslim States Federation, see Enclosure.

² A small state in Central India.

*Enclosure to No. 18**F. 712/2-4*APPEAL BY RULER OF PATHARI STATE TO THE MUSLIM RULERS
OF INDIAN STATES TO FORM AN ALL INDIA MUSLIM STATES
FEDERATION

Eventful changes are taking place in the Indian politics every moment. The division of the country which appeared to be a [*sic*] remotest possibility is now an inevitable fact. The communal frenzy with its attendant evils is growing in volume. Even certain Rulers of the States could not escape the effects of the communal bias. Consequently the Chamber of Princes has become a house divided in [*sic* for against] itself. Is it not high time for the Muslim Princes to take stock of the situation? The events of the time demand that the Muslim Rulers should give their earnest consideration to the following facts and, after devoted and careful thinking, devise ways and means for maintaining their power, prestige and existence in a manner befitting the dignity of Islam:

1. If the convictions of the Muslim League materialize and the transfer of power is done [*sic*] to those who have no good regard and sympathy for Islam, what shall then be the position of the Muslims and their States?
2. If a Central Government of the above nature is forcibly thrust upon the Muslims in total disregard of their interests, what authority shall there be to safeguard the legitimate rights of the Muslim States and the Muslims all over the country?
3. Why are the non-Muslim States so keenly inclined to join in a Constitution which is being framed in contravention to [*sic*] the spirit and essence of the Cabinet Mission's Plan?
4. Would it not be harmful to the cause of Islam if the Muslim States take part in framing the Constitution prior to the establishment of a truly representative Constituent Assembly?
5. If two Sovereign States of Pakistan and Hindustan are established, then with which of the two would it be better for Muslim States to have constitutional relations?
6. In case the events take such a turn as to compel the British Government to withhold the transfer of power until after the fixed date, would it not [be] most desirable for the Muslim States to form an Interim Federation of their own to meet all eventualities and to present a united front to every political upheaval?
7. If some form of constructive work in connection with the said Federation is immediately undertaken, is there no possibility of bringing all the Muslim States to a Centre whose voice shall carry

a great weight?

At a time when members of different schools of thought and creed are forming themselves into [a] league, why should not the Muslim States pool their resources to form a Union of their own. It is also well-known that owing to lack of unity among them, the Muslim States are faced with grave political and economic difficulties and geographical problems. But if the *Umara al-Muslimeen* of the Hyderabad (Deccan-Berar), Bhopal (Central India), Junagadh (Kathiawar), Khairpur (Sind and Gujerat), Bahawalpur (Punjab), Rampur (Rohilkhand, U. P.), Tonk (Rajputana) particularly and rest of the Muslim States generally, keeping themselves aloof from the sentiments of superiority and inferiority for the sake of Islamic brotherhood and equality, give their wholehearted support to the above Islamic cause, and take practical interest in the matter, with all the resources at their command, the All India Muslim States Federation can become a reality. This Federation shall certainly guarantee the safety, integrity and continuance of all the Muslim States.

It is an undeniable fact that the Muslim States are a national trust in the hands of the Muslim rulers who alone are not responsible for their protection but the entire Muslim nation is responsible for the solidarity and existence of the trust. So it would not be inopportune to expect from the popular leaders of the Muslim India, sympathetic support in the cause of this Sovereign National Trust.

I, therefore, deem it necessary to forward this fervent appeal to all the seven *Umara al-Muslimeen* and to Quaid-i-Azam for favour of their most gracious consideration.

The details of the scheme for the formation of an All India Muslim States Federation are with the mover and he shall be glad to entertain further correspondence on the subject.

Appendix III. I, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

19

Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 696/145

CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
28 July 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The President¹ of my Executive Council, my Constitutional Adviser²

and some members of the Hyderabad delegation, on their return from Delhi,³ have informed me of the substance of their talk with you on Hyderabad affairs. I should like to have your considered views on certain matters before I reconsider my present programme. I am, therefore, enclosing with this letter a note⁴ of such matter for your consideration and reply. After I have learnt your views in black and white, I shall be in a better position to make my decision in the light of what you say. Before you send a reply, I hope you will give an opportunity to my Prime Minister⁵, Constitutional Adviser and one or two Members of my delegation to have a talk with you about the contents of the note, so that you may be in a still better position to consider the questions in their proper perspective. The matter is urgent and I shall be grateful for an answer as early as possible, say within a week.

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

¹ Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari.

² Walter Monckton.

³ See Annexes I & II.

⁴ Enclosure.

⁵ See note 1 above.

Enclosure to No. 19

F. 696/146-8

CONFIDENTIAL

28 July 1947

NOTE FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF MR. JINNAH

1. His Exalted Highness would of course much prefer to have close treaty relations with Pakistan rather than with the Dominion of India. It is the land-locked position of Hyderabad in the belly of the most Hindu part of Hindustan which makes it inevitable for His Exalted Highness with his vast Hindu population to make, if possible, some friendly arrangement with Hindustan.

2. His Exalted Highness has definitely made up his mind not to accede but he may be driven to closer unity by treaty in regard to External Affairs than he would have wished. But a treaty, as the British have shown, can be denounced. If and when Pakistan and Hyderabad are in a strong enough position to enable Hyderabad to resist political and economic pressure by the surrounding Hindustan, His Exalted Highness would review the position to make his ties closer with Pakistan and less close with the Dominion of India.

3. So far as Defence and Communications are concerned, it is difficult to resist the view that Hyderabad must, at least by treaty, accommodate itself to the policy of the Dominion of India. Communications are inextricably intermingled and all he is asked by way of Defence is that Hyderabad should make the sort of contribution in men to the defence of the borders of the area in which it is contained as it now makes to the British. A provision can be arranged to preserve neutrality if Pakistan and Hindustan fall out. His Exalted Highness appreciates that an arrangement of this kind would not leave him free to assist Pakistan in arms against the Indian Union, but he does not understand in what way he could come to the help of Pakistan in such an event.

4. With regard to External Affairs, in the light of Mr. Jinnah's criticism, the draft letter has been modified.² It is of course difficult to dissociate External Affairs from Defence but it is no longer the case that Hyderabad will agree to the Dominion of India conducting its External Affairs as part of the foreign policy of the Dominion. His Exalted Highness would instead agree to conduct the External Affairs of his State in conformity with the foreign policy of the Dominion of India. Mr. Jinnah will see that this leaves the conduct of Foreign Affairs in the hands of the State, although the direction of this policy will be similar to that of the Dominion of India. Moreover, His Exalted Highness will insist by another amendment to the draft letter on the right to appoint representatives of Hyderabad wherever he wishes. Mr. Jinnah will appreciate that it is always difficult to draw the line which separates commercial from political activities. Hyderabad has never had the conduct of its External Affairs in the sense in which that term is being used in these discussions and His Exalted Highness feels that, as the draft is now modified, it is difficult reasonably to resist the conclusion that he is offering to give no more than in practice he cannot help giving.

5. In many ways, His Exalted Highness would be glad to postpone discussion of treaty arrangements with the Dominion of India till after the 15th August, but he feels that in the particular position of Hyderabad this would be dangerous. It is important that the Nizam's line of policy should be made known to the parties in the State who are in an excited condition. It is very doubtful if His Exalted Highness' offer outlined in the draft letter will be accepted now. If it is rejected, His Exalted Highness will have the advantage that his reasonable attitude can be made public to the world in advance of the efforts of the Viceroy and the Congress to make him appear unco-operative. But it is, in His Exalted Highness' view, certain that when the British go, that is to say

on and after the 15th August, there would be no chance of making anything like so favourable an arrangement with the Government of the Dominion of India as would be probable on the present basis. If a settlement could be reached now, His Exalted Highness would be likely to get good terms in relation to Berar, a customs agreement, the use of a port, and full recognition of his internal autonomy in all respects. Otherwise, His Exalted Highness feels sure that Congress will make every effort, by means that are indirect and not manifestly provocative, to make the economic and political position of Hyderabad intolerable and, as Mr. Jinnah knows, with a large Hindu population there would be limits to the State's power of resistance to such a pressure.

6. In these circumstances, before making up his mind what attitude to adopt at this vital juncture, His Exalted Highness must know in black and white what steps Mr. Jinnah could take to assist and rescue Hyderabad if this pressure were adopted. Could Mr. Jinnah guarantee to get supplies of food, salt and kerosene oil and other goods, in which Hyderabad could be made a deficit area, introduced into the State? To what extent could Mr. Jinnah provide the State with arms and equipment and, if necessary, with troops? If economic pressure can be shown to be used against Hyderabad, what effective steps could be taken by Pakistan in time to rescue the State from its predicament? If Congress supporters inside the State revolted and were indirectly assisted by Congress forces in the Dominion of India, what assistance could His Exalted Highness expect from Pakistan? How could Hyderabad hope to get an outlet to the sea without the co-operation of the Dominion of India?

¹Each page of the note was initialled by the Nizam.

²Modified draft not traced. See No. 90.

Annex I to No. 19

F. 1264/7

PROGRAMME OF PROCEDURE

1. The Negotiating Committee¹ should return to Delhi in time to be available for preliminary discussions on 23rd July 1947 and the formal negotiations on 24 July 1947. This means that those who go by train should leave Hyderabad on Monday, 21 July 1947² and those who go by air should leave on Tuesday, 22 July 1947.

2. *The Negotiating Committee, after getting Mr. Jinnah's approval of the*

line taken in the draft letter from H.E.H. to H.E.,³ should find out whether H.E. and Congress would be prepared to negotiate on the footing of a treaty such as is described in the draft letter. If yes, such negotiations should be undertaken. But if (as is to be expected at any rate in the first instance) they refuse, Sir Walter Monckton should return to Hyderabad and report to H.E.H. and should then go back to Delhi taking with him the letter from H.E.H. for delivery to H.E. and subsequent communication to the Press Agencies. At the same time H.E.H. will publish the letter by *Firman* in Hyderabad for the information of the public in Hyderabad.

¹The delegation comprising Walter Monckton, Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari and Ali Yawar Jung met Jinnah on 23 July 1947. See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47*, 1989, Lahore, 88.

²See No. 178, Vol. III, 439.

³First three lines of para 2 were sidelined with an interrogatory note, "If Mr. Jinnah disagrees?"

Annex II to No. 19

F. 1264/8-11

24 July 1947

H.E.H.'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HYDERABAD NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE IN DELHI

I. ACCESSION QUESTION

1. Hyderabad ought to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of India as a whole. It can be a stabilizing influence.

2.¹ If the sub-continent had been one, H.E.H. would have been prepared to contribute to its defence and to have had his foreign policy conducted as part of the foreign [*sic*] of the whole.

3. Partition into two Dominions creates grave difficulty. Hyderabad has important ties with both.

4. It will not be clear by 15 August how far or how the Indian Dominion and the Pakistan Dominion will consult and co-operate on matters of common concern; or how far their policies can be integrated on External Affairs and Defence.

5.² Hyderabad cannot contemplate organic union with either Dominion until fully informed on the matters in para 4. It must wait and see how the relations between the two Dominions develop.

6. These difficulties for Hyderabad were recognised in Parliament in debates on India[n] Independence Bill. Listowel, Prime Minister

and Attorney General recognised:

- a. States ought not to be asked for hurried decisions at this juncture;
- b. A treaty rather than a federal relationship might be the solution in present circumstances. See Annexure A.

7. H.E.H. is against policy of isolation. Not prepared for organic union with either. Wants to contribute to defence of whole sub-continent and have his *External Affairs*³ conducted as part of the External Affairs of the whole sub-continent.

8. How to accomplish this purpose in friendly co-operation with both new Dominions?

9.⁴ Dominion of India, geographically his neighbour, prepared to make treaty with them whereby:

- a. Suitable arrangement for land communications so that all-India standards are recognised.
- b.⁵ Hyderabad contributes to defence of Dominion by system analogous to present Indian States Forces Scheme.
- c. Dominion of India to conduct External Affairs of Hyderabad as part of their foreign policy.

BUT

- i. Necessary to provide against possibility of the two new Dominions pursuing mutually hostile policy. Hyderabad troops could not be used against Pakistan. Hyderabad would have to be entitled to neutrality.
- ii. If either party decided to leave British Commonwealth, the other should be free to review the Treaty.

10.⁶ The Treaty would have to contain recognition of H.E.H.'s full sovereignty and autonomy with[in] his Dominions.

II. BERAR

11. H.E.H.'s claim to the reversion of administration in Berar is officially recognised as equally sound as his claim to sovereignty over that territory. H.E.H. would be prepared to see to it that his Berari subjects were accorded the same freedom and responsible government as they now enjoy. Berar would have to be administered separately from the C.P. under a Governor appointed by H.E.H., but H.E.H. would be prepared for Berar to enter into organic union with the Dominion of India.

III. MUTUAL COVENANTS IN RESPECT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

12. The goodwill of the parties to such a Treaty is as important as its terms. There should accordingly be mutual covenants to refrain from

making, encouraging, or permitting propaganda or conduct calculated to create ill will, hostility or disaffection towards either party or its Government or Ruler.

IV. NORTHERN CIRCARS AND CEDED TERRITORIES

13. There must be provisions, as a result of negotiations, dealing with H.E.H.'s right to the recovery of these areas which were transferred from his Government to the British in return for specific military guarantees which have now been denounced.

V. CUSTOMS AGREEMENT

14. A customs agreement is necessary which would take into account the Commercial Treaty of 1802, long a matter of dispute between H.M.G. and H.E.H.

VI. STANDSTILL AGREEMENTS

15. The instructions already given to my Delegation will remain in force, subject to any modification which H.E.H. may approve after considering any further advice tendered by his Council.

VII. A. ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR THE STATES DEPARTMENT

B. ARBITRATION PROCEDURE FOR SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN THE STATES AND PROVINCIAL OR DOMINION GOVERNMENTS

C. EXTRADITION

D. CHANNEL OF CORRESPONDENCE AND REPRESENTATION OF DOMINION GOVERNMENT IN STATES

Upon these matters H.E.H. will consider such advice as his Council may offer and give his instructions in due course.

¹The para was sidelined in the original with the note, "Contradiction with para 9 (c)."

²The para was sidelined and a mark of interrogation put against it in the original.

³Underlined in the original.

⁴The para was sidelined in the original with the note, "Future procedure."

⁵Sub-paras "b" and "c" were sidelined in the original.

⁶Sideline in the original with the note, "Should be above item No. 9."

Annexure A to Annex II to No. 19

F. 1264/12

1. Lord Listowel in the House of Lords stated that from the date when the new Dominions are set up "the appointments and functions of the Crown Representative and his officers will terminate and the States will be the masters of their own fate. They will then be entirely free to choose

whether to associate with one or other of the Dominion Governments or to stand alone and His Majesty's Government will not use the slightest pressure to influence their momentous and voluntary decision."

"....Whatever the future relationship between the new Dominions and the States may be, it will require prolonged consideration and discussion before the final adjustment can be made."

2. The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, in the House of Commons, pointed out that "until the constitution of the Dominions has been framed in such a way as to include the States as willing partners, there must be a less organic form of relationship between them and there must be a period before a comprehensive system can be worked out".

3. Sir Hartley Shawcross, the Attorney-General, said that "it is bound to be some time before the States will have all the information before them to make their final decision....We hope...that the States will associate themselves with one or other of the new Dominions in a federal or treaty relationship on fair terms fairly and amicably negotiated".

20

Jam Sahib of Las Bela to M. A. Jinnah

F. 703/4

MAIDEN'S HOTEL, DELHI,
28 July 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I realise that your time is so precious that it is a crime to encroach on it.

I am only one day more in Delhi and I want to go to Las Bela and tell my people that the leader of Pakistan has expressed sympathy for this small Islamic State of Las Bela.

Therefore it is very important for me to meet you before leaving Delhi.¹ Fix any time you like but do kindly grant me a short interview and oblige.

Respectfully yours for ever,
GHULAM KADIR KHAN

¹Jinnah had earlier received intimation from a correspondent in Karachi about the purpose of Jam Sahib of Las Bela's visit to Delhi. See No. 200, Vol. III, 544.

21

M. A. Jinnah to Jam Sahib of Las Bela

F. 703/3

28 July 1947

Dear Jam Sahib,

I have received your letter of 28th July 1947¹ and I am extremely sorry that I am unable to see you again in Delhi, as you know I am very much pressed with work that is immediately in hand.

I heard all that you had to say and your position *vis-a-vis* Kalat State and I informed you that it was not possible for me to express any opinion unless I had time to examine your relationship with Kalat². I was very glad to see you and thanked you for your good wishes for Pakistan. Beyond that I am not in a position to say anything at present.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Khan Ghulam Kadir Khan,
Jam Sahib of Las Bela,
Maiden's Hotel,
Delhi

¹No. 20.²For the dispute between Khan of Kalat and Jam Sahib of Las Bela, see Enclosure 3 to No. 155, para IV, Vol. I, Part I, 297 and Appendix VII. 13, Vol. III, 983. Also see Annex.*Annex to No. 21*

F. 20-GG/3

KARACHI,
18 July 1947

RESOLUTION BY THE LAS BELA STATE NATIONAL PARTY

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Las Bella¹ State National Party, Karachi, was held on 18-7-47, where the following resolution was passed.

RESOLUTION

This meeting views with grave concern the reported move of the *Ruler of Las Bella State*² either for declaring himself independent or joining any of the two Dominions, without consulting the subjects and the political organisation. It is also understood that he is determined to

maintain his autocracy even if he joins any of the Dominions or declares himself independent.

This meeting advises the Ruler of State to consult the people before taking any such move in the matter, and also to take steps to install a representative government in the State. This meeting also requests the two Dominions not to negotiate with the State Ruler on his own initiative, without consulting the people and the political organisation interested with [sic] the people of State.

This meeting calls upon the Agent to the Governor-General,³ Baluchistan, to clarify the position of Las Bella State *vis-a-vis* the position of Khan of Kalat before parting with the power.

This meeting hereby warns the State Ruler and any other authority interested into [sic] the administration of Las Bella State, to consult at every step the people of State and install a representative government in the State before 15th August 1947, else the people of the State will by-pass and ignore the authorities and fit themselves into a Constitution according to their wishes and welfare.

AHMAD KHAN JAMOTE
General Secretary,
Las Bella State National Party

¹Spelling as in the original.

²Underlined in the original.

³Geoffrey Prior.

22

M. A. Jinnah to National Bank of India Ltd., Lahore

F. 757/180

28 July 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 8th July,¹ returning Cheque No. 023458, Defence Services, on the Imperial Bank of India which the Bank returned unpaid, I am now enclosing herewith the cheque with [sic] duly corrected which please present again and credit the amount, i.e. Rs. 2,100, to my Account with your Bank.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Manager,
The National Bank of India Ltd., Lahore

¹Not traced.

23

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Wadood**F. 718/3*

28 July 1947

Dear Wali-i-Swat,

I am pleased indeed to hear of your whole-hearted support and encouragement that you have given in our coming fight for the referendum which is to take place from the 6th July.¹ I pray that Musalmans would stand solid and united and work as a disciplined team not only in this referendum but [also] thereafter to build up a strong nation. I am, however, grateful to you and to your heir apparent for having made a most handsome and generous contribution towards the fund which is necessary for us to contest this referendum. I shall always remember that at the critical moment not only we had your heart with us but you gave us every help.

Thanking you [and] very warm *salaams* to you and your *sahibzada*,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Wali-i-Swat Sir Abdul Wadood,
Saidu Sharif,
Swat State

¹This letter was obviously drafted before 6 July 1947; the referendum in the NWFP was held from 6 to 17 July 1947.

24

*Eve Jefford to M. A. Jinnah**F. 162/346-7*

ALBION HOUSE, THE MALL, SIMLA,

28 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am taking an unconventional step in addressing you, but I feel sure it will (because of its solidity) hold your interest. Strangely enough, I feel it will intrigue you, for it too is born from your watchword "Progress". So bear with me [for] a moment—won't you!

I am desirous of reshaping my destiny to the best of my ability, and to the advantage of self and the land of my adoption. The nucleus of thought being "footprints on the sands of time", so to speak! Now, having slowly recovered from my sorrow (the loss of my husband in service), I am finding a new incentive in the words: Ambition, Progress. I admire your leadership and intuitively know your aliveness can take you even into *this*¹ field of activity for it spells "Progress". I have in mind an academy! An academy for teaching the art of needlework, dress cutting, dress designing, dress making, in conjunction with a salon within whose portals one caters for the Western and the Eastern peoples in dress!

Now I am to be fatuous and of necessity talk a little of myself and my capabilities. Paris-London-trained Designer/Cutter and Teacher of this art (have trained some 400 pupils) and been examiner [of] needlework for schools in Bengal (4 years through the War). I know this line offers great possibilities and is a very remunerative accomplishment indeed! I am at the present moment (and have been since I joined them) with Phelps & Co., (Delhi/Simla), for three years. Not discontented, but restless for bigger things, this new thought has been born with the division of India, and if I am not in at the beginning, probably I shall go back to the U.K. and fall into line with the powers that be in the designing and cutting line. I want to clarify these decisions in my mind, before I am obliged to, and of course must leave a great deal unsaid for the moment until I hear from you. Changes are occurring fast, very fast, and a line from you might perhaps change the course of many lives. Giving happiness to some, to others offering happy escape, from boredom even. The possibilities are great in India!

One word before I leave you. This letter is entirely my own thought, and as such will you treat it in strict confidence, please. Thank you!

Wishing you all the very best, and hoping to hear from you (under reg[istered] cover) very soon.

Yours truly,
EVE JEFFORD

PS. Miss MacQueen and Miss Mudie have met me in New Delhi in the salon!

¹Underlined in the original.

25

*S. Osman Ali to All Departments of the Provisional
Government of Pakistan*

F. 721/4

CABINET SECRETARIAT (PAKISTAN),
NEW DELHI,

No. 9/PCS/47/15

28 July 1947

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Subject: Correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and the Departments of the Provisional Governments of India and Pakistan

The undersigned is directed to state that the following procedure has been introduced in regard to correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and the departments of Provisional Governments of India and Pakistan up to the 15th August 1947.

- a. All telegrams will, irrespective of the Government for which they are intended, continue to be addressed to the Departments of the Government of India as at present. The Cypher Bureau has instructions to send copies of all official telegrams to both the India and Pakistan departments concerned so that the departments can decide between themselves who should deal with them.
- b. Letters will, if there is no doubt regarding allocation, be addressed to Departments of the Government of India or the Government of Pakistan as the case may be. In other cases they will be addressed to the Department of the Government of India with a duplicate copy for the Pakistan Department. The duplicate copy will on receipt be passed on to the Pakistan Department concerned.

S. OSMAN ALI
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

Copy to:
P. S. V.
Cabinet Secretary (India)

26

S. Osman Ali to Members of Pakistan Cabinet

F. 721/1

CABINET SECRETARIAT (PAKISTAN),
NEW DELHI,

No. 3/C. F./47

28 July 1947

The undersigned is directed to circulate for the information of Hon'ble Members a copy of a note on the educational arrangements made at Karachi.

S. OSMAN ALI
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

To All Honourable Members (Pakistan)

Copy with a copy of the enclosure forwarded to the Secretaries (Pakistan) and Officers-in-charge of departments (Pakistan), for information.

Enclosure to No. 26

F. 721/2-3

NOTE ON EDUCATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS MADE AT KARACHI

According to the information collected by the Transfer Office, the number of boys and girls proceeding to Karachi with their parents or guardians, classified under different groups, is as follows:

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
XI	29	8	37
X	96	31	127
IX	112	28	140
Middle Dept. 5th to 8th class	397	220	617
Primary Dept. 1st to 4th	802	457	1259
Kindergarten	-	-	60
Junior Cambridge	5	4	9
Senior Cambridge	1	3	4
Inter. Arts	35	10	45
Inter. Science	13	2	15
B.A.	18	8	26
B.Sc.	11	-	11
M.A.	4	4	8
LL.B.	2	-	2

M.Sc.	1	-	1
Unclassified	50	30	80
Engineering (1st Year)	1	-	1
Technical College	3	-	3
Commercial College	1	-	1
Total	[1581]	[805]	[2446] ¹

2. We have informed the Director of Public Instruction, Sind, of our requirements and it has been explained to him that it is advisable to allow the boys and girls in the various groups to continue their courses of studies in Karachi as at their present schools in Delhi or Simla. They may adopt the Sind schools curriculum from the next academic year, but for the present there should not be any change in their syllabus.

3. The Sind Government have undertaken to establish new schools at Karachi to meet our requirements. An officer of the Education Department, Pakistan Government, has already been to Karachi and earmarked the buildings for the proposed schools which have been selected with due regard to the [ir] proximity to the residential quarters of the staff.

4. The Sind Government are being requested to open six primary schools for boys and six for girls, one middle school for boys and one middle school for girls, one high school for the 5th to the 11th standard for boys and one high school for girls, to be situated in the following areas:

A. Primary Schools (1st to 4th class)

Jacob Lines	Boys	Girls
Jutland Lines	Boys	Girls
Clayton Road Colony	Boys	Girls
Lawrence Road Colony	Boys	Girls
Clifton Road Area	Boys	Girls
Queen's Road Area	Boys	Girls

B. Middle Schools (5th to 8th class)

Clayton Road Colony	Boys	Girls
Lawrence Road	Boys	Girls

C. High School (5th to 10th class including the present XI class)

Jutland Lines	Boys	Girls
Abyssinian Lines	Boys	Girls

5. At one time the educational authorities of the Sind Government had suggested that our pupils from Delhi and other stations proceeding to Karachi should be absorbed in the existing schools of Karachi which could either be expanded or worked on a double shift to cope with the extra number of students. We have informed the Sind Government definitely that neither of these suggestions is acceptable.

6. It has been agreed by the D.P.I., Sind, that the schools will be ready to receive pupils on the 1st of September 1947.

7. The D.P.I., Sind, has been informed that the teachers in the proposed schools should possess a good command of the Urdu language along with other qualifications required for such teachers.

8. An Assistant Educational Adviser of the Education Department (Pakistan) has proceeded to Karachi to advise the D.P.I., Sind, of our requirements. He will also assist the D.P.I. in the selection of teachers qualified to teach through the medium of Urdu from among those applicants who are available in Karachi. If sufficient number of teachers, male and female, with the right training and suitable qualifications is not available to the Sind Government at Karachi, a selection will be made at Delhi by the D.P.I., Sind, the Assistant Educational Adviser and Mr. Abdul Ghafoor of the Muslim University of Aligarh.

9. As there is no provision for science, engineering, technical and commercial degree[s] and post-graduate courses at the Sind Madrassah College, it has been suggested to us by the Sind University authorities that the students who have taken B.Sc. or M.Sc. courses should not be encouraged to migrate to Karachi. The Vice-Chancellor, Sind University, has also advised that the students who are taking their B.A. (Pass), B.A. (Hons.), LL.B., or M.A. (Final) Examination in 1948, should not migrate at such a late stage to Karachi.

10. The Sind Madrassah College can absorb all the other college students.

11. The Vice-Chancellor, Sind University, has agreed to make special arrangements to examine those students who are preparing for the Higher Secondary and High School Examinations of the Delhi Board to be held in March 1948. These examinations will be based on the syllabus and text books as prescribed by the Delhi Board.

12. Arrangements are being made with the European Schools in Karachi to admit those students from Delhi and other stations who have been studying at similar institutions here.

¹Total was wrongly given as 1946 in the original. Gender division of kindergarten students has not been shown. The total of boys and girls, therefore, falls short of the grand total.

27

Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1004/6-7

NEW YORK,
28 July 1947

Columbia Broadcasting System cordially invites you participate in

broadcast with Mountbatten and Nehru [in] connection with Britain turning over India's Government. London can record from India and transmit to United States August 15. Hope you accept as all America will wish hear you that date.

SIOUSSAT
Columbia Broadcasting System

28

Ataullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 832/53-9

CHHACHHI MOHALLA,
RAWALPINDI CITY,
28 July 1947

Dear and revered Quaid,

It has been for some time that I have been thinking (and also been impelled by the general public here) of addressing you, but having regard for your engagements, which must be extraordinarily heavy at this time, and also to avoid undue ructions [*sic* for reactions] amongst the community, I have so far refrained from doing so. But now things have come to such a pass that I think that any further silence is sure to cause a serious damage to the cause, and therefore I am venturing to address you in the hope that with your usual insight into the heart of things you will be pleased to take very early steps in the matter.

2. Before coming to the real subject matter which has necessitated this letter, I beg to enclose herewith copies of a statement, marked A,¹ which I prepared at the request of Malik Firoz Khan Noon during his visit here after the riots, and of several letters which I have been sending to the *District Magistrate, Rawalpindi, as Convener of the Muslim Protection Committee, Rawalpindi. This statement and the letters will give an indication of what led to the riots and what took place during and after them; how the scales were heavily weighted against the poor Muslims, who did nothing but [act] in self-defence.*² It was openly given forth by the authorities that they had no sympathy for the Muslims and rather than that a guilty person should escape, they would indiscriminately catch hold of people at large and put the screw on them. Needless to point out to a man of your gigantic forensic knowledge, this was against the established principle of law that rather than that an innocent person should suffer, it is preferable that ten guilty persons should escape. In

strange contrast to this, no less a person than a Head Constable of Police set fire to the Police Lines Mosque, and because he was a Sikh, the D.I.G. of Police, who has openly been throwing his weight against the Muslims in a very openly pugnacious manner, is reported to have sent a message to the Public Prosecutor, while he was going to the Sessions Court to contest the accused's bail application, that he (the D.I.G.) would be glad to know that the accused had been released on bail. This from such a high official of Police is a very serious case, which had taken place in broad daylight, [and] was quite strange, and would clearly go to show that all law and order had been thrown overboard and that the Muslim was being ground down ruthlessly. The Hindus and Sikhs had got the ear of the authorities, and the Muslims had been terrorized into receding into their shells and whatever workers there were, were being insulted and given the cold shoulder by the authorities. On seeing this state of affairs, I formed a Protection Committee, and started writing letters of protest, suggestions, etc., which, it is gratifying to note, had the desired effect to a very considerable extent, and made officials of the type of this D.I.G. think twice before doing illegal things.

3. Malik Sahib approved of the statement so much that he advised me to send copies of it to all the officials concerned, and this I did, and on his advice I started sending copies of my subsequent correspondence with the District Magistrate to the Viceroy, the Governor, the I.G. and [the] D.I.G. of Police, the Commissioner, the S.P. of Police [sic], and the military authorities. It was a heavy task, but being a labour of love, was done cheerfully.

4. First of all, kindly accept my sincerest thanks for assuming the office of the Governor-General of Pakistan. You will, no doubt, notice that I am not felicitating you as others have done in a formal manner, but am thanking you, because I can see that it is no advantage to a man like you to be appointed Governor-General; it is the community which gains and it is from that community that I thank you again. You gave us Pakistan and it was but fit that you should be its first Governor-General to steer a successful course for it. The eyes of the world will be on us, eyes that will be watching most critically to detect all kinds of flaws, and it is imperative that we should show the world that Pakistan is quite a possibility with tremendous potentialities for freeing a downtrodden people from the thralldom of chicanery, intrigue and capitalism. A friend of mine, who is an M.A., M.O.L., objected to your appointment as the Governor-General on the ground that you would be cut off from party politics, but I assured him that now that everything was in the melting pot, and we were going to be judged by the world,

it was essential that a strong, unsparing and selfless man like you should be at the helm of affairs to check jobbery, nepotism and favouritism that were bound to crop up at this critical juncture. Your boldly taking up this position in spite of the sniggers and taunts of that arch-impostor and the enemy of Islam, Gandhi, and his satellites, and that too without any remuneration, further convinces me of the greatness that God has placed on you. May God reward you for this selfless task and give you strength enough to complete the work that you have in contemplation!

5. It is well-known to all the world how the Muslims of the Punjab generally, and of Rawalpindi District particularly, responded to the call that was made on them through the mischievous machinations of the Congress and its cat's-paws, the Sikhs. The Muslim did not flinch and bravely took up the challenge that was thrown to him, and very completely removed manifold misunderstandings that were being harboured in many quarters. But now things have come to such a pass that unless a very careful course is steered, all the good that has been done may be undone and the Muslim will be thrown back into a state of apathy and listlessness far worse than the one in which he was wallowing before this cataclysmic awakening. The Muslim has now been awakened and is becoming alive to the fact that he has to find and retain his place in the affairs of the world, but there are so many forces, both official and non-official, the latter far worse than the former, working against him that, unless he is properly guided and proposed [sic] up, he is likely to go under. The iron is quite hot at present, and in order to mould it to a proper shape we must strike it, and strike truly, at this juncture, otherwise if it gets cold, things will slip back into the same rut again from which they were taken out with such great difficulty by the efforts of exceptionally selfless people like yourself, and the sacrifices of so many *Mujahids*.

[Paras 6 & 7 omitted]

8. The efforts for peace which the Muslim League is making are quite commendable, but the way in which they are being made is strongly disapproved. We have won Pakistan through our efforts under your able guidance, and not taken it as a gift from anyone, so why should we be so propitiatory when the other side is so blatant and so much bent upon mischief-making? This would show that we are conscious of some weakness somewhere. A Muslim has proved himself to be a peace-loving citizen, but if he is badgered and tormented he is

quite prone to hit back and hit back very hard. Let Master Tara Singh and Co. come up with peace offerings and the Muslims will be only too glad to respond to them suitably, but this game of their trying to hoodwink and bamboozle him in the so-called peace meetings while firebrands like Tara Singh, Patel, etc., are still on the war-path and inciting their followers to violence of every kind, and whenever their females have been detected carrying revolvers tied up to their thighs, cannot be tolerated. *I think we should stand up and tell these people plainly that unless these Tara Singh[s] etc. also join the peace meetings, or are publicly disclaimed as leaders, we would not participate in them. So far what the Muslim League has done is likely to emasculate a brave and hopeful people.*

9. Pakistan does not mean the holding of high offices, for which, unless the situation is carefully watched, there is going to [be] an "unholy" scramble, but it should bring emancipation to the Muslim from the thralldom of the Hindu capitalist, who has so far monopolized everything and kept him out of service, commerce, trade and industry. Now is the time when by a *coup d'état*, we could capture all these things, which by right (and religion) belong to us. The Muslims have opened up shops and stores everywhere, but without a proper backing up this is not going to be of much use. They are taking their supplies from the Hindu wholesalers, which is a highly undesirable thing. My experience is that such shops, which get opened up in an effervescence [*sic*], collapse after some time, and in order to prevent this unfortunate contretemps we should have the trade in our hands right from the top to the bottom. This is not feasible without background [*sic*] of a *good banking system*. The Hindu was doing his business so successfully because he had a strong banking system to back him up, and now that, in order to teach the Muslims a lesson and to put a spoke in the wheels of Pakistan, all the Hindu banks are migrating to Hindustan (and in the meantime have suspended their banking business), it is imperative that some good Muslim banks should rush up to the breach [*sic*] and help to build up the Muslim business. The Hindu wholesalers are mischievously holding back and not getting new supplies, with a twofold object, to tease the Muslims and to get their old and rotten stock disposed of. The latter game was played by him [*sic* for them] during the strike in connection with the Marketing Bill, when it is within common knowledge that the Hindus managed to get rid of their stock of such commodities as *gur* etc., which had been as much as fifteen years old. This is sure to create a very serious chaotic state of things, and we must forestall it. I would propose that branches of the

Australia [sic for Australasia] Bank and Habib Bank should be immediately opened up in places like Rawalpindi etc. There are so many Muslims who are desirous of entering into the field but are at present being held back for lack of banking facilities. This is a very important matter and I am sure that with your foresight you will see into its urgency and kindly arrange to place these banking facilities at the disposal of Muslims who are keen to enter the field of industry and commerce. This will have to be done; my point is that it should be done while it can do most good and before the other side does something to minimise its effects.

Yours in Islam,
ATAULLAH

[*Convener, Muslim Protection Committee*]

¹The eight enclosures told of the atrocities committed against Muslims by Hindus and Sikhs and some army personnel with official connivance. See F 832/60-90, QAP. Not printed.

²Underlined and sidelined here and subsequently in the original.

29

W. P. Spens to M. A. Jinnah

F. 4-A/4

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

FEDERAL COURT,
NEW DELHI,
29 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th July 1947.¹ It does not seem to me necessary that the name of your representative on the Arbitral Tribunal should be delayed until the order establishing the Tribunal is agreed. It would be convenient if I could know as soon as possible whom you desire to suggest. There are a number of preliminary matters in regard to staff and accommodation which can provisionally be proceeded with before the actual appointment and establishment of the Tribunal is made. On some of them I would prefer to have the assistance of my future colleagues. I would like, therefore, your representative agreed as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
W. P. SPENS

¹No. 245, Vol. III, 702.

30

Mohammad Ishaq to K. H. Khurshid

F. 784/216-8

JAMMU,
29 July 1947

My dear Khurshid,

I have just returned from Srinagar. You must have read the resolution¹ adopted by the convention. I do not know what are your reactions to it but I feel an explanation is due from us. We had gone to Srinagar with the honest intention of supporting our stand on independence and in fact Chaudri Ghulam Abbas Khan² had himself drafted the resolution to be moved. In Srinagar, however, we soon found that we shall have to face a determined opposition. For one thing, the glamour of Pakistan was more attractive than the dreary prospects of an independent State for most imaginations. Secondly, the recent announcements in the Parliament were interpreted in the political circles here to signify that irresistible pressure³ would be brought on Kashmir to join one of the two unions. In that event it was felt that in the face of a clamorous demand from one side to join the Indian Union and the absence of a counter-demand from us the state would have a strong case for choosing the former course. After a two-day fight we carried our point (viz. the independence resolution) with the working committee but had to make concessions in the convention on the third day. Essentially our stand remains the same. We have demanded an independent Kashmir⁴ in all matters of internal administration but with respect to defence, communications, and foreign affairs, the State should cooperate with Pakistan on considerations of contiguity, economic factors and cultural affinities. Without this concession it was impossible to carry the house with us. We felt we were failing you and deviating from our previous stand but we were bound by the conventions of democracy. We had the option to resign but we honestly felt that that was not advisable under the circumstances.

You know best what transpired at Delhi between the Viceroy and Mr. Kak and you will kindly intimate us about the whole affair. The slight change made in our position, however, has secured us the zealous support of the masses and would go a long way to strengthen our organization. One thing is certain that in case the State joins the Indian Union, there will be very determined resistance from Muslims

everywhere in the State and the situation will certainly get out of hand from them. We are devoting full attention to build[ing] up strong organization.

By the way, Mr. Shahmiri⁵ of Kashmir was deputed specially to secure a way of approach to the League. Did he see you and what was his game? You of course know the measure of reliance to be put on him.

What is your programme?⁶ When do you move to Karachi to install the new regime?

Yours sincerely,
MOH[AMMA]D ISHAQ

[The following remarks are recorded on the above letter]

Dear Khurshid,

As I understand...[*personal comment omitted*] R.C.Kak called upon Q[uaid-i-] A[zam].⁷ Will you kindly let us know what transpired?

With best wishes,

Yours,
HAMIDULLAH⁸

¹See Appendix VII. 12 and VII. 16, Vol. III, 981-2 and 988-9, respectively.

²President, Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference

³Not traced. See Appendix VI. 4, Vol III, para 24, 958.

⁴See Annex to Appendix VII. 6, *ibid.*, 974.

⁵Probably Muzaffar-ud-Din Shahmiri, Secretary, General Administration Department, Jammu & Kashmir State.

⁶Jinnah arrived in Karachi on 7 August 1947.

⁷R.C. Kak as Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir State called on Jinnah in the afternoon of 25 July 1947. See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47*, Lahore, 1989, 89.

⁸Acting President, Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, during the incarceration of Ch.Ghulam Abbas.

31

H. Bashir Malik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 142/39-42

HOTEL MAIDEN'S, DELHI,
29 July 1947

Bismillah

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I wired you from Lahore and I phoned your Secretary today. He

told me to write you. I have written books and spoke[n] for hours at a stretch but to write these lines are [*sic* for is] harder for me. I want to be to the point. I love to serve my leader and my country, Pakistan, in [the] US [of] America in which I have lived for a decade and served the Muslim community.

From USA to India is a long run and I will consider it fruitful if you very kind[ly] allow me *no more than five minutes in which you could instruct me or at least*¹ bless the moments with your presence.

I intend to explain Pakistan to the people of America for the study of which I came here personally at a great expense. Quaid-i-Azam, I am the man who has been the backbone of *India League of America* and I resigned from it owing to its very anti-Muslim tendencies and since than [*sic* for then] I have been serving the Muslim Brotherhood Society Inc. of USA.

Only a year ago that I studied your outlook and struggle and the conversion came like a storm.

There is so much that I can do in America for our Pakistan and at *no cost to the* [*sic*] *Pakistan or Muslim League.* Believe me, my dear leader, I need not a penny, neither a title nor a praise. I never liked showing off. There was something in your *Dawn* about me and God knows I only knew about it through a friend in India.

The work I will do will be tremendous if, God willing, *I can speak to Congress and the House of Senate* [*sic*] *in Washington. I can interview the heads of different governmental departments and Chamber[s] of Commerce to familiarize them with greatness of our Pakistan.*

The press and the public are hungry in USA for the news about you and your achievements. You will be pleased with my work, my leader. I only want to serve and my reward is with God.

I am in Delhi now on the following address and I have come here with the hope that *you will very kindly allow me the honour of visiting you.* It will make my back strong again. I may be old now but not for the new light which is on my horizon. Alas [*sic*], I could make this light my strength as well.

Quaid-i-Azam, I came to your door from far far away and the only thing I beg is your personal blessings and [a] few instructions so I can introduce a great new nation to a mighty new world of America.

Work I shall for you and Pakistan whether you allow me the grace of your interview and some day you will say that I really deserved the moments I asked for. To come from America to visit you again is hard, very hard, but our cause is alike, our fight the same, our aim is one and that is *Pakistan Zindabad.* So my leader, I am marching behind you. My footsteps are like other millions but they have travelled a little longer

way. I pray that you live long with health and greater successes.
With hope,

Your humble servant,
H. BASHIR MALIK
President,
Muslim Brotherhood Society [Inc.],
New York

PS. I am waiting for your answer. The room in this hotel is costing me plenty and that money we can use for our Pakistan.

¹Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

32

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 208/25

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
[29 July 1947]¹

Quaid-i-Azam,

I take it [that] two of the most important items on the programme of the first session of our Constituent Assembly² will be:

1. Your inaugural address
2. The Objective[s] Resolution

At the Delhi and Bombay meetings of the League Council,³ you ended your perorations from Muslim classics. For your inaugural address, I send you herewith for your consideration, an extract from the Encyclopaedia Britannica:

The saying with which he (*Hazrat Omar*) began his reign will never grow antiquated: 'By God, he that is weakest among you shall be in my sight the strongest, until I have vindicated for him his rights; but him that is strongest will I treat as the weakest, until he complies with the law'. It would be impossible to give a better general definition of the function of the State.

The first Muslim State started functioning with [the] reign [*sic*] of *Hazrat Omar*, as the years of *Hazrat Abu Bakr's* caliphate were no more than a period of gestation. On the occasion of the birth of the biggest Muslim State in the world of to-day, a reminder of the early years when a Muslim State was first born may strike responsive chords in the hearts of our

people here and in that [sic] of the Muslims abroad.

At your last press conference,⁴ you had said in effect that we have thirteen centuries of democratic traditions and usage behind us. If a guarantee of the minorities' rights were needed to be given from the forum of the Constituent Assembly, as also a reminder to the Pakistani Muslims that their new State was a sacred trust to be cherished for the people and not an estate to be exploited for the personal glorification of its leaders, then too saying of Omar is so apt and to the point.

As regards the Objective[s] Resolution, it will be the mariner's compass by which those on whose shoulders the burden of preparing the first draft of the Constitution will lie will have to guide themselves. I do trust that drafting of this resolution has been taken in hand as it ought to be considered and reconsidered almost every day till it is finally presented in the Constituent Assembly.

What a titanic burden you have undertaken upon yourself at this age! Whenever overwhelmed by great tasks, the late Sir Phirozshah Mehta used to quote from Tennyson thus:

I have not made the world

And He that has made, will guide

In the sacred month of *Ramadan*, our deepest prayers are that God may guide you with His wisdom and sustain you with His strength.

Yours obediently,
HATIM A. ALAVI

¹10 *Ramadan* 1366.

²The session was held on 11 August 1947.

³The AIML Council meeting took place at Delhi on 9 June 1947. See Enclosure to Annex to No. 41, Vol. II, 96-7. The Council meeting at Bombay was held on 27-29 July 1946. See Annex III to Appendix V.2, Vol. III, 930.

⁴Appendix VIII. 2, *ibid.*, 1001-6.

33

Raja Faizullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/276

RAMTEK, NAGPUR,
29 July 1947

PARTITION OF INDIA

My dear Mr. Moh[amma]d Ali Jinnah,

You think you have done a great good to the Muslims. I do not think so.

You might feel this is a solitary voice coming from the wilderness. It is really so. But that wilderness is the Muslim masses. Very soon this solitary voice will develop into loud slogans of free India—one India.

RAJA FAIZULLAH KHAN
B. A.

34

Abu Sulaiman to Z. A. Ansari

F. 846/41-2
[Extract]

MAKIN,
CENTRAL WAZIRISTAN,
[29 July 1947]¹

The Faqir of Ipi is trying his best to secure sympathy of Mahsud Tribes, and consequently a letter from him dated 2nd of *Ramadan* reached the prominent persons of Makban on 7th *Ramadan*. A true copy of the letter² is being enclosed herewith. The information furnished in the previous letter³ re[garding] calling of a *Jirga* at Makin is verified through the contents of this letter.

2. The real purpose of obtaining thumb impressions is known to the Haji Sahib himself, but the circumstances which led to this stand to prove that the Govt. of Afghanistan is backing strenuously the Pathanistan Movement through Haji Sahib (Faqir of Ipi).

Afghanistan Govt. and the I.N. [Indian National] Congress are trying to make it a success for their own ends.

The aims of the Congress are evident enough that it wants the movement of free tribes and the Frontier Province of Peshawar, through *Zalme Pashtoon*—so much so that it wants to inflame a civil war to hamper the progress of Pakistan Dominion and to exhaust its army's ammunition in quelling its internal troubles and to be on the look out of [*sic*] an opportunity to install itself and surrender [*sic*] the Pakistan Govt., as has been hinted upon in the speeches delivered by Shyama P. Mukherjee and Purshottam Dass Tandon—saying that they shall not take rest until they conquer Pakistan.

The Afghanistan Government in its turn has had on several occasions put up its demand for a united Pathanistan. It has been reliably

learnt that some time ago one named Sherbaz Khan, a prominent Waziri, who also holds the title of Brig. from Afghan Govt., was sent by Afghan Government to the Faqir of Ipi along with presents and the Haji Sahib acknowledged the presents with much ecstasy, and there was a secret and friendly talk between them for the whole night and thus the Brigadier returned from his mission successfully.

3. Shortly after the return of the Brigadier a circular notice was issued by the Faqir of Ipi to the Mahsud Tribes, a copy of which is being sent herewith for special perusal of Quaid-i-Azam. It is evidently clear from the letter that the Afghan Government has baited the Faqir of Ipi by making him to anticipate establishment of Waziristan Kingdom as a sequel to Pathanistan move[ment]. It is also believed that a big monetary offer has been made by the Congress as well as by Afghan Government. It is but [sic] for this offer that Haji Sahib asserts the Muslim League to be hand in glove with the British in spite of the fact that constitutional head of the Muslim League is a Muslim and that of the Congress a Briton. It is also for this reason that nobody dares to find fault with the Congress in [the] presence of Haji Sahib or his devotees while in the case of the League the policy is entirely [the] reverse to [sic for of] this.

4. It is also believed that the Afghan Government is contriving against my visits and discussions with the Haji Sahib, and it follows from the fact that a special reporter named Ghulam Habib, a member of the Intelligence Dept. of Afghanistan, is indulging in false propaganda against myself, and is instigating the prominent figures of Mahsud Tribes to extirpate me from my home. I had not finished this letter yet and I received the news that Musa Khan has arrived in Makin with his son. He is regarded [as] a big leader of Mahsud tribesmen and also holds the honorary *Mansab* (rank) of *Naib Salar* from Afghan Government, and I am sure they shall face disappointment and they cannot extirpate me. I am not in a position to surmise at this stage that I shall have discussions with the Haji Sahib (Faqir of Ipi) on Indian politics. It will have to be seen later on.

5. I am pressed by Mahsud tribesmen for opening a school at Makin and to educate their children.

6. Kindly acknowledge receipt of my letters through registered post to ensure safe delivery, and do please communicate to me the views of Quaid-i-Azam.

7. I have written letters to the Nawab of Bajaur and the Khan of Kot Kai of Mohmand Tribe. The Khan [of] Kot Kai is a staunch supporter

of Dr. Khan and a [sic for is] dependent on him, but the Nawab of Bajaur is in alliance with the League.

Yours affectionately,
ABU SULAIMAN

¹The date given was 10 Ramadan 1366.

²Enclosure.

³See No. 229, Vol. III, 670-2.

Enclosure to No. 34

F. 846/43

*Translation of Faqir of Ipi's circular to Mahsud tribes, Gul Lala,
'Ulama and Maliks of Pahalwan Zai and Makin*

I am glad to learn of your unity and shall bless it. The purpose of my getting the thumb impressions is simply for the sake of the unity of Islam and it is in the interest of our tribes if Waziristan and Frontier Province Pashtoon form a solid unity. Then we will be saved of the bad effects of our opponents and our Kingdom is likely to be established. If possible all the thumb impressions might be obtained in [the] month of *Ramadan*. We have no bad intentions against anybody. Thirdly I assure [you] that I never intended to launch a *Jihad* merely for the sake of wordly [sic for worldly] gains and for establishing myself as a King. I will do it only for the sake of propagating the religion of Muhammad [peace be upon him]. We shall meet after 'Id. Three *Jirgas* will suffice.

HAJI MIRZA ALI KHAN
Faqir of Ipi

35

O. G. H. Ormerod to M. A. Jinnah

F. 163/13-4

PAKSEY P.O., DIST. PABNA,
EAST BENGAL,
29 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope and trust you will forgive me [for] presuming to prevail upon your valuable time, should I be so fortunate as for you to give,

what I write, your kind consideration.

I am a British officer in the service of the Governor-General-in-Council and my substantive post is that of District Traffic Superintendent on the Bengal Assam Railway.

After due consideration I am writing to you in a final attempt to discover just how myself and other officers, in the same position as myself, who have elected to serve in Pakistan stand, as all other attempts have produced practically nothing, in fact nothing definite at all. I trust that you will help me in my quandary when I say that I have always been a supporter and admirer of yours, and can honestly say I have supported the cause of Pakistan in all discussions I have had both in England and out here. I came out here from England to the old Assam Bengal Railway at the age of twenty, and have served out here for twenty years, and hope to serve Pakistan for the next fifteen. My father, before me, came to India in 1893, and practically constructed the Assam Bengal Railway of which he became Chairman of the Board of Directors in London, which post he held until 1942, when it was taken over by the Government. I feel therefore that it is my destiny to continue my service here where I have always been very happy and keen on my work and feel that I understand your people of whom I am very fond, and I think and hope that they reciprocate my feelings.

I have recently been considerably unsettled by rumours to the effect that Pakistan do not want British officers to remain on the railway, and in fact that demonstrations have been made against them in Chittagong, due to which some have applied to go on leave preparatory to retirement before 15th August 1947 with immediate settlement of their Provident Fund etc., which they are afraid they may never get if they wait until after that date.

Although I have received no guarantee as to whether I shall be paid my Provident Fund, if I continue to serve in Pakistan, I am willing to risk this although it is all I have in the world, but if the rumours are true that we are not required in Pakistan, I consider it only fair that we should be told now, so that we may draw what is due to us and retire gracefully.

I trust and pray that you may be gracious enough to consider my appeal to you, for your assistance in helping me to understand our position in which my whole future and that of my family depends.

May I wish you personal good fortune and prosperity, and long life to Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
O. G. H. ORMEROD
*District Traffic Superintendent,
Bengal Assam Railway*

36

Louis Mountbatten to Maharaj Rana of Dholpur

F. 511/1-5

29 July 1947

My dear Maharaj Rana Saheb,

When we met yesterday at the party at the Viceroy's House I told you I had dictated my reply to your letter¹ and would send it round by the hand of a Staff Officer who has been with me for five years, Mr. Campbell-Johnson,² whom I introduced to you. He will bring this round and will gladly answer any further questions or take back any further message from Your Highness. Although I thanked Your Highness verbally for your letter of the 20th July,³ I must apologise that sheer pressure of events has prevented me from acknowledging it in writing.

Most of the points that you raise have been answered either verbally or by the actual events; since you will observe that I myself took the chair at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes⁴ which Your Highness attended; and that at this meeting a committee was set up, to which, so far as I can find out, everyone present agreed.

Out of some 565 States there are indications that somewhere round about 560 would accede to their appropriate Dominion, using the Instrument of Accession⁵ for India which I submitted at the meeting which Your Highness attended, and adopting somewhat similar lines for Pakistan.

I understand that the Rulers who are contemplating not acceding have already been organized by our mutual friend, the Nawab of Bhopal, with whom I have been in constant touch.⁶

Consequent on our two or three recent talks I think I may also claim to know Your Highness' views and I trust you know mine.

I have already met the Hyderabad delegation⁷ and am in touch with His Exalted Highness the Nizam⁸ and also Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.⁹ I hope to meet the Maharaja of Indore soon. Thus, I think it

may fairly be said that I am endeavouring to keep [in] touch with the representatives of all points of view.

I appreciate Your Highness' regard for the Royal House of Windsor and your concern that I should not be directly or indirectly associated with an attempt to hustle the Indian Princes into any hurried decisions within three days. I am glad to assure Your Highness that this is far from my wish and I would be glad to extend the time to any Prince who wishes an extension until the 14th August, which you will appreciate is the last possible date on which I can be of any further direct service to the States, since my functions as Crown Representative end at midnight on that day. This will give Your Highness one month from the time you first received the proposals; and I trust that you agree that this will meet your objections.

In your letter you ask whether you may enter into a treaty in respect of common matters with the two Dominions to avoid becoming an integral part of either dominion. As I explained to Your Highness, I have now wrung from the future Government of India the maximum concessions to which they will agree, and they will definitely not enter into any treaty with any State; since they consider that the terms of the Instrument of Accession,¹⁰ which I myself drafted, are fair and generous.

I would point out that immediate accession to a Dominion on the three subjects of Defence, External Affairs, and Communications will not prejudice the position of the States either in regard to their participation in the Constituent Assembly or their ultimate freedom to join or not to join the Union Constitution that may eventually be adopted by that Assembly. My plan merely provides a basis on which common policies can be evolved in regard to these three subjects for the interim period, while the new constitution is being framed in the Constituent Assembly. That being so, I have never been able to understand Your Highness' point of view that you are afraid that if you sign the Instrument of Accession you will find yourself linked against your will to an independent Government without a monarchical head. If you accede now you will be joining a Dominion with the King as Head. If they change the constitution to a republic and leave the British Empire, the Instrument of Accession does not bind you in any way to remain with the republic. It would appear to me that that would be the moment for Your Highness to decide if you wish to remain with India or reclaim full sovereign independence.

I know that His Majesty would personally be grieved if you elected to sever your connection with him whilst he was still the King of India

now that it has been made clear that this would not involve you in accepting to remain within a republic, if this was unacceptable to you when the time came.

I too will be grieved if I find that Your Highness refuses to accede before the 14th August, since I shall bitterly feel the fatal isolation of an old friend; and it would be sad that you or your illustrious family would travel without any diplomatic privileges unless Your Highness were able to set up Legations or Consulates in various parts of the world to look after the interests of your subjects.

You asked me what I thought India would do to Dholpur if you did not accede. To the best of my knowledge and belief they will do nothing; that is precisely the trouble—nothing whatever will be done and your State will remain in complete isolation in the centre of an indifferent India.

Although Your Highness, being a man of such great wealth, may be able to abdicate and leave your State, I know that your loyalty to your subjects and your belief in the position and obligations of a Ruler will not let you desert your subjects; and I shall grieve indeed as I read reports of the plight of Dholpur month by month during 1948.

I need hardly assure Your Highness that this letter is written in the most sincere spirit of friendship and if I can help in any further way by personal meetings, I hope you will regard me as at your disposal to help you with discussion and advice.

Yours very sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹See No. 242, *TP*, XII, 360-1.

²Press Attache to the Viceroy.

³Appendix VII. 19, Vol. III, 993-8.

⁴Annex to Appendix VII.19, *ibid.*, 998-1000.

⁵See No. 239, *TP*, XII, 355-6.

⁶Annexure I to Enclosure to No. 178 and Appendix VI. 4, para 20 and Appendix VII. 17, Vol. III, 440-52, 957, and 989-91, respectively.

⁷See Nos. 33 and 257, *TP*, XII, 31-2, and 377-8, respectively. Also see Appendix VI. 4, para 21, Vol. III, 957.

⁸Appendix VI. 4, paras 16-19, *ibid.*, 955-7.

⁹Diwan of Travancore.

¹⁰The terms of Instrument of Accession were in fact drafted by V.P. Menon. See Appendix VI. 4, para 26, Vol. III, 958-9. Also see No. 228, para 26, *TP*, XII, 338.

37

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 2/258

[No.]1446/16

29 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The telegram¹ in which I was informed that Cunningham had accepted the Governorship of the N.W.F.P. was corrupt in one place. I have now found from a letter² from the India Office what was intended. He said "he was entirely ready to agree on the basis of Paragraph 3" of my telegram.³ In this paragraph I had said that I had proposed to you, and understood you to agree, that Cunningham should be informed that at the end of his time, if he was in any way out of pocket, the question of a small ex-gratia payment might be considered.

I am sure I need do no more than mention this matter now, but it is clearly advisable that I should mention it in view of the understanding on which Cunningham has accepted the post.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹No. 120, Vol. III, 316-7.

²Not traced.

³Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

38

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 2/256

[No.]1446/16

29 July 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have heard from Prior that he is prepared to carry on in Baluchistan at present,¹ but he trusts that the new appointment will not be delayed after October.

I hope I can give him this assurance?

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹No. 231, Vol. III, para 4, 673.

39

S. M. Hanif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/280-1

1/3, I. R. BELILIOUS LANE,
P. O. HOWRAH, BENGAL,
29 July 1947

Respected Sir,

We the local people beg to appeal to the Government authority of both the "to-be-Dominions" that the lives and the properties of the Muslims, a minority community, of the Howrah Town, a place of the West Bengal, are in constant and imminent danger. It has been an everyday problem of shooting and bombing by the non-Muslims resulting in fatal injuries and deaths. The Nepali Force on duty are always found to connive at the scenes and observing partiality. This action of the Nepali Force is absolutely unbearable. The joint promises made by the Partition Council in Delhi and published on the 25th July 1947, to safeguard the minority community are futile and non-reliable. A gradual panic and bewilderment are prevalent among the minority community of this place. The ill-behaviour and tortures designed by the non-Muslims of this place is [*sic*] absolutely unbearable. Several crossings of the roads, lanes, and streets, are blocked by the organised non-Muslims. Poor employees are unable to attend [to] their duties. Various places have become impassable.

We the local people do not understand what would be the future fate of the Muslims of this place after the Aug. 15, when the majority community have, from even now, on [the] one side started to inflict high-handedness, and the Government of the West Bengal on the other has failed hereto [*sic* for hitherto] to restore order and peace, which have posted the only Nepali Force in all sections and sides of the town of Howrah.

Last but not the [*sic*] least, the Muslims are put to death and the Police enquiry is made at the eleventh hour.

Under the circumstances, we the local people divert [*sic*] particularly the immediate attention of the West Bengal Government at whose mercy the poor Muslim inhabitants, consisted [*sic*] chiefly of labour classes, will have to live here. We are waiting to see what arrangement for safeguard[ing] of the minority of this place is made.

Yours obediently,
S. M. HANIF

Copy forwarded for information to:

1. Sardar Patel, Home Member, Government of India, New Delhi
2. Dr. P. C. Ghosh, The Prime Minister, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta
3. Khwaja Nazimuddin, President [sic] of the Central Pakistan Government
4. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Government House, Calcutta
5. The Secretary, The Bengal Provincial Muslim League, 8 Zakaria Street, Calcutta

40

M. Ramzan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/277-9

[Original in Urdu]

MEDICAL HALL, THALL,
DIST. KOHAT,
29 July 1947

Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Your Honour, I am an Ahmedi. Under the orders of my *Khalifa*, I have suffered much hardship for the cause of the Muslim League in this region. By the grace of *Allah*, my sacrifices by far exceed those of all office-bearers of the Muslim League of this area.

Thall is situated at a distance of one mile from Waziristan and holds a prime position in the Congress-dominated areas. We had secured only [a] few votes in the last election of 1946.¹ Among the female voters there were my wife and two other women. But in the referendum² this time around, about six hundred votes were secured. During the past two years I have tried extremely hard offering free medical service to all the *Sajjada Nasheen* of the free tribes of this region. For the attainment of Pakistan, I have been sending telegrams to the Cabinet Mission on behalf of these *Sajjada Nasheen* at my cost.

I feel very sorry that among my League friends I do not find that energy, enthusiasm, and spirit of sacrifice which is vital to the future

of living nations. At this time, our adversaries, the Congress, possess a lot more vitality and zest than we do. Their moral fibre is also stronger than ours. It seems that following the referendum, our ephemeral enthusiasm quickly subsided. You do know the fate of nations that fall into complacency having discharged a given duty. It will be better if we do not lose sight of our weaknesses.

There is more to Abdul Ghaffar Khan's demand for Pathanistan³ and Dr. Khan's declaration⁴ that they want general election than meets the eye. They have realized their own weaknesses as well as ours. The main reasons for our success and their debacle were: scarcity of commodities in the provinces; handing over of all syndicates to the Congressites; and rampant blackmarketing by them. But if a general election takes place now, our cupidity and craving for office could be more harmful. For example, in the ward of Hungo Tehsil, a scramble for office would lead to internal discord if three candidates stand for election in place of one. If, by some odd chance, we develop unity, the opposite party might set up some national figures against our candidates and thereby split our vote and keep theirs intact. Such a situation would create trouble for us and we might lose several seats as a result.

We have developed so much avarice and lust for office that only *Allah* can help us. Except for a handful of persons, we have no spirit left for selfless national service.

The second mischief besetting us is the demand for Pathanistan which has a lot of importance implicit in it. We seem oblivious to its germs which are spreading fast among the free tribes and clans. Though we have the support of some leading *Maliks* and *Sajjada Nasheen* of free tribes but not of the lower classes who appear to hold different views and are throwing off the yoke of *Maliks* and spiritual leaders.

Two months ago an Ahmedi, Moulvi Mohammad Ahmad, was encouraged by some *Maliks* to visit the free tribes for propaganda against this mischief. But he was arrested at the Afghan border and detained in custody. Some local *Maliks* are trying to get him released but success seems doubtful.

I have but one reason for writing such a long letter, and it is that Muslim Leaguers should serve the national cause selflessly and without greed for office, recognising the interests of the Muslims, and mounting organised propaganda against Pathanistan and in favour of the Muslim cause among free tribes. We should be eager to develop perseverance and steadfastness among ourselves. To this end, I am

sending copies of this letter to *Hazrat Khalifa* to the Second Messiah, Qadian, and to Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Wassalaam,

Yours obediently,
M. RAMZAN

¹See Annexes II and VI to No. 79, Vol. III, 197-8 and 202-3, respectively.

²Enclosure to Annex III to No. 79, *ibid.*, 199-200.

³See Appendix IV. 10, *ibid.*, 868-9.

⁴See Annex I & II to Appendix IV. 13, *ibid.*, 886-7.

41

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 227/28

ALL INDIA STATES MUSLIM LEAGUE,
LIAISON OFFICE, DELHI,

30 July 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had written two letters to you on 9th¹ and 11th² of July 1947, because I had been falsely informed by Mr. Rasool Khan and Mr. M.H. Siddiqui, the President and Secretary, respectively, of All India States Muslim League, that you had directed them to close the Liaison Office immediately. This falsehood has also been preached in a section of the press and I must clarify my position before the public.

I have now returned from my tour of Travancore and other States and learnt that a very serious controversy has started between the office-bearers of the A.I.S. Muslim League and the members of the Council. An overwhelming majority of the members of the Council has moved a vote of no confidence against the President and the Secretary and the requisitioned meeting is being held on 10th, 11th and 12th of August 1947. *If my reading of the situation is correct, the President and the Secretary will be expelled from the organisation.*³

From what I have said above you will agree that I have been placed in a very difficult position. I desire to know the whole truth. Kindly refer to my letters of the 9th and 11th July and grant me an interview before you leave Delhi for Karachi. In case that is not possible I will presume that you *have no desire to interfere in the affairs of the All India States Muslim League and that I am absolutely free to say the same to the*

members of the All India States Muslim League Council. Hoping to be excused for this encroachment on your precious time and with sincere good wishes for your long life and good health,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

¹No. 84, Vol. III, 223-4.

²No. 110, *ibid.*, 300.

³Sideline here and subsequently in the original.

42

Khan of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 699/15

HOTEL IMPERIAL, NEW DELHI,
30 July 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am most grateful to you for your very generous hospitality¹ and for the kind and friendly assurances you have given me with regard to our future mutual relations.

2. Having come here at the kind express invitation of His Excellency the Crown Representative and yourself, and having in the meanwhile had the honour of seeing His Excellency once and yourself twice, I would now like to take permission of both His Excellency and yourself to return home. I will, however, provided it is agreeable to you, leave my *Wazir-i-Azam* here behind for another few days in order that he may be available to the Pakistan authorities for such further negotiations as may be considered necessary.

3. It is my earnest wish, and I pray to God to this effect, that Pakistan and Kalat State may come to a lasting settlement with each other—a settlement that should be both honourable and beneficial to both parties.

4. Provided I am not troubling you in any way, I will be delighted to come over at any time that may suit your convenience, to say goodbye to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

¹Jinnah had invited the Khan of Kalat to dinner on 29 July 1947. See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47, 1989*, Lahore, 91.

43

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Chaiwala

F. 169/30

30 July 1947

My dear Mr. Chaiwala,

Sir Padampat Singhanian¹ informs me that according to my instructions he could go to your office where he could find from you all the particulars of my Bombay house and then, after he has seen it, he would make his near offer to what I have been wanting ; and I regret to find that when his friend or representative went to Bombay and saw you, you informed him that the house had been already sold and, therefore, it was no use making any inquiries. I suppose you went by the false rumour² in the press that I had sold my house to Dalmia. I don't know whether you noticed it, but I had to contradict this very harmful statement and it appeared in most of the papers, I believe including the *Times of India*, Bombay. Please in future don't take it from the press reports or anybody else as correct and when the house is sold I shall certainly inform you without delay.

However, now Singhanian wants to see the house. He is going to Bombay and is leaving Delhi tomorrow. I hope that you will give him every facility to see the house thoroughly as well as the plans. And you know the price I have fixed is twenty lakhs of rupees net. All cost charges and expenses must be borne by the purchaser. I prefer to do this because I don't want to go into all this trouble, especially as I am not in Bombay. Instead, I have taken all that into account; I shall not have to pay half the cost of charges and expenses of completing the sale, otherwise I would have asked for a larger sum.

Please, therefore, afford Singhanian or his friend or agent every facility and oblige. I am sending this letter addressed to you and it will be delivered to you by the representative of Sir Padampat Singhanian.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Chaiwala, Esq.,
Mohamed Ali & Co.,
15 Military Square Lane, Fort,
Bombay

¹A leading Indian industrialist.

²See No. 124, TP, XI, last para, 235. Also see Appendix I. 107, Vol.II, 797.

44

M. A. Jinnah to W. P. Spens

F. 4-A/5

30 July 1947

Dear Sir Patrick,

I am in receipt of your letter of 27th [*sic* for 29th] July 1947,¹ and as desired by you I give you the name of Mr. Justice Mohammad Ismail, ex-Judge, Allahabad High Court, at present Chief Judge, Common High Court, Orissa and Chhattisgarh States, Raigarh (B.N.R.),² as our representative on the Arbitral Tribunal, referred to by you.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Sir Patrick Spens,
Chief Justice of India,
New Delhi

¹No. 29.

²Bengal Nagpur Railway.

45

G. V. Bewoor to PS to M. A. Jinnah

F. 489/7

TATA INDUSTRIES LIMITED,
CONNAUGHT CIRCUS, NEW DELHI,

30 July 1947

Dear Sir,

I would like to have an opportunity of an interview with Mr. Jinnah, if he could spare the time. I am aware that he is extremely busy at present and I have no particular business with him. Having, however, known him in the past, I would like to have an opportunity of paying my respects to him before he leaves Delhi for Karachi. Any date and time will suit me.

I would be grateful if you will kindly ascertain the wishes of Mr. Jinnah and let me know.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,

G. V. BEWOOR

46

M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

F. 499/10

30 July 1947

Dear Sir Francis,

Many thanks for your letter of 26th July 1947,¹ and I am glad to hear that satisfactory arrangements have been made between you and Jenkins. I am sorry that I won't have an opportunity of seeing you because, according to the arrangements, you will have left Karachi by the time I arrive, as I shall be reaching there late in the evening while you are leaving by air on the morning of the 7th of August, but that cannot be helped, much as I would have liked to have had a talk with you before your leaving for Lahore.

As regards the constitutional position of your successor, in the circumstances we shall have to consider how to legalize the matter regarding the Governor designate of Sind.

Well, I am glad to hear that you have got everything all right and that you have taken great interest in the garden and have improved it considerably. I hope that I may be able to improve it further. I shall certainly retain the *mali* as you recommend him.

With regard to your concluding paragraph, let me thank you that you were ready and willing to place your services at the disposal of Pakistan. I am more than pleased that you accepted my request to go to the Punjab as Governor. I feel confident that you will not fail.

As for your obtaining my views on the Punjab politics, we shall certainly arrange to keep in touch with each other and I shall be glad to advise you. Yes, you can also get at me by cypher telegram through the Governor of Sind and it will receive my immediate attention.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Sir Francis Mudie,
Governor of Sind,
Government House,
Karachi

¹No. 6.

47

Sultan Mahmud to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/282-5

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER, NWFP,
PESHAWAR CANT.,

30 July 1947

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Realizing fully as I do that you must be preoccupied with matters of great importance, I beg to draw your particular attention to one of considerable local importance. To our great surprise, orders have been received in the office of the Comptroller, NWFP, Peshawar, that the entire Hindu staff in that office consisting of 3 Ass[istan]t Accounts Officers, Superintendents, and Upper Division Clerks, who had elected to serve in Hindustan, is to stay on till Feb[ruary] 1948. These orders came as a shock to us against all expectations and have caused a great amount of consternation amongst the Muslims who had pinned their hopes on this opportunity to get rid of Hindu domination. In every other Dep[artmen]t or office, the Hindus who have almost en-block [*sic for en bloc*] elected to serve in Hindustan, have been sent away regardless, as far as we understand, of any shortage caused thereby. The Comptroller's office will be the only unfortunate civil office yet to remain Hindu-ridden. This has been one of the worst afflicted offices by Hindu domination ever since its formation in 1929, on separation from the office of the Acc[ountan]t Gen[eral], Punjab. The gravity of the situation can be imagined from the fact that out of the 3 Ass[istan]t Accounts Officers all are Hindus. The rest of them among Superintendents occupy the top of the seniority list, to the exclusion of Muslim aspiration for promotion to higher ranks during the present generation. This is not because Muslims are inefficient, as the charge is usually levelled against us by our enemies, but because, as it was, we entered the arena late and then hindrances were placed in our path to progress.

How powerful the Hindu clique has been in this office can be judged from one out of the many events, the unfortunate dismissal of Sh. Taj Moh[amma]d, M.A., Comptroller, NWFP, along with half a dozen senior Muslim staff. Naturally, the decision to retain the Hindus, even if temporarily, has sent a wave of indignation and disappointment at a time they were expected to leave us alone in fulfilment of our long cherished desire. If Pakistan meant freedom from Hindu domination,

we regret to say it means nothing to us.

As our information goes, about last year, Dr. Khan Sahib as the Premier of this Province moved the Auditor General of India to repatriate to the office of the Acc[ountant]t Gen[eral], Punjab, a certain group of Hindus in this office in order to break up their clique. They were responsible for brewing up certain subversive activities against the authorities. It was explained by the Premier that so long as that group remained here, peace would be unknown to the office of the Comptroller, NWFP. But nothing came out of it.

It seems that the next 8 months may soften their fervour for Hindustan, which they have already begun to feel will be no bed of roses for them. We have, therefore, strong apprehensions that circumstances may be created in which they may contrive to stay on permanently. If their existing dominating position and privileges could be made secure by any means, no one would be happier than they to carry on. Their immediate reaction to the decision bears out this conclusion. They intend to present the Pakistan Govt. with demands for indemnity and guarantees and thus place a premium upon themselves by virtue of the situation created by these orders.

As seen from this distance, the decision not only "exposes" the so-called Muslim inability to manage without the help of Hindus but is also incompatible with Muslim interests in perhaps the same way as the continued functioning of Eastern Punjab Govt. would have been in Lahore. We doubt whether this set-up has been advised deliberately to correspond with the Pathanistan move.

The arrangement can also hardly be regarded as conducive to efficiency. They had already lost all interest; they were only marking time. Maybe, they will get an opportunity to widen their intrigues and sabotage activities. In any case, the Hindus of this office have acquired such a notoriety for their mischievousness that their retention in the service of Pakistan would be against the interest of the State. Dr. Zahid Hussain at one time Comptroller, NWFP, will perhaps bear testimony to this from his personal experience of this office.

Neither it is difficult to solve the problem; for example, Part I, S.A.S. (Subordinate Accounts Service Exam)-passed men and senior clerks can be placed in charge of sections. It is understood that as many as 30 sections in the office of the Acc[ountant] Gen[eral], Central Revenues, New Delhi, and quite a good many in the office of the Comptroller, Sind, are managed by senior clerks. Divisional Accountants can be placed in charge of Public Works Sections. If similiar arrangements are to be made in March 1948, then why not make them now so far as at

least supervisory staff is concerned? And quite a good many qualified Muslims are also available in the office.

I beg to be excused for the lengthy letter, but I think I could not have made my point without explaining the whole background.

Yours sincerely,
SULTAN MAHMUD
Superintendent

PS. It is added for information that most of the Hindus in the office of the Comptroller, NWFP, belong to the Punjab, chiefly Eastern Punjab, and were imported from the office of the Accountant-General, Punjab, in 1929 on the formation of the former office.

48

Proceedings of the Meeting of Markazi Jam'iiyyat-i-Muslim Naunehalan

F. 908/111
[Original in Urdu]

OFFICE OF MARKAZI
JAM'IYYAT-I-MUSLIM NAUNEHALAN,
33 ZAKARIA STREET, CALCUTTA,
30 July 1947

JASHNE PAKISTAN BY THE JAM'IYYAT-I-MUSLIM NAUNEHALAN, CALCUTTA

A meeting of the Markazi Jam'iiyyat-i-Muslim Naunehalan, Calcutta, was held on Saturday, 26 July 1947, at 3 p.m. under the presidentship of 13-year-old Muhammad Usman. The proceedings began with the recitation of holy *Qur'an*, expressing joy over achievement of Pakistan, and felicitating Quaid-i-Azam on his appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan.

2. Among the youthful participants, Hashim Abdur Rashid, Muhammad Hanif, Ghulam Sarwar and Najmul Hasan recited poems while Rizwanullah, Fazlur Rahman, Qazi Muhammad Yousaf, Muhammad Siddiq and Manzoor Ilahi made speeches. Saiful Islam moved a resolution¹ which was adopted by consensus.

3. At the request of the presiding youth, Syed Hasan Askari and Maulana Syed Muhammad Qureshi, teachers at Calcutta Presidency

Muslim High School, also spoke. The meeting ended with the speech of the President, after adopting a vote of thanks to the audience and offering *dua*. Arrangement[s] for *iftari* to the participants were made as well.

M. S. LAIUDDIN

Acting Secretary

M. S. AFTABUDDIN

Assistant Secretary

M. ABDUL HAQ

Founder & Administrator

Note. Delay in communicating the record of proceedings was caused by illness of the Secretary.

¹No. 8.

49

C. J. Stracey to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1030/4

82 DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
30 July 1947

SUBJECT: RE-INSTATEMENT AND ABSORPTION OF INA PERSONNEL
IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Sir,

On behalf of the All India INA Enquiry and Relief Committee and the INA Advisory Committee, I beg to forward herewith an official copy of the resolutions passed by the All India INA Convention held at Cawnpore, from 15th to 17th July 1947, for your information.

In the light of the said resolutions I beg to request that you will be good enough to take such action as may be considered necessary for inclusion of the sub-joined paragraph or words to that effect, in any statement or proclamation that [it] is understood [is] to be issued on 15th August 1947, during [the] epoch-making occasion on [*sic*] the transfer of power from the British to Indian hands.

PARAGRAPH FOR FAVOUR OF INCLUSION IN THE
STATEMENT OR PROCLAMATION

The Government have decided to accept in principle that all disabilities, such as imprisonment, loss of service, forfeiture of pay, pensions, provident fund, gratuities, land and allowances, etc., incurred

by Indians in civil and military services for and on account of political activity in the cause of India's freedom, are hereby removed and steps to implement the decision will be taken as soon as possible.

The problem of restoration of *status quo* for INA personnel has been pending for over two years, with the result that all ranks of the INA, including officers, are in extreme hardship owing to severe economic distress. Further, having preserved their unity and spiritual outlook intact up to this moment, they are extremely anxious to play their full part in national reconstruction. Now that the freedom of forty crores of the people of this country, for which they also fought, has been achieved, it is hoped that the INA personnel will not be denied their rightful place by our Governments.

In view of the above, I beg to request that you will do everything possible in justice and equity to the INA personnel.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. STRACEY

Joint General Secretary,

INA Enquiry & Relief Committee

Enclosure 1 to No. 49

F. 1030/5

RESOLUTION ON THE FUTURE POLICY OF THE INA FRAMED BY
THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND PASSED BY THE CONVENTION

(This resolution was also released to the press)

Whereas the political situation in the country has undergone a complete change by the creation of two distinct States since the last meeting of the Advisory Committee.

Now [therefore,] this convention of the INA held at Cawnpore, between the 15th and 17th days of July 1947, resolves:

1. The members of the INA are advised to serve loyally their respective States in which they reside. Separate Executive Committees should be formed for the respective areas to press the claims of the INA to their respective [Governments].
2. The INA Enquiry and Relief arrangements will continue as at present.
3. The ties of comradeship that have hitherto existed among members of the INA will be maintained, and an INA Association

[will] be formed with the objective of maintaining and furthering such ties.

Enclosure 2 to No. 49

F. 1030/5

RESOLUTION

Whereas power is being transferred to the country as from the 15th of August 1947.

And whereas the INA fought and suffered for the sake of achieving freedom for the country.

And whereas power will henceforth be in Indian hands.

[Now, therefore,] it is resolved that the injustices under which the INA is labouring be removed by the Governments of the Indian Union and of Pakistan and the following legitimate demands [be] met forthwith:

- a. Immediate release of INA, RIN, RIAF, Signals [officers and men] and all political prisoners.
- b. Payment of pensions and gratuities to the dependents of *Shaheeds* and to those who have been incapacitated from earning their living.
- c. Reinstatement and absorption of INA, RIN, RIAF, and Signals officers and men in the Indian Army.
- d. Payment of arrears of pay, allowances, pensions and grants of land forfeited by the British.

50

*General Secretary, District Kisan Committee, Ferozepore,
to Louis Mountbatten*

F. 908/113-4

(Copy to M. A. Jinnah and Others)

MOGA, DISTRICT FEROZEPORE,

30 July 1947

Sir,

With due respect, the District Kisan Committee, Ferozepore, wants to bring under your kind consideration the following few facts.

In our district, there is a landlord named Muhammad Sarwar Bodla of Arniwala (P. S. and Tehsil Fazilka) who owns about 22,000 *bighas* of land in the villages [of] Aliana, Jhok, Arniwala, Saiwala and Ghulam Rasul. The residents of all these villages are Mohammadans and they have their right of permanent tenancy.

About a month and [a] half ago the said landlord set [*sic* for said] to his permanent tenants (called *Maroosi*—No. 5) to transfer their land to his name as he was going in [*sic* for to] Pakistan area. [The] Mohammadan tenants said that what guarantee was there that they would remain permanent tenants in the Pakistan area as they are now? Moreover, they demanded a written [guarantee] for that purpose from the landlord who refused to do so. After that Muhammad Sarwar began to terrorise them if they did not accepted [*sic*] his demands. Some of the tenants began to leave the village. On the way they met a relative of Muhammad Sarwar, named Mohkam of Ahal, to whom they related their story in full. Having heard the story, Mohkam took three women of the tenants in illegal custody and called for Muhammad Sarwar. Sarwar terrorised their men and said [that] if they did not transfer their proprietary rights to his name, he would disgrace their womenfolk and would not set them free. Afraiding [*sic*] that he would do such [*sic*], they reported to the *Patwari* to transfer their rights to his name.

By the evening of 16th July 1947, Muhammad Sarwar organised his agents and *goondas* of villages Arniwala, Dabwala, Mahuwala, Ahal, Jhok, Bahak, Chak and Ghulam Rasul at a distance of 2 miles from Arniwala. The tenants of Arniwala kept vigilance on that night. Sarwar did not attack on that night. In the morning, on 17 July 1947, Sarwar attacked the village Arniwala with a force of 800 *goondas*. All the tenants and their womenfolk were handcuffed to their backs. After that they began to beat them mercilessly. Dosat Muhammad s/o Mohamda, sons of Dosat Mohamad's brothers Abdullah, Jawaia, Nizam were beaten most brutally. Even sticks were thrust in[to] their rectums. All tenants were beaten till they accepted [*sic*] to transfer their rights to him. All the households of the tenants have been looted. Forcibly, the thumb impressions of the tenants have been impressed on pro[missory] notes.

On 20 July 1947, an Assistant Tehsildar of Fazilka, who had pre-arranged with Muhammad Sarwar, came at [*sic* for to] Arniwala and reported about the transference of the rights of occupancy and tenancy of land. It is altogether a forgery and not a single pie has been given to any tenant. The tenants are still chased by Muhammad Sarwar till all his forgery is completed to the final [*sic*]. The higher authorities must take

prompt action against this autocrat and bring him to his senses.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

51

Muzaffar Mohammad Khan to Nawab of Bhopal

F. 717/1

PERSONAL

TONK, RAJPUTANA,
31 July 1947

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I had been to Bhopal the other day, and I am now coming to Delhi to consult you reg[arding] the changes and constitutional developments, etc. H.H. the Nawab Sahib¹ and Qadri² are also coming, and H.H. will like to meet and discuss with you personally as well, if possible. We are reaching Delhi on or about Saturday evening, the 2nd Aug[us]t, and if you are in Delhi, I shall find out your whereabouts, and try to call on you next day, 3.8. [19]47.

More when we meet. Trusting this finds you in the best of health,

Yours sincerely,
MUZAFFAR MD. KHAN

¹Not traced, probably the Ruler of Tonk.

²Not traced.

52

Nawab of Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 696/144

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
CAMP NEW DELHI,
31 July 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As I mentioned to you last night my intention was to bring Sir Walter Monckton with me as a member of our delegation on Monday at 10 o'clock, but he has resigned the membership of the Negotiating Committee¹ and therefore he will not be able to come as one of the members of the delegation. At the same time, I am aware that His Exalted Highness is very keen that he should discuss with you and

explain to you the letter that His Exalted Highness has sent you the other day.² Therefore, I request you kindly to allow him to see you before or at 10 o' clock on Monday [4 August] for a little while. If he is to see [you] at 10 a.m. we may come with your permission at 10.30. I am conscious how very precious your time is but the time taken by Sir Walter in his interview will cause saving of time when we discuss the letter with you.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID

¹Chhatari had been proposed by Mountbatten to serve on a Committee for detailed consideration of issues affecting States but he declined for the reason that Hyderabad State had not joined the Indian Constituent Assembly. See Appendix VII. 2. Also see No. 296, TP, XII, 435-6.

²No. 19.

53

Natal Indian Congress¹ to M. A. Jinnah
Telegram, F. 560/47

DURBAN,
31 July 1947

M. A. Jinnah, Malabar Hill, [Bombay]

Require Pakistan flag or design for celebrations 15th August. Please send per airmail.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

¹G. M. Naiker was President of the Natal Indian Congress. See No. 115, Vol. I, Part I, 222.

54

Julian Tritton to M. A. Jinnah
F. 162/355-6

55 BROADWAY, WESTMINSTER,
LONDON, S.W.1,
31 July 1947

SERVICES OF CONSULTING ENGINEERS

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

When we met at the High Commissioner's Office during your last

visit to London, the time was not opportune to discuss our future relationship as Consulting Engineers with the two new Governments. Now that the great decisions have been made, my partners and I have been considering what changes, if any, are advisable in our organisation to make our services available to Pakistan.

As you know, my firm have acted as Consultants to the Railways and Ports of India in many cases from their initiation and [*sic*] construction. Our agreement with the present Government was revised in 1939 when the majority of the old company-owned railways were taken over by Government. The agreement is subject to termination at five years' notice on either side.

Our work under that agreement covers practically the whole field of engineering and in addition, as you know, we are Consulting Engineers to four of the principal Port Trusts in India—Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, and Chittagong. At the present time we are dealing with major schemes of development and maintenance for the first three of these ports and are giving current advice to [*sic*] the fourth.

Pakistan will have to deal with important transportation problems involving ports and railways with which we have long been concerned and of which we have a wealth of records and technical data.

In due course, therefore, we shall have to discuss the arrangements under which we hope to carry on our consulting work for Pakistan. I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you again when I come out to India early next year, by which time affairs will have taken a more definite form and we shall be better able to formulate our duties and responsibilities to the new Dominion. In the meantime, we have as our representative in Karachi, Mr. D. B. Brow, M. C., O. B. E., M. I. C. E., lately Chairman of the Karachi Port Trust, and should you wish to have any preliminary discussion on the subject he will be available in Karachi to meet any of your officials for this purpose. Mr. Brow's address is Post Box No. 92, Karachi.

Your faithfully,
JULIAN TRITTON

55

*S. Qadri to M. A. Jinnah**F. 908/115*

NANDINA, DISTRICT MYMENSINGH,
EAST BENGAL,
31 July 1947

Sir,

I send below the suggestion adopted unanimously in the Minority Protection Association meeting regarding Pakistan National or State Flag. The sketch of the proposed flag is given herewith.¹

In view of satisfying the minority of all description[s] and the majority as well, inspiring a spirit of pride, sense of adoration and feeling of joy in the heart of every citizen, and accommodating all the citizens in their national and cultural aspiration, our State Flag should be of three different colours: green, saffron and white. The proportion will be two-thirds green, one-sixth saffron and one-sixth white. The order should be green at the top, saffron in the middle, and white at the bottom. At the left hand top corner, there should be the symbol of crescent moon and star (embossed in white); the saffron will have the symbol of Swastika (embossed in deep blue); vertically below the crescent moon and white will have a bud of lily (embossed in green) similarly below the Swastika. The green with crescent moon and star is meant for the Muslims, the saffron with Swastika for the Hindus, and the white with the bud of a lily for the other minorities. The crescent moon and star, the symbol of Islamic culture and aspiration, the Swastika, the sign of blessings of ancient India, and the bud of lily, the symbol of innocence and purity, will enthuse in all Muslims, Hindus and other minority communities the spirit of upholding the pride of our State Flag and it will thus inspire all to unite to keep our banner aloft even at the sacrifice of our life.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. QADRI

Secretary,

Nandina Minority Protection Association

¹See F. 908/116, QAP. Not printed.

56

*Mohammad Sabir to General Managers, Reuters
and Associated Press of India Ltd., New Delhi*

F. 683/432

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN,
DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION
& BROADCASTING, NEW DELHI,

No. 34/1/47-A

31 July 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired to request that arrangements may kindly be made for the supply of a copy of the Reuters / API telegrams with effect from the 7th August 1947, to the following at Government House, Karachi:

1. H.E. the Governor-General of Pakistan.
2. Military Secretary to the Governor-General of Pakistan.

The terms and conditions under which these telegrams will be supplied to the above as well as for those for whom orders may be placed in future, may also kindly be intimated.

Yours faithfully,
MOHD. SABIR
Assistant Secretary (Pakistan)

A copy is forwarded to the Military Secretary (designate) to the Governor-General (designate) of Pakistan with reference to his letter No. 5-P, dated the 29th July 1947.¹

By order,
MOHD. SABIR
Assistant Secretary (Pakistan)

¹Not traced.

57

A. M. Ruhul Amin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/286-9

C/O PRODIP & CO.,
133 JHAUTALA ROAD, CIRCUS,
CALCUTTA,
31 July 1947

DEMARCATIION OF BOUNDARIES IN E[AST] B[ENGAL]

Your Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam,

My heartiest *salaam* and congratulations to you. Though I know how busy and engaged in various difficult tasks in Delhi you are, I can't help writing to you the following few lines. I pray you would be kind enough to spend a few minutes to read it.

I hope that you will appreciate this, my saying that it is Bengal which has been continually supporting the Muslim League for the last ten years and it is only the Bengali Muslims who will be the greatest loser after Aug[ust] 15th, 1947. Perhaps some remedy could be found out through the Boundary Commission, if our case would have been put before them properly. But due to the callous, self-seeking, worthless Suhrawardy Ministry, and due to [the] ugliest possible party politics in Bengal, our fate is going to be doomed. You perhaps know how our party did before the Boundary Commission. Due to lack of efficient pleading, in favour of our case, and as some of [the] contiguous Muslim majority areas were not demanded by us, we will perhaps not get Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling, and the worse is [that] these districts will perhaps have a corridor through Purnea¹ (Kishanganj) sub-division and some other P[olice] S[tation]s where Muslims are in a majority and which is contiguous to E[ast] Pakistan. Now, Jalpaiguri is a district where Muslims will be almost equal in number with the non-Muslims if the tea-garden labourers from Bihar etc. are treated as foreigners, as has been done in case of Sylhet. Out of the non-Muslim population of the district the great majority are Scheduled Castes and tribes who have already demanded before the B[oundary] Commission to be included in E. Pakistan (by A. Roy).² Moreover, these two districts form a mere pocket of Bengal which [it] cannot be allowed to be. If in spite of all these forceful arguments we are not given these two districts, why should we not get the contiguous Muslim majority area of Purnea? The answer may be that June 3 Plan³ does not allow it. Then does June 3 Plan allow the partition of Bengal in three parts and a corridor for Assam? Moreover, I do not understand why the people of Purnea should not be allowed to demand their homeland to be included in E. Pakistan, if at all Bengal cannot claim it according to June 3 Plan. The *Hazangs* of Mymensingh District were allowed to demand their homeland to be included in Assam. The Boundary Commission did hear their case. The June 3 Plan did not provide for inclusion of any part of Bengal in Assam!

We can demand Purnea for another rightful cause. If we get it, our demand for a natural boundary is marvellously fulfilled by a tributary of the Ganges, the *Kusi* or the *Sarwa* (viz. [sic] Oxford University Atlas

for India) stretching up to Nepal. Another important factor in this connection is that we require a sort of link or corridor with Nepal for various reasons. For this reason also we need Purnea or Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.

If at all [the] British Govt. turns a deaf ear to our arguments and we are rejected [*sic*] from all these our legal demands, then can't we claim the district of Goalpara in Assam where Muslims form 46.6% of the total population, which alone will be the majority in the district if the tea-garden labourers are treated as foreigners, which they actually are.

I am shouting all these nonsense or sense, whatever it [*sic*] may be, only to show that by all these arguments we will have to acquire the greatest area of land and resources for the overpopulated E. Pakistan. In fact it is so badly overpopulated that it is at present no better than the deserts of Rajputana. Now the greatest problem facing E. Pakistan is how to remove or emigrate some people from here to other places and how to secure some minerals for its industries. So for this reason we require the greatest possible area from Assam which can only be achieved if its corridor is blocked since ours one [*sic*] is done so. I hope there is some coal in the areas of Rajmahal, Sahibganj, Pakaur, etc., in the District of Santhal Parganas in Bihar, which areas are contiguous Muslim majority areas with Malda District.

For all these reasons we badly needed the islands of Andaman and Nicobar, Laccadive and Maldives.⁴ But alas! Muslim League seems to be dumb with regard to these islands and seems to think that these are worthless things. Quaid-i-Azam! Please do try and demand at least some portions of the Andaman and Nicobar, Laccadive and Maldives [Islands]. We require this also to have a link with our Muslim states of Malaya, Indonesia, etc. Nicobar is a Muslim majority island. Andaman is also like that if tribes are to be taken [as] something neutral. We require these also to have a sort of base over there for our defence and also for our fishing industry which Bengal must need[s] develop. Mr. Attlee has only declared in the Commons that these islands should go to India and he did not mention whether these should go to the Indian Union or Pakistan. The Laccadives and Maldives are entirely Muslim populated areas. As regards the partition of the Punjab, I like to say that we perhaps will have to give up the Sikh shrines to the Sikhs though the area is a Muslim majority area. But for this offer, what shall we get in return? I request the Quaid-i-Azam to insist for [*sic* for on] Moplastan for this offer of ours and Moplastan also should be formed in such a manner that Nizam of Hyderabad gets a passage to the Arabian Sea through Moplastan⁵ (e.g. N[orth] Kanara, Dharwar, etc.).

Instead of this we may try to get up to the border of Nepal (through Hoshiarpur, Ambala, Saharanpur, Bijnor, Nainital).

Lastly, I earnestly request Quaid-i-Azam to pay special attention towards the Eastern Pakistan and Andaman and Laccadive islands. Without your attention and care we cannot expect anything from Suhrawardy etc. leaders in Bengal, who do not care for the said areas.

Your most obedient servant,

A. M. RUHUL AMIN

PS. As regards Hyderabad, I like to say that can't Nizam get a part at the mouth of the river Godavari and the right to sail his ships and boats freely along the river, instead of Berar?

¹Commenting on the Revised Draft Proposals, Jinnah wrote to Mountbatten on 17 May 1947 to say, *inter alia*, that in case Bengal was partitioned those areas of the Purnea District in Bihar, which were contiguous to Eastern Bengal and had a Muslim majority, should be amalgamated with Eastern Bengal. See No. 437, Vol. I, Part I, 780. During the interview of Jinnah and Liaquat with Mountbatten on 17 May, the question of Purnea, which used to be part of Bengal, was raised. Mountbatten asked Eric Mieville to report to him by telegram in London. See Appendix XIV. 27, Vol. I, Part II, 680. The latter reported to him on 22 May that Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Bihar, whom he had consulted, advised that "if Bengal is divided it would probably be in best interests of Muslim majority areas of Purnea that they should be included in Muslim Bengal. There will no doubt be reactions from my Ministers and Hindu public". See No. 473, note 2, TP, X, 873. In the meantime, India and Burma Committee of the British Cabinet in its meeting held on 20 May, upon Mountbatten reporting that Jinnah wanted Purnea included in East Bengal, Nehru desired a small part of Sind added to Jodhpur, and Patel wished a part of Kutch incorporated into Bombay, decided to shelve the issue, since it was a matter for settlement after the transfer of power or for decision by the Boundary Commission. See No. 494, TP, X, 922. Ismay, reporting to Mountbatten on 29 June, stated that about Jinnah's demand for amalgamation of Purnea with East Bengal, he had told him that Nehru had demanded a "slice of Sind" and that if he reopened the question, Nehru might press his demand. See No. IX. 7, Vol. II, 926-7. Ismay and Abell advised Mountbatten to "let the matter drop. Mr. Jinnah has, by implication, abandoned his claim to Purnea since he has accepted: (a) The Plan of 3rd June, and (b) The terms of reference of the Boundary Commissions, which could not be interpreted as allowing the examination of the Purnea problem... if Mr. Jinnah raises this again, we can always counter by saying that Nehru will insist on Thar Parkar (in Sind)." See No. 399, note 5, TP, XI, 737.

²Not traced.

³No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

⁴Mountbatten informed Listowel on 2 July 1947 that during study of the draft Independence Bill, Muslim League "strongly resent the inclusion of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Dominion of India and claim that for geographical and strategic reasons they should be included in Pakistan". See Annex I to No. 1, Vol. III, 34. The ML objection was reiterated while adducing further grounds for the Islands' inclusion in Pakistan. See Annex II to No. 1, *ibid.*, 35. The ML communicated their detailed objection to Mountbatten in a note sent on July 3. See No. 17, *ibid.*, 79. Mountbatten, in his note on ML comments, refused to recommend to HMG any change in respect of the Islands which, in the event, remained part of India. See Appendix I. 6, *ibid.*, 720.

⁵Refers to the demand for a separate Moplah State on the Malabar coast which was discussed with Jinnah by a delegation of Cochin State ML on 8 July 1947. The Moplahs were Muslims of Arab descent and were in majority in certain areas of Malabar.

58

Fazli Karim Asif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/291-6

KOHAT, NWFP,
31 July 1947

Pakistan Zindabad

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In the capacity of a humble servant of the League, I have thought it fit to address to you the following few lines concerning the N.W.F.P.

- I. The League is not yet firmly established in this Province. The rural population having not been fully educated to grasp the true meaning of our struggle, could be easily misled by the treacherous Khan Brothers.¹ Hence there should be no elections to the Provincial Legislature, as is demanded by Dr. Khan S[ahib], in the near future. As a condition precedent to the new elections we must make sure that the electorate is fully alive to the need of the time and have [sic] become sufficiently responsible.
- II. We need a strong Government here, which should be able to deal firmly with all the enemies of the nation. I make the following suggestions in this connection:
 - a. Efforts may be made to find out some Muslim of this province to act as the future Governor of the province. I cannot suggest a better name than that of the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, who with the help of a council consisting of highly educated, honest, and thoughtful Muslims could run the Government.
 - b. In case no suitable Muslim were [sic] available, as is quite obvious, some Englishman of good repute may be appointed. I have come across the name of Sir G. Cunningham, a former Governor of this province, as a likely candidate for this post. He did not enjoy a good reputation at all. As far as I am aware, he was openly charged for [sic] corruption, and for encouraging corruption in the province by patronising

men like Sheikh Mahbub Ali Khan² and Iskander Mirza,³ etc. Sir O. Caroe⁴ is a much superior man to Sir G. Cunningham. Honesty must be regarded as one of the foremost qualities for this post, as it should also be for every other post.

- c. The head of the Police Department must be a very able person. I suggest the name of Nawabzada Gul Moh[amma]d Khan, I. P., as a suitable person for the post.
- d. Early steps may be taken to revise the present system of laws so as to bring it into conformity with *shar'iat*.
- e. An anti-corruption committee may be appointed to enquire summarily [into] the serious complaints of corruption, and a special magistrate may be appointed in each district to decide cases of corruption. Such magistrates may be given special powers to try such cases summarily, whenever necessary and expedient.
- f. The Law of Evidence and the Code of Criminal Procedure, that enable such a large number of guilty persons to escape the penalty, may be forthwith suitably revised and amended.
- g. There should be special enactments to punish the persons suitably who either conceal the truth, or appear as false witnesses.

III. Our primary need for a true intellectual progress is the establishment of the Khyber University as early as possible.

IV. An industrial enquiry committee may be appointed to make suitable recommendations for the development of industry in the province.

V. In order to raise the standard of living of [the] common man, special legislation is necessary to help the poor agriculturist.

There are a number of other things which I need not mention for the present. Apologising for this indulgence and praying for your long life, happiness and prosperity,

Yours sincerely,
FAZLI KARIM ASIF
M. A., LL.B. (ALIG.)
Advocate & Notary Public

¹On 29 July Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of ML Parliamentary Party, declared his readiness "to meet Frontier Congress leaders' threats of civil war." See Annex.

²Political Agent, Malakand, 1946.

³An officer of Indian Political Service.

⁴Governor of NWFP, 1946-47.

*Annex to No. 58*LEAGUE READY TO MEET THREATS OF CIVIL WAR¹*Ghaffar's Policy Exposed By Qaiyum*

PESHAWAR, July 29: "The Muslim League organisation is absolutely ready to meet the Frontier Congress leaders' threats of civil war," said Khan Abdul Qaiyum in a statement today.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan says: "Profession and practice of the Frontier Gandhi are so much at variance that he is something of a puzzle to the common man in this Province. He has been going round explaining to the rural audience that he has discarded the Hindu Congress and that he has got nothing to do with Hindustan. He has been even flaunting his new Red flag with two cross-swords and *Allaho Akbar* in order to prove the severance of his connections with the Congress. The old Congress flag with the *Charkha* has been publicly discarded by the Red Shirts. The next thing we heard was that the Frontier Gandhi ran post-haste to the Bhangi Colony and was closeted with Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders.

"The Frontier Pathans will, therefore, realise from where the inspiration for Pathanistan comes. We were promised rivers of blood if the referendum was held but nothing of the kind did happen.

"In their last-minute effort to save their unpopular regime and for purposes of bargaining, the top-ranking Congress leaders in the NWFP are indulging in bluff and bluster and holding out threats of civil war. It is all bluff and nothing else. The Muslim League organisation, which commands the support of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims, is absolutely ready to meet any emergency."—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 31 July 1947.

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M. A. Jinnah to Khan of Kalat

Telegram, F. 699/1

Undated [July 1947]

Khan of Kalat, Kalat, Baluchistan

Your message.¹ Your presence necessary fifth sixth. Please reach Delhi as soon as possible.

JINNAH

¹Not traced. However, Sahibzada Mohammad Aslam Khan, Prime Minister, Kalat, met Jinnah on 20 July 1947. See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47*, Lahore, 1989, 86.

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*Niazul Haq to M. A. Jinnah**F. 909/116*NEW DELHI,
Undated [July 1947]

Sir,

We the work-charged staff of the C.P.W.D., New Delhi, beg to bring to your notice the following grievances for your kind consideration and sympathetic decision:

1. Previously we approached your honour as well as other League leaders and it was decided that we people (labour class) will be taken to the Pakistan zone, but it is not being entirely put into practice, and we are under great suspense. Doubtlessly, approximately 50% of the establishment have been ordered to move to Karachi while the rest are overlooked, which deeply reveals that this revised policy of the Department as [*sic*] to leave poor people at the mercy of Government of India at this critical juncture is a monstrosity of destructiveness [*sic*].

2. The staff who has [*sic*] given the option to serve the Pakistan Government, and the Pakistan Government has not considered their cases, are being served with notices for termination of services from the Government. Naturally (communal-minded Hindu State) will keep Hindus to earn their livelihood and not Muslims, who wanted Pakistan at any cost. Not to speak of Hindu officers but also the junior Hindu staff has [*sic*] begun harassing the poor Muslims. We are sure that those who have begun to indulge in threats while all the Muslim officials have not left for Pakistan, what will be the fate when we will be left interially [*sic*] at their mercy behind. It is a pity that we achieved our goal with our blood and we are being plundered, profaned and disinherited [*sic*]. In the end can we also dare to request your honour that our scanty pay shall not be a great burden on the Pakistan Government. But if at all it is considered like that, then we want to make it clear that the Pakistan Government can take the trouble of contractors [*sic*] in finding experienced labourers to work for the

foundation [*sic*] of Pakistan Capital (Secretariat) buildings and reconsider their decision for the move [*sic*].

Thanking you,

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

NIAZUL HAQ

President,

Work-charged Establishment of CPWD

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M. A. Jinnah to the Editor, the Time, New York

F. 199/107

Undated [July 1947]

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 24 June,¹ and I am returning herewith your two cover pages of the *Time* magazine.

As I think the description, "Mohamed Ali Jinnah His Moslem Tiger wants to eat the Hindu cow", is offensive to the sentiments of the Hindu community, I cannot put my autograph on the cover page of the *Time* magazine as requested by you. But I am sending my autograph on a separate paper since you are very keen about it.

I am also returning your stamps, which you were good enough to send, but I am afraid they cannot be used in India.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. JINNAH

¹Not traced.

62

M. Mahmudullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1120/126

ZAHEER MANZIL, RED HILLS,
HYDERABAD-DECCAN,

Undated [July 1947]

Quaid-i-Azam,

I write to you at a moment when you will be overburdened with

heavy State responsibilities. I therefore crave your indulgence.

I salute you, the arbitrator of the destinies of the new Commonwealth of Islam, and offer my services to you. I desire to associate myself with the Pakistan Government. The *Qur'an* says: When an Islamic state is established you must offer your services and remain loyal to it.

I propose to embark on my sacred mission with a clean conscience and with burning love of Islam. I begin with a straight confession. I was an ardent nationalist—I was a member of the first national Government in the United Provinces. I have written against your early political ideology of the western pattern, except the Pakistan objective, which I have always vindicated as a result of my intimate knowledge of the Hindu mind, acquired while sharing power of office with them. These are my credentials.

I believe Islam's contribution to human happiness and world culture is of supreme political importance. The world has yet to appreciate the stupendous revolutionary character of Islam.

In 1940, I took myself away from active politics with a view to making a comparative study of Islamic constitutional law and modern Governmental institutions. I have compiled a code and enclose its synopsis.¹

In 1943, I was offered the post of one of the Legal Advisers at Hyderabad, Dn., which I continue to hold at the moment.

From 1920 to 1940, I remained in the front line of our political struggle and claim to know everyone and everybody in politics. I enclose a brief note on my world experiences.²

I feel you have no "self" left and all that is in you is "Islam" itself. It is this belief which has actuated me to approach you direct. I can be of assistance to you in the Constituent Assembly, in diplomatic service or in any administrative post of responsibility.

In conclusion, I desire to mention just two events from family record which have been a source of guidance and inspiration to me.

We come from Sir Syed's family. On the occasion of the foundation-stone ceremony of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, there was a gathering of distinguished Muslims and the question was who should lay the foundation-stone and what *principle should govern*³ the selection of the leader. The test agreed to was that the *most pious, most trustworthy and most learned* in the gathering be nominated. All eyes turned towards my grandfather who was unanimously asked to lay the foundation-stone which he did.

My maternal grandfather was the confidant of the Nizam. On his

forced retirement by the British Government, the Nizam wrote as follows: "*Hazrat* your departure virtually implies my abdication." (Extract from *Karnama Serveri*).

It is against this background of family traditions and in the belief that you need at this critical juncture men of great power of mind, inflexible integrity and character that I have approached you in utter humility. I claim no honours but service. I seek the favour of God only.

I look forward to the day when Pakistan State will be the fountain-head of good institutions and the whole world shall replenish from its pellucid reservoirs.

Yours sincerely,
M. MAHMUDULLAH

¹⁶²See F. 1120/127-36, QAP. Not printed.

³Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

63

Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 10/179-80

3 KUSHAK ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
Undated [July 1947]

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I venture to address the following lines on the subject of distribution of assets between Hindustan and Pakistan.

One of the most important all-India assets are the industries which have been built up as a result of protection and subsidies given to them by the Government of India. Now that most of such industries will be physically indivisible and will have to remain in Hindustan, Pakistan should be entitled to claim compensation on this score.

One of the outstanding instances of such industries would be that of sugar industry. But for the protection given not a single sugar factory could have been set up in India. Java and some other countries have always been in a position to manufacture and sell sugar in India much cheaper than the cost at which sugar could be produced in India. It is only because of the protection that the sugar manufactured by the

Indian factories could be sold in competition with Java sugar. The cost of the protection has been met by all the consumers in India and it is but natural that everybody must share in the resultant assets created.

Another outstanding instance of an industry which has been built because of protection is that of the steel industry. Neither Tatas¹ nor Scob² could have been built or developed if they had not been sustained all through by the protection given against their foreign competitors. Textile industry is another industry which, but for the protection, would not have attained the position which it now occupies in the Indian economic sphere. There are so many other industries which have been nursed behind the protective tariff walls.

Now that we are parting company with Hindustan and it is not possible to physically partition these assets, we must get compensation in proportion to the sacrifices that we have made in order to see these industries built up and established. These industries are serving as the major revenue producing units in the central field of taxation. Now that after the separation we will not be able to get a share out of the revenue accruing from these industries, we have a clear right to ask for compensation for its loss.

The one way of assessing the compensation would be to capitalize the share of revenue which we would have got but for the separation. For instance, if Tatas are paying twenty crore a year as revenue directly or indirectly, our share would roughly come to rupees five crore per annum. The compensation should roughly amount to Rs. one hundred crore, the capitalised value of our share of the annual revenue. Similarly, we will be entitled to the capitalised value of our share of revenue from the other industries like sugar, textile, etc.

It is possible that the above idea regarding the distribution of assets may already be under consideration but as nothing on the subject has been seen in the papers, I have deemed it my duty to bring this matter to your notice. I shall be grateful if you could kindly acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

With respectful good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD
Director of Supplies,

Directorate General of Industries & Supplies

¹Tata Iron & Steel Company.

²Steel Corporation of Bengal.

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*Itrat Hussain Zuberi to M. A. Jinnah**F. 129/1-4 & 8-11**Undated [July 1947]*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE BENGAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION

The Musalmans had demanded a permanent home in the eastern regions for the development of their culture and civilisation but, as Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, clearly stated, that [*sic*] it should be an economic unit capable of sustaining not only rapidly expanding population but also the industrial and agricultural development of these regions. HMG's scheme of distribution and partition has done grave injustice to the Muslims in Eastern Pakistan. The position is wholly untenable and Muslims in Bengal and Assam cannot accept this abridgement of Pakistan without endangering their very economic existence. Politics and economics are invisibly linked together and without economic stability no area can maintain its political entity. Lord Mountbatten was wholly wrong when he declared that Assam was "a non-Muslim Province" as if the Muslims were everywhere in negligible minority except in the District of Sylhet. An analysis of population of Assam, however, shows that in the three districts Muslims have a majority exclusive of tribes. These three districts are at the same time contiguous with Eastern Pakistan. These are Goalpara, Nowgong and Cachar. The population of Assam district-wise is given below:

ASSAM POPULATION

Districts	Hindus	Muslims	Tribes	Scheduled Castes
Cachar	173,855	232,950	178,264	51,961
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	14,676	1,555	103,567	63
Naga Hills	2,158	531	184,766	-
Lushai Hills	2,425	101	147,042	22
Goalpara	282,789	468,924	273,993	23,434
Kamrup	637,457	367,522	197,926	-
Darrang	328,283	120,995	260,748	-
Nowgong	229,137	250,113	166,525	59,214
Sibsagar	593,007	51,769	360,768	-
Lakhimpur	457,509	44,579	335,230	-
[?]	13,518	10,398	198,074	-
Total	3,537,000	3,442,000	2,346,906	145,483
	[2,734,814]	[1,549,437]	[2,406,903]	[134,694]

Total population of Assam=10,205,000 [6,825,848]

It will be seen that Goalpara has a Muslim population of 46.23%, Hindus 13.1%, tribal people 23.48%; in the District of Cachar Muslims are 38.5%, Hindus 35.2%, tribal people 27.9%. The Nowgong Muslims are more than the tribal people, their percentage being 35.1% and 23.46%, respectively. Cachar is contiguous to Sylhet while Goalpara is contiguous to Rangpur. The Muslim claim for Goalpara is unassailable inasmuch as it is contiguous to Muslim area and the Muslims form the largest single group in its population. It is nothing but sheer injustice that it has not been, from the very beginning, assigned to Pakistan. The reason is obvious for Goalpara provides a running corridor from Lakhimpur to Jalpaiguri. If Goalpara is given to Pakistan, Assam will be isolated from Northern Bengal but that seems to be no valid reason for its inclusion to [*sic* for in] the Province of Assam. In the establishment as well as the continued stability of Eastern Pakistan, military and strategic factors should be taken into consideration and given overwhelming importance. The Boundary Commission shall have to take into account the feasibility of the defence of the eastern frontier of Pakistan which is contiguous to Burma. It was only two years back that the Japanese Army were fighting a desperate battle on the plains of Manipur and Kohima. The strategy of the Japanese was that they attempted to infiltrate through the Naga Hills in the north, and Lushai and Chittagong Hill Tracts in the south, in order to form a pincer movement, and if this strategy would have been successful nothing could have stopped the Japanese from overrunning the soft and fertile plains of Bengal. It is beyond comprehension as to how the defence of the eastern frontier can be organised by a small province like Assam. It will have neither the resources nor the manpower necessary to defend it. A great sovereign power like Pakistan can never allow the fragmentation of its frontiers. Musalmans will never allow this military farce to be perpetuated, but the defence of the entire frontier of the Eastern Pakistan must remain an integral whole and the responsibility of Pakistan. The Hindus cannot have any legitimate claim to these frontier territory; in the Naga Hills the tribes are 97%; in the Lushai Hills they are 96.5%. The total Muslim population in Assam is 3,442,000 and that of the Hindus 3,537,000. The Hindus are thus in a majority of 9,500 only and nearly 8 years have passed when the last census was taken in 1941; for all we know Muslims may now have attained parity in population. The density of the population is the greatest in Sylhet and it is being joined to the already over-populated Eastern Pakistan. It naturally follows that for the expansion even of the population of Sylhet, who are Assamees, the waste-lands of Assam should be available for their

colonisation. There has been during the last 20 years a natural movement of population from Bengal to Assam and all attempts of the Hindus combined with barbarous methods of suppression and expulsion of Musalmans from Assam have not stemmed their tide. The Bardoli¹ regime has disgraced itself by terrorism against the Muslims of Bengal who have settled in Assam. It was their spirit of development, adventure and [un]ceasing labour which turned the uncouth jungles into smiling fields of paddy. It is an economic necessity for Muslims of Bengal that the waste-lands of Assam, where Bengalis have already settled down, should be included in Pakistan and enough land for the people of Sylhet for their expansion be added [to] these waste-lands. Our claim, therefore, before the Boundary Commission, should be based on the principle of stabilisation of eastern frontier by the inclusion of the entire eastern frontier districts where the tribal people predominate. We must also insist on the inclusion of Cachar, Nowgong and Goalpara in Eastern Pakistan. As far as Bengal is concerned the award of HMG is wholly untenable not only from the economic point of view but also on the basis of the figures of population. It is beyond comprehension how 24-Parganas can be wholly given over to the Province of West Bengal. 24-Parganas is contiguous to Khulna. Khulna is contiguous to Bakerganj and in the north 24-Parganas is bounded by Jessore. The population of Musalmans in Bakerganj is 71.62%, in Jessore 61.16%, in Khulna 49.50%, [and] in 24-Parganas it is 33.65%. Therefore, the Districts of Khulna, Jessore, and 24-Parganas form overwhelmingly contiguous Muslim districts; 24-Parganas cannot be carved out of its natural boundary; moreover, the area of Sunderban which lies across the borders of 24-Parganas and Khulna is really no man's land in the sense that they are inhabited either by Muslims or Hindus. These, in any case, must be handed over to Eastern Pakistan as an outlet to the sea.

Calcutta's future has perhaps [been] purposely kept vague in the announcement of HMG but the very vagueness has created an impression on the Hindu mind that Calcutta has already been seceded [*sic* for ceded] to them. Calcutta is already an international city in the sense that it is the main outlet for the products of both Assam and Bengal. Its trade is mainly in the hands of non-Bengalis—Englishmen, Marwaris, and the Khoja Muslim community. The capital and labour of many communities and several interests including the British have gone to build up the prosperity and prestige of Calcutta. Surely it has not achieved its greatness and become the first city in India by the labour and capital of the people of the few districts who are going to form a small Province in West Bengal. They can have no claim to the inclusion of Calcutta in the boundaries of that

small province. If the census of population is taken today it will be found that most of the Hindu mill workers who have given preponderance to the Hindu population in Calcutta do not belong to Bengal. It is a matter of common knowledge that the workers in the factories around Calcutta, whether Muslim or Hindu, are mostly non-Bengalis. It will be fantastic if the migrating and fluid population of non-Bengali Hindus would result in Calcutta being declared a city in which Bengali Hindus will predominate. I believe the figures of the composition of the labour population in Calcutta were collected by the Labour Department of the Government of Bengal as well as by the office of the Employment Adviser to that Department. This should be officially published to show the composition of the labour-people in Calcutta. Calcutta by the character of its population and by the nature of its growth and development can only become an international port open to the navigation of all nations, its naval and military defence being the joint responsibility of Hindustan and Pakistan. Calcutta's prosperity rests mainly on the world monopoly of jute and its export, and in the growth and development of jute production Muslims have played a determining part. The splendour and dignity of Dalhousie Square [is] reminiscent [of] the business part of a continental city [which] has been built by the sweat and blood of the poor Musalman peasants of Eastern Bengal. We must therefore demand a referendum in Calcutta before the Boundary Commission begins its work. It is a strange irony that while there would be a referendum in the North West Frontier Province where the ratio of Muslim population is 91%, it has been decided to hold a referendum, while in the West Bengal where the Hindus minus Scheduled Castes have no clear majority, should have no referendum. The representatives of the West Bengal districts who have been elected on the ridiculously restricted franchise of 10% according to the Act of 1935 and who are in overwhelming majority, shall decide the fate of both the Scheduled Castes and Musalmans. It is not even democracy but illusion of democracy reduced to fantasy. Muslims will never agree to the partition of West Bengal or the delineation of its boundaries before a referendum has been taken on the basis of adult franchise. Let the will of the entire population of West Bengal be ascertained by a free and secret vote as was done in the case of the Saar² when it was allowed to join Germany, otherwise the Province of West Bengal will become the Saar of Eastern India. The Viceroy said in a press conference that the "British were just here to assist the parties and nothing more", but their assistance should be according to the principles of democracy which are accepted and understood throughout the civilised world. How can the Hindus and Scheduled Castes determine the future status

of the West Bengal for all times to come; if democracy means that people must decide, then people must be enabled to cast their vote. The question of partition of West Bengal should be decided by a referendum on the basis of adult franchise. If the majority of the people decide to join the Union Constituent Assembly, the Muslim League will humbly accept that verdict but unless that verdict has been given it will not allow the Hindu Mahasabha and Caste Hindus to break the natural and economic integrity of Eastern Pakistan. Goethe one [*sic* for once] said "falsehood is like varnish, easy to spread on anything", but the Machiavellian methods of Hindu Mahasabha we shall never allow to succeed. The people of West Bengal, by their free and unfettered will, should decide whether they would remain a part of greater Bengal with its shining destiny or be lost in the maze of the multiplicity of the Provinces of Hindustan of which it would form a part, even smaller than that of Orissa. This surely is not the historical destiny of the people of Bengal.

We have overcome and mastered the intricate and difficult processes of history involved in the creation of a new State; Quaid-i-Azam has become the architect of our great destiny; the agony and travail are almost over and those who hope to weaken our resolve to be masters of our own fate shall eternally hope in vain. We in Eastern Pakistan will never allow, permit or suffer any diminution of our present frontiers without the voice of the people being heard, and once proclaimed, it alone shall prevail!

ITRAT HUSAIN ZUBERI

Principal, Islamia College, Calcutta

¹Gopinath Bardoloi, Chief Minister, Assam.

²A state in Germany placed under a Governing Commission of the League of Nations in January 1920. In a plebiscite held on 13 January 1935, over 90% of the Saarlanders voted for reunification with Germany and the territory, accordingly, was handed over to that country.

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Note by Anonym on the Economics of Western Pakistan

F. 1122/367-71

Undated [July 1947]

One of the criticisms which future historians will undoubtedly level at the British rule in India will be that, throughout the course of their connection with the country, they consistently failed to realise the fact

that the basis of good government in any country must spring from a sound and progressive economic development. It is of course true that the importance of sound governmental economic planning has only recently been recognised, but the unfortunate fact remains that the bureaucratic, I.C.S.-dominated British Government of India was always too prone to concentrate its somewhat myopic vision on the requirements of day-to-day administration and the ever-increasing political problems of the country to the exclusion of economic considerations. It must also be remembered that throughout recent years the paralysing hand of the Finance Dept. has contrived successfully to stultify all long-term schemes for the proper economic development of the country. To this must possibly be added the claims of British vested interests who viewed with alarm any tendency to infringe upon their fields of enterprise in the Indian market. The inevitable result has been that Indian economic development has been allowed to stagnate at a time when other countries have been introducing vast economic development schemes of permanent benefit both to agriculture and [to] industry. One has only to compare the economic development of a country such as Japan in the past fifty years with the meagre results that India can show, to realise that planned economic progress has been sadly neglected throughout the whole country.

The new Government of Pakistan will not only be afforded a unique opportunity of remedying the neglect of the past but will be refreshingly free from the trammels of past history. Pakistan will be able to profit by the lessons of history and will approach its economic problems unprejudiced by the legacy of the past.

The Indus must be to Pakistan what the Nile has been to Egypt. The Indus must inevitably become the life-line of Pakistan and the artery upon which the well-being of the country will depend. The present prosperity of the Province of Sind is almost wholly [*sic* for wholly] dependent upon the Sukkur Barrage, and to transform the desert areas of the central portion of the Indus Valley into prosperous fertile land other barrages will be necessary. The Indus must be tamed and controlled and put to the use of man in the same manner as the Tennessee or Colorado rivers. Its power must be harnessed; its waters must be canalised; and its course regulated so that navigation can be made possible. New canal irrigation systems must lead from the new barrages so that the vast desert areas can be brought under cultivation. A second barrage at Kalabagh, equal in size to the Sukkur Barrage, would probably extend the system of irrigated cultivation downstream as far as Dera Ghazi Khan, and to the whole area of the Sind Sagar Doab between the Indus and Chenab rivers. A barrage on the Kabul river in

the neighbourhood of Nowshera would provide irrigation for the whole of the Nowshera and Mardan Districts and power for the city of Peshawar and the surrounding area. Such instances are merely mentioned by way of illustration to the arguments expanded in this note, for just as in Egypt and the Sudan the Nile has been harnessed in several places to bring prosperity to the whole area so also can the waters of the Indus be employed to raise revenue from areas which at present are unproductive desert. The provision of cheap hydro-electric power will immediatly encourage industry and will do much to place Pakistan on an industrial equality with Hindustan. Once hydro-electric grids traverse the land, once road, river and rail communications have been developed, the natural resources of the country can be placed at the disposal of the new industries which the modern economic planning will certainly create. Pakistan must have its Dnieper dams and must establish its Dnieperopetrovsksk so that with modern farming methods the fertile lands of the Indus Valley, the cradle of Indian civilisation, can rival Southern Russia and Canada as one of the main granaries of the world.

N.W.F.P.

The British have made fatal mistakes in their handling of the abiding problem of the N.W.F.P. tribal areas. They have vacillated between treating it as a military and a political problem and have consistently failed to appreciate that it is neither of these. The problem of the treatment of the Pathan tribal territory of the N.W.F.P. is *purely an economic problem*.¹ Having once made the fatal and costly mistake of dealing with the Frontier tribes as an imperial military commitment, there was no turning back. For the past eighty years, therefore, the British Government have been forced annually to expend vast sums of money on the policing of this area for which they have received no sort of return. Having once secured [*sic*] the suspicion and enmity of the warlike Pathans there was no remedy other than to adopt a curious policy of repression alternated with periods when the good behaviour of the tribes was bought in hard unremunerative cash. The Frontier, therefore, became the notorious "running sore" bleeding the coffers of the Central Government. The Pathan quickly learned that it *paid* him to give trouble. The more trouble he created the more anxious was the Government of India to purchase his good behaviour. What is the solution? The solution is undoubtedly the economic development of the Frontier tribal territory. Instead of expending crores of rupees a year in military installations and infructuous tribal allowances, schemes

should be devised and money devoted to the task of developing the natural resources of this area. In their present condition the tribal areas of the N.W.F.P. are incapable of supporting the Pathan population. The land is unproductive, the rivers are allowed to run to waste, the former forests have been destroyed with the result that erosion has further reduced the natural productivity of the soil; and the inhabitants, unable to earn an honest livelihood and *encouraged* by the Government subsidies, have become an idle, shiftless lot of freebooters who prefer a lawless life of raiding to one of honest endeavour. It is not widely known that parts of the tribal territory enjoy adequate rainfall but on account of the deforestation and the subsequent erosion, the rainwater races off the hill sides into the valleys where rivers, normally ankle deep, are subject to forty-foot floods. This water then flows down to the plains where it eventually disappears into the sands of the submontane deserts. It must be the early endeavour of the Pakistan Government to restore fertility to these once-fertile areas. There are still those who can remember when splendid forests flourished in parts of Waziristan and in the Kurrum. Even today, far in the hinterland of tribal territory in Waziristan, near the Afghan border, there exist considerable areas of coniferous forest and to judge by the size of the baulks of timber which can be seen coming down on camel back, the quality of the forest is first-class. The Pakistan Government must therefore:

- a. construct dams in all suitable river valleys to conserve the natural water supply so that irrigation schemes in the valleys can be initiated;
- b. embark on a planned and progressive policy of reafforestation in all suitable areas in tribal territory; and
- c. encourage local industry wherever possible such as fruit growing.

The Frontier region is said to contain considerable mineral wealth but in the past the turbulent and unsettled condition of the country has prevented any exploitation of such resources. It is probable, however, that a Muslim Pakistan Government closely associated with the well-being of the tribal areas will succeed where others have failed in persuading the tribesmen to cooperate in the development of the latent resources of their homeland. Chrome, coal, sulphur, copper and oil are known to exist, but up to now little attention appears to have been paid to the possibility of developing the reserves of mineral salts which must undoubtedly exist where the Frontier rivers disappear into the sand. All river water is charged to a varying degree with mineral salts and when, as is the case on the

Frontier, rivers have for thousands of years evaporated into the sand of the deserts, these deserts must possess vast resources of mineral salts of various kinds and it is possible that nitrates and phosphates will be found in commercial quantities in many places. If so, fertiliser factories could be established to assist the growing agriculture.

It is, therefore, upon the economic aspect of the development problem that the Government of Pakistan must concentrate. It is probable that at the outset the new country will not be as wealthy as its rival Hindustan, but if money is spent on scientific surveys conducted by the best experts that money can procure, capital will not be slow in coming to assist in the economic development of these neglected regions. Experts must be employed to devise and draw up plans on an annual progressive basis, for by developing the natural resources of Pakistan more revenue will then become available for further development, until the density of the population of the Indus Valley will compare favourably with that of the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates.

¹Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

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A Musalman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 895/72

[Original in Urdu]

Undated [July 1947]

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is stated that the decision of the [Punjab] Boundary Commission is impending. It is going to be an award. The decision is bound to be what the Viceroy approves. Before going to Karachi, please meet the Viceroy and make it clear to him that the Sikh community should be totally disregarded while demarcating the boundaries. These are the same Sikhs who betrayed the [British] Government during the present war [World War II]. Please do make it clear to him.

Please press for inclusion in West Pakistan of Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, and half of Ludhiana.¹ The Muslim population in these districts exceeds 50 per cent, *Achhuts* [Untouchables] excluded; and they have a continuous [*sic* for contiguous] majority. These areas

must be included in Pakistan. In these areas, the Muslims are far ahead in terms of population, land revenue, and land ownership.

Obediently,
A MUSALMAN

¹For community-wise population of these districts, see No. 336, Vol. II, 640-1.

67

Press Questionnaire for M. A. Jinnah

F. 10/169

Undated [July 1947]

EXCLUSIVE TO ARAB NEWS AGENCY, CAIRO

1. Though the constitution of Pakistan is to be shaped by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, will you kindly give your own conception of its constitution and legislature.¹
2. It is presumed that the foundations of Pakistan will be on the Islamic pattern. Will its social and economic structure be patterned on socialist lines?
3. Will there be any widespread degree of nationalisation in Pakistan or will the policy of public utilities under State control be followed?
4. What will be Pakistan's association with the Arab League?
5. Are you in favour of Pan-Islamism?²
6. Would you kindly define Pakistan's attitude to the Palestine question?
7. And would you also define Pakistan's attitude to the Egypt's petition to U.N.O. on the 1936 Treaty with Britain?
8. It is assumed Pakistan will desire close cultural and other ties with Muslim countries. Does Pakistan propose to appoint envoys immediately to the Muslim States and to invite goodwill missions from them?
9. Do you propose to hold a conference in Pakistan of all Muslim States?
10. Will Pakistan apply for U.N.O. membership immediately on its constitution?³
11. Are you prepared to accept outside financial assistance to develop Pakistan?
12. Are you in favour of free trade with neighbouring countries?
13. Do you believe that the future of Pakistan lies outside the British Commonwealth of Nations?
14. What will be your attitude towards non-Muslims in Pakistan? Will

their services be utilised in the administration of the country?⁴

15. Do you think that Pakistan, like Turkey, will encourage the Muslim women in its developments?

16. In view of the many congratulatory messages and expressions of goodwill shown to Pakistan by Middle East countries—a copy of a Cairo report giving these is attached⁵—would you be good enough to give a special message for Middle East countries?

⁴Jinnah had expressed his views on these subjects previously as well. See No. 464, Vol. I, Part I, 843-5.

⁵Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 67

F. 10/170

PAKISTAN: BIGGEST MIDDLE EAST EVENT

Cairo Press Comment

CAIRO, June 20: The prospective emergence of Pakistan as world's greatest Muslim State is the subject of feature articles and comments in the Cairo press. This has followed King Ibn Saud's congratulations¹ to Indian Muslims and King Abdullah's² hope expressed during his visit to Iraq for the creation of a grand Muslim family extending from Tibet to Casablanca.

Widely-circulating *Al Ahram* is printing special articles hailing Pakistan as the biggest Middle Eastern event. Ibrahim Abdul Megid el-Labban, Professor of Arts at the Farouk University of Alexandria, declares Pakistan has a particular meaning for the Arab world and will join the Arab family in the Middle East.

The Indian Muslims are a part of the social, cultural and spiritual ocean in which live Egypt, the Levant, and Iraq, and therefore relations with Pakistan will be a source of economic prosperity, he adds.

Abdul Kadir el-Samahy, Royal Military College lecturer, also in *Al Ahram*, says the separation of Pakistan from Hindustan is a good and logical thing. He adds that the Arab League represents a preliminary step towards the creation of a united front representing common harmonious interests and traditions.

He advocates collaboration of kindred cultures and civilisations such as the European, American, and Muslim as an advance towards universalism—Globe.

¹No. 50, Vol. II, 109. For the English translation, see No. 63, *ibid.*, 126.

²See No. 48, *ibid.*, 104-5. Also see F. 480/5, QAP. Not printed.

68

Note by Sheikh of Mangrol

F. 154/421-5

Undated [July 1947]

The British Paramountcy is to lapse in the very near future, and the Government of India which was at first intended to be for a united India was soon discovered to be an impossibility, and the Muslim League's demand for a division of India—Pakistan for Muslims and rest of the Hindustan for other nationalities—has been accepted¹ and actually the work of partition is seriously commenced.

2. What exactly would be the position of the Princely Order, great or small, is still at the present day difficult to foretell but it may be surmised with some certainty that the Princes will have to make some agreement or confederation and settle their position with the powers at the Centre for general administrative and practical purposes.² This seems to be a sure conclusion flowing from the fact that their present Treaties and Engagements with the British Crown will have to vanish with the lapse of Paramountcy.

3. In view of the rapid changes in the existing constitution for the Government of India, caused by the withdrawal of the British Power and the attainment of independence by the people of British India, the relationship existing between Rulers of States and the British Crown will no longer be possible as Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor can it be transferred to the new Government or Governments.

4. Another very important probability seems to be that on the lapse of Paramountcy all rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist, and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power, as also the rights acquired through and with the active assistance of the Paramount Power, will be restored to the States, and they would necessarily be reinstated in their original position existing before the advent of the British.

5. In view of these existing hard facts and the great changes in which the whole country is placed at present and also the future developments, I may be allowed to say that it would be most wise and advisable if this more than a century old dispute between Mangrol and Junagadh is amicably settled. I am sure such a step will not only furnish basis for a harmonious and efficient administration but will certainly ensure strong and healthy cooperation also, which of all

elements is much imperatively called for in the interests of the Muslim minority both amongst the subjects as well as amongst the States in India.

6. When an approach is sought for an amicable settlement the attitude from any side should not be at all conservative. Broad-mindedness and goodwill should always be the guiding considerations in such matters. With this as my main and primary motive, I would like to put my proposals for an impartial consideration after briefly stating the grievances of Mangrol for the glaring injustice done to it through the instrumentality of the representatives of the Crown.

7. There is not the slightest doubt that at the time of the Walker Settlement³ and prior to it, Mangrol was absolutely independent. The treatment by Junagadh of Mangrol and vice versa was that of two independent separate States. The *Peshkashies* were paid to Gaekwar by each of them separately and sometimes jointly. This was done merely for convenience [s] sake. Mangrol continued to be independent till [AD] 1825 when the joint payment of *Peshkashi* in the year 1807 AD by Mangrol was misconstrued as an attribute of subordination by the Political Agent, Colonel Barton, in 1825. Mangrol never submitted to this position, but again in [AD] 1841 a Bond was got executed from the Widow Regent acknowledging subordination to Junagadh by Colonel Jacob⁴ at the mouth of cannon. Colonel Jacob in his report has made full disclosure of his coercing the helpless Begum, by actually taking an army to Mangrol against the orders of Government to have the Bond signed. This disclosure exists only to form a regrettable record of the highly unjust and high-handed acts of the so-called British diplomacy, but they cannot prove the subordination of Mangrol before an impartial tribunal.

8. The year 1879 must also be painfully remembered for the British Representatives having succeeded in securing the signature of Sheikh Husainmian Saheb, who was merely a school boy of tender age under threats and force. This paper is referred to as an Agreement binding on the Sheikh Saheb and his successors and Mangrol's incessant approach to British authorities has been only a cry [in the wilderness] against the British diplomacy and the premier State of Kathiawar.

9. Mangrol never submitted to these so-called Bond and Agreement obtained by duress and coercion and continued to fight for its real status of an independent unit. Mangrol as late as 1929 submitted a representation to the Secretary of State⁵ on which the orders of 1932 were passed by the Secretary of State. From these orders and several other documents it is as clear as day that even His Majesty's Political

Department had often thought of doing justice to Mangrol but they found themselves very awkwardly placed for doing so. They regarded it inadvisable to sacrifice their prestige for the sake of justice.

10. However, let me not talk of what was justice and what was not justice. This much is certain that the paramount power, the British Government, is to lapse very shortly and everything which is a creation of the paramount power is also most likely to lapse with it. Anyhow, I fail to see, no matter what the circumstances are, what harm there is if Mangrol and Junagadh meet with open hearts and settle their affairs between themselves. From my personal point of view, which is also based on Islamic principles, this would be the easiest and surest way of finally ending this unique and profitless famous dispute.

11. It would be now for Junagadh and Mangrol to devise means whereby Mangrol may be restored to its real and honourable position of an independent unit always ready to cooperate with Junagadh in the political field.

12. It would be worth mentioning that this last declaration by Mangrol is not without a precedent in its glorious act of valiant help given to Junagadh in the battle of Panch Pipli undertaken by Gondal, Jamnagar and Porbandar against Junagadh in St. 1838 [sic].⁶ It is a matter of great regret that this incident has been distorted and used against Mangrol by perversion of real facts when in all honour and fairness to Mangrol it should have received a fitting appreciation from Junagadh.

13. Mangrol is no doubt very small as compared with Junagadh, but it may be mentioned with justifiable pride that Mangrol exercised its option to render help at this critical juncture to a Muslim principality according to the Qur'anic *farman*. Mangrol would act in the same manner and the present situation in which the country is placed demands imperatively an adoption of policy which would bring in cooperation of all Muslim entities to fight against the existing and impending odds which are a real danger to the Muslim minority.

14. Coming to the main point, Mangrol requests that in view of the foregoing observations and those which are stated herein below:

- a. Junagadh should not object nor come in the way if Mangrol declares itself a separate unit independent from Junagadh with all powers and privileges of a second-class State now styled as Salute States.
- b. Mangrol should enjoy full civil and criminal jurisdiction over its allotted villages as it enjoys with regard to its Swang territory.
- c. Mangrol should be connected with a railway in a manner

which would be most convenient to Mangrol.

- d. All pending disputes between Junagadh and Mangrol may be mutually and amicably settled as soon as possible.

15. Mangrol has ventured to put forth the above proposals with the hope that Junagadh will also advance a sympathetic hand for cooperation. I regard it most necessary and may be allowed to clarify at this stage [that] one often misunderstood attitude of Mangrol. Mangrol has no doubt always taken a firm stand in its struggle for independence and status and this Junagadh may not have appreciated, but let me assure Junagadh that by doing so Mangrol's entire motive was certainly no other than that of self-preservation.

16. The present are the most crucial days for Indian States and they are flying fast in spite of the fact that various problems still remain unsolved. This is not the time when Mangrol and Junagadh should be involved in fighting for their rights as that will only aggravate their existing strained relations and make them still more bitter. This is the most critical time and from the point of view of expediency and prudence all such things should be brought to an end and let the prolonged and unending litigation existing over a period of a century and a half be buried in the dead past. I may be allowed to say that this technical dispute has caused no real benefit to either parties [*sic* for party] but on the other hand it has only gone to create great bitterness, worry and trouble. An honourable amicable settlement to bury the differences is the only remedy under the circumstances and this is all for which Mangrol is anxious, and Mangrol has no intention to enter into controversy and requests Junagadh to solve the problem by seeing their way to accept[ing] these proposals, which would certainly place Mangrol on a more stabilised position but Junagadh will not be a loser in any sense and to any extent.

17. Whatever superior position Junagadh may have acquired over Mangrol through the instrumentality of the British Government but may I ask how far and in what respect that superior position has materially benefited the Junagadh State for all practical purposes. Again, it would be worth considering in what way this forced subjugation of Mangrol and the cherished superiority of Junagadh has really augmented Junagadh's prestige in the outside world. It is definitely asserted that the Junagadh State has been and would always, let us hope, be a premier state in Kathiawar even without this superiority over Mangrol. On the other hand the acquisition of this superiority has behind it a lamentable history of a most painful injustice and ceaseless litigation, creating bad blood and sowing seeds of permanent ill feeling

between the two neighbouring Muslim [States]—not to talk of the enormous waste of money and the constant afflictions of the subjects of Mangrol, it being smaller than Junagadh. Now, if the matter is viewed from the right angle and with [a] broader outlook, Junagadh would lose nothing if the claims of Mangrol are accepted. On the contrary, it would gain the opportunity to benefit Mangrol by helping it to take its original position, and on this being done, it need hardly be mentioned that this act of Junagadh would be considered as most honourable, magnanimous and worthy of universal commendation.

18. What is again most noteworthy is the fact that Mangrol's position as compared with other Chiefs in Kathiawar is unnecessarily degraded. On the British quitting India, it only behoves the great Muslim principality of Junagadh to see that Mangrol is brought out from this unjust and undeserving humiliation and [the] sooner it is done the better. This is not a mere sentiment, but positively a wise, prudent and diplomatic step to be taken without any loss of time.

19. It must be admitted that such unjust and undeserving humiliation of Mangrol in the eyes of other brother princes and public could not really be a matter for Junagadh's sincere pride and it would be up to Junagadh to realise the extent of Mangrol's great grievances in this behalf and the only right approach to the problem would be that Junagadh should show broad-mindedness by magnanimously agreeing to what Mangrol has suggested. Any idea of self-glorification in Mangrol's forced subjugation would not disclose a really worthy or honourable approach to the question and the abandonment thereof, I am sure, is the real solution. The public opinion of today is certainly against any idea of forced subjugation, no matter how remote it may be, and a power like the British Government had to hand over the Government of India to the Indians. I am sure this very instance should be a sufficient and convincing proof to support my case and I am confident the Junagadh Government will not hesitate to agree with me. The Junagadh State, I verily believe, has the best opportunity to secure Mangrol's real and sincere cooperation and when it is willingly offered, it may be accepted and not thrown out on the strength of any orthodox and obstinate points of view to the contrary. This view is proffered with the best of motives and intentions and I hope that a right and sympathetic view will be taken.

20. I may be allowed to repeat that the current times may be viewed in their true perspective and by removing the main causes of discord, Junagadh may well be assured of Mangrol going hand in hand with it, through thick and thin and at all times and in whatever circumstances.

21. The present is the time when the Junagadh State may well think of diverting its attack from Mangrol to where it is needed and thus preserve its own dignity, authority and power along with Mangrol and all those who shall have to depend on its support. The unexpected and rapid changes occurring in the constitution of the Government of India call for attention to more important matters and in this wise [sic], Mangrol could more profitably be taken on its side, rather than continue indulging in the unprofitable self-satisfaction of Junagadh trying to have Mangrol as a mediatised [sic] *Taluka* under it, which would only keep alive the bitter feelings.

22. Mangrol is anxious to see that justice is done to it not on any canons of law but on the broad and human principles of goodwill and liberality and fervently hopes that its request may be accepted, so as to enable Mangrol to take stand with Junagadh firmly and sincerely in all matters social, political and religious and also avail for itself a complete and whole-hearted support of the Junagadh Government.⁷

[S. M. NASIRUDDIN]

¹Refers to the 3 June Plan. See No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

²British policy in this regard was enunciated by Mountbatten in his address to the conference of rulers and representatives of Indian States on 25 July 1947. See Appendix VII. 19, Vol. III, 993-1000

³Not traced.

⁴Probably John Jacob (later General) who founded the town of Jacobabad on the Upper Sind frontier and was also buried there.

⁵Refers to the *Samawat* calender which antedates the Christian era

⁷Earlier in the year Jinnah had made an unscheduled call on the Ruler of Mangrol while en route to Bombay from Karachi by sea, but the latter was away. See No. 89, Vol. I, Part I, 186.

69

Draft of joint statement to be issued by the Governments of India and Pakistan to the Indian Forces in Japan¹

F. 1161/4²

NEW DELHI,
Undated [July 1947]

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have been jointly considering the decision of the Interim Government to withdraw the Indian Contingent which has hitherto formed part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan.³ They have decided for the following reasons that their Armed Forces shall continue to be represented in Japan by a small contingent which will remain, as at

present, an integral part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force.

The Indian Armed Forces played a major part in the defeat of Japan and the winning of the war, and it is right and proper that they should continue to play a part in the countries in the occupation of Japan. Their continued participation in this task will maintain the already great prestige and influence of the Indian Armed Forces.

While you are in Japan you will continue to serve under the same conditions as hitherto, and arrangements will be made for the granting of leave under the present rules.

The Supreme Commander, under the Joint Defence Council, will be responsible for the present on behalf of the two Governments for those aspects of administration and welfare of the contingent which have been up to date the responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief in India.

The Governments of India and Pakistan are confident that, though serving in a foreign country at a great distance from your homes, you will continue to uphold and enhance the reputation you have so rightly earned throughout the world.

¹This draft along with cost estimates was put up by Auchinleck in compliance with the Provisional Joint Defence Council's directive of 29 July that he prepare a statement from Indian leaders to Indian troops in Japan. See F. 723/172-3, QAP. Not printed.

²The draft statement was discussed in the Provisional Joint Defence Council meeting on 31 July and it was decided to refer the issue of retention of Indian troops in Japan to the respective Dominion Cabinets. See F. 3/131-2, QAP. Not printed.

³For decisions of Indian and Pakistan Governments, see No. 302, para 18, and No. 385, para 55, TP, XII, 447 and 603, respectively. Also see F. 49-GG/7, case No. JDC/41/6/47. Not printed.

70

Mohammad Zaman Khan Achakzai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 832/91-3

GULISTAN (BALUCHISTAN),

1 August 1947

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the public of Gulistan (Baluchistan), especially Muslim Leaguers, offer our heartiest congratulations to you for [sic for on] the attainment of our life goal—Pakistan and we take the opportunity of expressing our joy at your appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan. We reiterate our firm faith in you as our Quaid-i-Azam and assure you of our loyalty to you.

We have the opportunity and honour to lay before you the general feelings of the masses in Baluchistan:

- a. The education in this province has ever since been mostly neglected and Education Department existed only in name. No facilities are given to the public by the government to get their education. During 90 years of Crown reign you will hardly find 1% educated persons and that is why Baluchistan is a backward province. Now that our cherished goal of Pakistan has been achieved, we pray that this should be treated as the most important of all the government departments and some such programme may be chalked out as to enable Baluchistan to get literate within a short time and thus to be in a position to stand on its own legs. The first duty of Pakistan Government should be to make education compulsory and every facility be given to the people of Baluchistan in this connection.
- b. The present system of representation in Baluchistan is unfair. *Some people called Sardars etc. have been nominated or selected by the government irrespective of their personal qualifications.*¹ Most of them are not even literate. They cannot be called the true representatives of the masses. This assembly of *Sardars* are the people at the helm of affairs and in reality most of them do not deserve to be what they are. The law is at present a toy in these ignorant hands. We beseech you, our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, to see that Baluchistan's people are given facilities to select their true representatives who are selected by the people and for the people. This can only be done if every adult is given his due right of

exercising his vote. The present *Jirga* system in Baluchistan is a curse and we cannot tolerate the present system of government and *Jirga* system in Baluchistan.

In the end we are sure that our Quaid-i-Azam—may he live long—would do for us what he thinks is most suitable for us, and we once again assure our Quaid-i-Azam of our loyalty and feel pleasure in sacrificing our very lives and all that is near and dear to us, at his command.

Sincerely yours,
MOH[AMMA]D ZAMAN KHAN ACHAKZAI
*Propaganda Secretary,
Muslim League, Gulistan*

Copy forwarded to Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa Khan, President, All Baluchistan Muslim League.

¹Sidelined in the original.

71

Agha¹ to Fatima Jinnah

F. 918/94-5

NEW DELHI,
1 August 1947

Revered Miss Jinnah,

May you and your beloved and great brother live long! Pakistan has been achieved after huge bloodshed of Musalmans throughout the country and unprecedented mental and intellectual strain on your brother. He is indeed the greatest man of the day.

What has followed in the wake of this great achievement? It is obvious to the discerning eye. Even your brother's next man, Liaquat, has become inaccessible, haughty, arrogant and perhaps broken-hearted too, since he is not being mentioned as a prospective Governor. The uncultured brute of a man, uncouth, uncivilised, rugged in manners, propagandist, Ghazanfar Ali, is least interested in the healthy and strong foundation of the people of his country. His outlook is more curative than preventive. He is without a health programme because he is devoid of conception about a healthy life. He is leaving for his

home without even an idea of the framework of his Department at a time when he could show his talent in building the Department of Health in the Pakistan Government.

All senior Muslim officers, with or without substance, are busy planning and manoeuvring for their own uplift in Government employment. For example, Mr. Ikramullah is striving for a Secretaryship in the External Affairs Department although he has much to learn by way of experience. Commonwealth Relations Department is being entirely neglected or overlooked. Like External Affairs, Health Department affairs, if not worse, are equally bad. A Deputy Secretary, Mr. [G. A.] Madani, a U. P. civilian, is a great intriguer. The welfare of the Department does not mean anything to him. A young boy, raw and inexperienced as he is, he is not capable of running a Department which is concerned vitally with the building of the Muslim nation. Ask him if he has any ideas as to how the nation is to be built. You will find that you know more than he does. In fact he cannot dip deep into anything, and yet because he happens to be the son of a top ranking Leaguer,² he aspires to be the Secretary of the Department. To say [*sic*] the truth, he is not fit for secretarial work, much less to be even the Deputy Secretary of a Department. Similarly, there are two Muslim officers under him, Colonel M. A. Jafarey, IMS³ (he is only an MBBS of Lucknow, no foreign qualifications, experience only in Jails in U. P.) and Lt. Colonel M. Jafar, IMS, a comparatively junior officer but expert in public health, including port quarantine and international health. There is a tug of war between the two for Director-Generalship of Health Services. Definitely, Colonel Jafarey is a misfit for this job: (a) for want of international contacts which Colonel Jafar has, (b) for lack of appreciation of international health complications, which Colonel Jafar, from amongst all the Muslim Indian Medical Service and non-Indian Medical Service officers, is *the only*⁴ officer who complies [*sic*] with this requisite qualification, and (c) for the complete absence of any experience in medical administration, medical research and public health work, both in the field and otherwise, which Colonel Jafar has in abundance. In addition, it is suggested that the Quaid-i-Azam may interview both the officers and arrive at an independent judgment himself. For a new Department, initiative and drive and vast experience are essential qualifications.

Now diverting to the transfer to Karachi. The Quaid-i-Azam arrives there about 7th instant. Pakistan celebrations take place from 14th to 18th August. The Secretariat staff, on the other hand, is being detained in Delhi or elsewhere till after the end of the month of August. Is it the intention that those Pakistanis who are intended to be left back in

Delhi should be molested and made to salute the Hindu national flag on 15th August and Muslims should have no other alternative but to do so, and that the Quaid-i-Azam and his colleagues plus his highly placed officers only should enjoy the Pakistan celebrations in Karachi. This is all with reference to the incompetence and inefficiency of the so-called Transfer Office which has now staggered the movement of trains from 1st August to 31st August 1947. Is anybody taking the responsibility of the lives of thousands who are staying on here after 14th August 1947? Or is it the wish of the cold-blooded logician who at the expense of so many human lives wants to prove a point of his? Kindly give it a serious thought as a sister or a mother does for her brothers or children. There is great discontentment and revolutionary [sic] dissatisfaction amongst the Secretariat Muslims, particularly when all officers are leaving them behind to face kicks of the Hindus who regard us as aliens and enemies now.

I am writing these few lines to you in the hope that you will bring them to the notice of the revered Quaid-i-Azam whom otherwise no letters reach direct.

Yours obediently,
AGHA

¹Name incomplete. Not identified.

²Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan.

³Indian Medical Service.

⁴Underlined in the original.

72

Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 327/4-8

MONTREUX,
1 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam, Governor-General [designate] Pakistan, New Delhi
Forgive intrusion. Conscience drives me respectfully draw your attention following. Thanks to you alone miracle which many dared not hope, has taken place and Islam's future in India assured for ever. In Europe forces of imperialism amongst all other colonial powers and section conservative party dismayed by Indian independence but not discouraged. Final efforts being made implement colonial imperialism on subject races which now practically limited Muslims. They realise political dominion of Britain in India necessarily passing show and

only permanent hope like Spain [and] Sicily crush Islam identifying subject races with themselves. I know from sure sources Indonesian War not for economic reasons but discredit Muslim Nationalist Leaders, start puppet Governments over partitioned Java of either Eurasian converts or bought traitors before 1949 autonomy starts.¹ But most serious Africa. Every effort being made break Arab nationalism discrediting Arab League. Italian colonies part of same scheme. Even if Cyrenaica given Arabs small desert country Tripoli being key position. Islam safe if trusteeship to America England neutral States were given for Tripoli but if handed to Italy second Spain inevitable. If Italian colonies East Africa handed Abyssinia Muslims will be physically wiped out. We must insist that no Muslim area Italian colonies given Abyssinia but trusteeship as United Nations decide. Am only mentioning few reasons could write volumes. Southern Sudan also being forcibly torn from Islam. No Muslim missionaries allowed. Even Hindus there shocked wondering why we sit quiet when whole country handed to American missionaries. Therefore most important coming United Nations Conference Pakistan Muslim representative be man whose name and social position will open all doors, give great opportunities, and flatter American society. I respectfully request you consider Nawab Bhopal² who alone can do public work and infinitely more important lobbying, entertaining, wirepulling of international assemblies. From Indian viewpoint strongly urge importance now contact through Nawab American capital. As you told Afghan Princes³ Egyptians not only numerical minority but fact that federal India would have given Hindus economic stranglehold even of Muslim provinces. So if we remain dependent on Hindu capital for development Eastern Bengal that vast dominion inevitable becomes Hindustan dependency. England without capital. America our only hope. Politically if we get large American interests in Pakistan we protect ourselves against Russia by American interests in UNO. If so instructed, Nawab can make contacts, get important people interested economic future. I know American capitalist system well. Fifty key men dispose of America's entire fluid fortune. Through Nawab all these doors opened, contacts made for future which you can develop or withdraw from. All apologies for very long cable.

AGA KHAN

[Religious Head of Ismailis]

¹See Appendix VIII. 1 for Jinnah's assurance of support to Indonesia.

²See No. 85 for Nawab of Bhopal's offer to serve Pakistan.

³Not traced.

73

C. E. Gibbon¹ to M. A. Jinnah

F. 131/11

13 JAIL ROAD, LAHORE,
1 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose, for your information, a copy of my statement made before the Punjab Boundary Commission on 25 July 1947.

With my best wishes,

Yours loyally,
C. E. GIBBON
Founder President,
Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan

¹Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly. He formed the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan shortly after announcement of the 3 June Plan.

Enclosure to No. 73

F. 131/12-4

STATEMENT BY C. E. GIBBON BEFORE THE PUNJAB BOUNDARY
COMMISSION

25 July 1947

It would not have been necessary for me to address the Commission because I feel that the interests of my small community are well placed in the hands of the architects of Pakistan. But due to the fact that a Mr. [Eric] Bannerji has made certain incorrect references to my community, I consider it necessary to clear up the inaccurate statements made.¹

I do not propose to give any weightage to the representative character of Mr. Bannerji. He is not an Anglo-Indian and "Eagles do not fight with mice". Speaking on behalf of my community, I propose to confine myself to the reasons set out in paragraph 10 of the Joint Memorandum.² In that paragraph it has been stated [that] "the Anglo-Indians are happy to be in Pakistan. They regard Lahore and the West Punjab as their homeland." This might require some explanation. It is a well known fact that the "cream" of the Anglo-Indian community comes from the Punjab. Their origin dates back nearly 200 years. As a matter

of fact, back to the days of the Afghans and the Moghuls—mighty Muslim rulers in this land, many of us Anglo-Indians in the Punjab, can even trace our descent from the Kings of Oudh. Speaking for myself, I am in fact an Anglo-Muslim. My great-grandfather married a Muslim princess, and so by descent, I am a European-cum-Muslim. Such is the case with practically 99% of the Anglo-Indians of the Punjab. They are the descendants of the Anglo-Muslim race.

A charge has been levied [*sic*] that the Anglo-Indian community has, for one reason or another, changed sides. I dare say that the Anglo-Indian community has never taken sides, to change sides. But attempts were made to coerce me and my community into taking sides. Diabolical means were adopted to force us in that direction. We, however, resisted, placing self-effort and self-reliance on our own strength and intelligence.

My community in the Punjab, though small in numbers, finds itself mostly in that notional division now known as West Punjab. We are only 5,891 in number, according to the last Census Report, which the Congress Party, more than anyone else, claims to be inaccurate. So do we, and I say without fear of contradiction, that but for every white-faced Anglo-Indian styling himself as "European", our numbers would have been very much larger. This is pretty obvious from the fact that although our population is shown to be 5,891—nearly 4,000 Anglo-Indians, with dependants, are on the North Western Railway alone. Similarly, in the Post & Telegraph Department we have over 1,000 Anglo-Indians, and in the Punjab Government services we have over 600 and about 2,000 in other walks of life. Approximately 8,000 Anglo-Indians. This alone shows how inaccurate the census figures are, in so far as my community is concerned.

The larger communities, in addition to their population, base their claims to territory, on "vested interests". This factor cannot be applied to us, for what we lack in "vested interests", we make up for in brain, brawn, and initiative. We have, though small in number, largely contributed to the development on [*sic* for of] the Punjab, and particularly to the city of Lahore. We claim to have the most up-to-date schools and colleges; we claim to have placed the medical profession and the nursing services in the position in which they are today. Our nursing services have a reputation, not only in the Punjab but throughout the world, as being the most efficient nursing service in existence. We built and developed the railways; we have built and controlled the posts and telegraphs; we hold positions of responsibility and trust in the Provincial and Central Government services, and are

in key positions in the departments responsible for maintaining law and order. All this, with a population of only 5,891 people, including women and children, is no doubt a fair contribution, made by a small community to the development of the Punjab, and in particular, to the city of Lahore.

*Therefore, we Anglo-Indians of the Punjab lay a very special claim to the city of Lahore not, as I have previously remarked, by virtue of numbers or vested interests, but for the very fact that this city was planned and developed with our sweat, toil, culture and initiative.*³

We, the Anglo-Indian people of the Punjab, are as much natives of the Punjab as any Hindu, Muslim or Sikh. I, therefore, pass on to sub-para B of the Memorandum which states: "They want their small numbers in the Punjab to be consolidated". That can easily be done, for as a matter of fact, it has already been done. For the simple reason, that in the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions there were, according to the last Census Report, 1,178 Anglo-Indians, but I am happy to say that this number is very much larger now, and that 99% of them have declared for Pakistan. My problem, therefore, to an extent is solved.

I now pass on to sub-para C: "They feel sure that their culture will be preserved and their freedom of religion guaranteed". This to us, gentlemen, is a very serious matter. A matter which, for one reason or another, has occasioned much misapprehension and doubt in the minds of Anglo-Indians, not only in the Punjab but throughout the length and breadth of the country. I am daily in receipt of letters from all parts of India enquiring whether Anglo-Indians may come from Hindustan to Pakistan. The reason for this is obvious, for the seed of distrust was sown on the floor of the Constituent Assembly, on 1st May, when Mr P. D. Tandon declared (I quote from the *Dawn* dated 2-5-1947):

In the Constituent Assembly on Thursday a heated debate took place on the right of conversion. Mr. P. D. Tandon created a furore by declaring that Congressmen were against the right to propagate faith but had agreed to the clause in order to "carry their friends" with them.

The whole Anglo-Indian community has stood up to defend their sacred rights. Propagation of faith and conversion, is a[n] article of faith with us, Christians, and for which we, like others, are prepared to lay down our lives.

It pains me to say that dastardly attacks, by members of the Sikh community, on innocent, undefended and disinterested Anglo-Indian women, have been made. This is not a secret, it is on police records. As

a matter of fact, it grieves me to observe that one of the accused happens to be the son of a learned Advocate of the High Court. You say then, why do Anglo-Indians fear to stay in Hindustan. My reply is, that I have shown cause why they should get out of it, and with the help of Almighty God, stay out of it.

The seed of distrust was also sown by no less a person than Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Member, who, at a meeting held on 27th April 1947, in Delhi, endeavoured to coerce me into obeying the Congress mandate, which I refused to do. I quote from the verbatim proceedings of the meeting held on Sunday, the 27th April 1947:

Mr. Frank Anthony:⁴ If the Anglo-Indians had helped the Muslim League to form a Ministry at this time, what would have been the attitude of the Sikhs towards the community?

Defence Member: The Sikhs will not touch the community.

Mr. Gibbon: How can the Anglo-Indians help to form a Ministry?

Defence Member: Our position is that even if the Anglo-Indians, or Christians, or some other minorities, join the Muslim League and form a Ministry, we will not touch this Coalition at all. We consider it suicidal for the Sikhs to join a Ministry.

Mr. Frank Anthony: And what would have been the attitude of the Sikhs towards us if such a Ministry were to be formed?

Defence Member: Complete boycott and more trouble.

Here is a responsible Minister of Government intimidating a little people, five to six thousand strong, by threats of "complete boycott and more trouble". We, however, took up the challenge, Sir, and the Anglo-Indians of the Punjab have given them all the trouble they want.

Again, in reply to an enquiry, the Defence Member stated:

Then again, as regards the community being involved in riots. It will certainly create a very bad effect on the Sikhs and Hindus. They will say that the Anglo-Indians have joined the Muslim League and that will naturally involve the community into these communal disturbances. Communal feelings in the Punjab are very high at present.

All these threats were given out by Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Member, merely because the representative of the Anglo-Indian community in the Punjab refused to obey the Congress mandate.

In the light of these observations, Sir, I need not address you further on sub-clause D, except to say, that my people in the Punjab, who come of different stock to that of Anglo-Indians in Madras and elsewhere, have made their decision, and shall not go back on it. All that we place before this Hon'ble Commission, is that, we have decided to make Pakistan our homeland. *With hope in my heart and a prayer on*

my lips, I appeal to the Commission, not to split us more than what has been done in the past and to consider us as another factor in the case of Pakistan.

C. E. GIBBON

¹⁶²Not traced.

³Sideline here and subsequently in the original.

⁴A leader of the Anglo-Indian community and a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

74

Abdul Hafiz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 908/119

[NEW DELHI],

1 August 1947

Sir,

It is requested that this letter, written as it is, may not kindly be treated as one belying [*sic*] the profound feelings of loyalty, faithfulness and honesty to serve the Pakistan Government that the writer has in his heart.

2. It should, on the other hand, be considered as a corrective to mend affairs before they become irreparable.

3. You might not be aware, Sir, what is actually happening in the matter of appointments recently made in War Dept. (Pakistan) with a view to functioning that office. Some very junior Superintendents and Assistants have respectively been promoted to the posts of Administrative Officer and Superintendent thereby utterly ignoring the rights of some very senior and experienced personnel working in Branches and thus creating a great discontentment and heart burning which needs not only a just but generous treatment.

4. Relatives and favourites of some responsible officers have been promoted to ranks which they cannot claim with equanimity [*sic*]. Is not this, Sir, corruption, jobbery, and nepotism which we, as Muslims, should nip in the bud?

5. It would not be impertinent on my part if I am allowed to state that we may as well follow the same principle, rigidly of course, as followed in GHQ, in matter of promotions. The principle is briefly given as under.

Promotion to be made from:

a. Combined roster of Air Forces, Armed Forces, Naval Headquarters

and War Department

- b. Seniority tempered with Annual Confidential Reports covering a period of two or three years
- c. IACC¹ personnel be treated as juniors to the ministerial staff which was recruited through the staff selection Board of the FPSC.²

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most loyal servant,

ABDUL HAFIZ

GHQ

¹Indian Army Clerical Corps.

²Federal Public Service Commission.

75

A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/324

14 DHOBI STREET, MOHAMAD ALI ROAD,
BOMBAY-3,

1 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I think you will perhaps recollect that I have [sic] the honour of paying a visit to your good self at your Malabar Hill [bungalow] on your return from Karachi in April last.

I was a frequent visitor at your place while you were at Bombay and through the assistance of your P. A. Khwaja Khurshied Anwar [sic for K. H. Khurshid], I took your consent for presenting you a *sola* hat manufactured by the company whose interest I was representing at Bombay.

The Britannia Sola Hat Factory has manufactured this hat for you, under my instructions, and I hope that your honour will very kindly accept this humble present.

An acknowledgement of the receipt of the hat as and when received, will be greatly appreciated. I am sending today, separately, by registered parcel post the hat in question to your New Delhi address.

Yours sincerely,

A. HAMID

Gen[era]l Manager, Allied Pakistan Trading Company

76

Nawab Mirza Janee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 908/117-8

P. O. MOGHALSARAI,
DIST[RICT] BENARES,
1 August 1947

CLAIM OF THE LEGAL HEIRS OF
LATE NAWAB MIRZA FAKHRUDAULA BAHADUR
ALIAS JANEESAHIB OF KHANDAN-I-MOGHALY OF DELHI

Sir,

I most humbly and respectfully beg to bring to your kind notice the following few lines for your kind consideration and merciful decision.

That we are the legal heirs of late Nawab Mirza Fakhrudaula Bahadur *alias* Janee Sahib of Oudh and when the British Government came in India our everything was captured and pensions were granted to all the family members and also a large sum was kept in the Imperial Bank of India from where we all were given interest.

That now the British Government is leaving India and our rights must be restored and we must be saved from further ruin.

Our late grandfather Nawab Mirza Fakhrudaula Bahadur was the last person to rule over the throne of Delhi. His son was Nawab Mirza Mohammed Abbas and I am his own son. My name is Nawab Mirza Janee Sahib. Name of my late brother was Nawab Mirza Kausar Ali Sahib Bahadur.

Our pension order number is 103 and we were paid through the Imperial Bank of [India], Benares Branch.

That on 6th April 1939 four persons named Mirza Jainul Abidin r/o Chah Kankar, Lucknow, Girdhar Pd, Barjiwan Pd and Nawab Kaley Bhai of Poorani Adalat, Benares, came to us and obtained our registered declaration that we will be paid our all the dues by the Government very soon. But sorry nothing has been heard further.

That my late brother Nawab Mirza Kaiser Ali Sahib have [*sic* for has] left behind six children and their names are as follows:

1. Janab Mirza Hazi Husain Sahib
2. Nawab Mirza Dildar Husain Sahib
3. Nawab Mirza Sahadat Ali *alias* Chhotan
4. Nawab Mirza Sarfaraz Ali *alias* Lallan
5. Nawab Mirza Haider Beg Sahib
6. Begum Alah Jilai Sahiba

I am guardian of all the children.

Under the above circumstances, I pray your honour to please restore our royalty and pay our all the dues to present [*sic*] kept in the hands of the British Government. Thanking you for the same.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

NAWAB MIRZA JANEE

77

M. A. Jinnah to J. Dalmia

F. 85/19

1 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that I shall give you the vacant possession of this house, No. 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, on or before 31st of August 1947.

I am enclosing¹ herewith the receipt for Rs. 10,000 paid to me by way of earnest money.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. JINNAH

J. Dalmia, Esq.,
2 Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 77

F. 85/20

1 August 1947

Received from Mr. Jaydayal Dalmia the sum of Rs. 10,000 (in words rupees ten thousand) only by way of earnest money as provided in the agreement of sale¹ to you of my property, 10 Aurangzeb Road, more particularly described in the agreement dated 1st August 1947, which was signed by you and me. One copy is retained by me and the other was handed over to you at the time of the execution of the agreement.

M. A. JINNAH

¹Annexure.

*Annexure to Enclosure to No. 77**F. 85/17-8*NEW DELHI,
1 August 1947

AGREEMENT

This agreement made the 1st day of August 1947 between Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah of Bombay, Mohammadan inhabitant, at present in Delhi, hereinafter called "the Vendor" of the one part and Mr. Jaidayal Dalmia of Delhi, Hindu inhabitant, hereinafter called "the Purchaser" of the other part witnesseth as under:

The Vendor does hereby agree to sell and the Purchaser does hereby agree to purchase all that piece or parcel of Municipal leasehold land with the buildings standing thereon and measuring little less or more than 3 acres or thereabouts or approximately, being plot No. 8, Block No. 14, bearing Municipal House No. 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, bounded on or towards the East and on or towards the South by Aurangzeb Road, on or towards the West by the Queensway and on or towards the North by a lane connecting Aurangzeb Road and the Queensway for the lump sum price of Rs. 3,00,000 (in words rupees three lac) only free from encumbrances.

The Vendor has received from the Purchaser the sum of Rs. 10,000 (in words rupees ten thousand) only as earnest money by cash for which a separate receipt has been passed and the balance of the purchase money shall be paid by the Purchaser on or before 10th January, 1948, on the Vendor making out a clear, valid, marketable and unencumbered title to the said property free from all claims and charges whatsoever, executing the necessary sale deed in favour of the Purchaser or his nominee or nominees, getting the same registered getting necessary mutation of names affected, and putting the Purchaser and or his nominee or nominees into possession of the said property by attornment from the tenants.

All costs attending the sale deed and registration charges thereof shall entirely be borne by the Purchaser.

All land-rent, rates, taxes, assessments and other charges, if any, payable in respect of the said property up to the date of the completion of the sale will be paid by the Vendor.

The [*sic* for In] witness whereof the said parties hereto have hereunto set their respective hands at Delhi the day and year hereunder mentioned.

MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
*Vendor*JAIDAYAL DALMIA
Purchaser

78

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 324/23

PESHAWAR,
1 August 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

After careful thinking personally I feel convinced that your choice of our Governor¹ is the best one under the circumstances. I would like you to say something to the public when the announcement is made.

It will be possible to satisfy the people, specially when we have the radio at our disposal. The trouble is more of an internal nature.² Some of our own people, who either do not understand, or had some axe of their own to grind, have been trying to stir up trouble. I assure you that even this will be adequately dealt with.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

¹On 25 July, Jinnah agreed to George Cunningham's appointment as Governor of NWFP. See No. 237, Vol. III, 693.

²See Annex.

*Annex to No. 78*NO CHANGE IN MANKI SHARIF'S POLITICAL VIEWS¹

Abdul Qaiyum Khan Contradicts Rumour

PESHAWAR, July 29: Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, has strongly contradicted the rumour that "the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif has become a convert to Pathanistan".

In a press statement after his meeting with the Pir Sahib at the Manki village today, Mr. Qaiyum said that as the Pir Sahib was, according to usual custom, devoting his entire time to fasting and prayer in the holy month of *Ramazan*, he had been authorised to issue the following statement on behalf of the Pir Sahib:

We the Musalmans should not pay the slightest heed to the malicious propaganda which is going on against the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif in the Hindu Press that he has become a convert to Pathanistan. The Pir Sahib describes all this propaganda as baseless and merely a tissue of lies. There is not the slightest change in his political belief and he is the

same staunch Muslim Leaguer that he has always been. He will issue a detailed statement to the press later when he has an occasion to do so.—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 31 July 1947.

79

Shaikh Sirdar Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 162/359

MUMTAZ MANZIL, CHOWK SRAJAN,
HOSHIARPUR CITY, PUNJAB,
1 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I have the honour of forwarding you a copy of a letter from me addressed to the Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan regarding a *plan and location of gold, platinum and iridium mines, the working and development of which will be of great benefit to Pakistan*.¹

I earnestly solicit your interest and consideration in this matter.

Yours faithfully,
SHAIKH SIRDAR MOHAMED
A.M.I.E., C.E.,
ex-gazetted officer,
Government of India

¹Underlined in the original.

Enclosure to No. 79
Shaikh Sirdar Mohamed to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 162/360

MUMTAZ MANZIL,
CHOWK SRAJAN,
HOSHIARPUR CITY,
PUNJAB,
1 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of introducing myself.

I am an ex-gazetted officer, Central Govt., New Delhi, as well as a

refugee from Burma. A certificate from the Department of Commonwealth Relations, Government of India, New Delhi, is enclosed herewith,¹ which is self-explanatory.

I am desirous of drawing your esteemed attention to the fact that I have a plan and location of very rich mines of gold, platinum and iridium.² The necessary long lease for these mines can be obtained by your good self from the Government of Burma. Being an enthusiastic supporter of Pakistan, I offer my services towards its benefit.

If interested, please call me over for a personal interview telegraphically as your time is valuable. A copy of this letter is being forwarded to our Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah.

I trust you will favour me with your reply on receipt of this letter.

Yours faithfully,
 SHAIKH SIRDAR MOHAMED
 A.M.I.E., C.E.,
ex-gazetted officer,
Government of India

¹See F. 162/361, QAP. Not printed.

²Underlined in the original.

80

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/192-3

1 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is to thank you for the confidence you have placed in me through the statement issued recently.¹ It has brought to a close my two years agony under the stigma, that "Mr. Jinnah does not like him".

Begum Tassaduq[ue], MLA, told Begum Fatima² yesterday that Mr. Chundrigar is bringing some secret instructions and that if there is no settlement, then he will suggest that Ghazanfar should be put in. I know this is wrong but I shall be obliged if you will kindly warn Chundrigar not to allow his name to be misused and it would be better if he stays in a hotel.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali is coming here for a day on the way to Karachi and he is sure to canvass against me. I feel that in view of your important statement, a member of the League High Command should be strictly

neutral for it gives opportunity to people to influence an election.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

[PS.] I am delighted that your choice has fallen on Sir Frank Messervy.

¹See Appendix VIII. 2.

²A member of the Punjab Muslim League. See Appendix VII. 7, Vol. I, Part II, 213.

81

G. A. Parwez to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/297

HOME DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
1 August 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In view of the present uncertain condition[s] about the move of the Secretariat to Karachi, I would humbly suggest that, if there is no objection, the celebration of the Independence Day on the 15th may be confined to simple observance of the ceremony and some further date may be fixed for the actual celebration of the Day. During the second week of August, when these ceremonies are scheduled to take place, a majority of the staff, according to our present move arrangement, will be in Delhi, some on their way to Karachi and those in Karachi will be busy in making arrangements for their shelter, etc. People have been looking anxiously for this Day and it would be in the fitness of things if all of them can be given the opportunity of participating in it.

2. The other thing is that if general amnesty to prisoners, including those sentenced to death, is included in the programme of our celebrations, orders staying the execution of death sentences should issue forthwith.

With all respects and sincere prayers,

Yours obediently,
G. A. PARWEZ

82

Ian Stephens to J. K. Cowley

F. 1013/72

STATESMAN HOUSE,
CALCUTTA,
1 August 1947

My dear Cowley,

Attached is cutting of an interesting FOC [from our correspondent] Delhi despatch which appeared yesterday in the *Eastern Express* here, and which perhaps you would pass to Murray¹, Irwin² and Ashiq Ahmed.³ Should there be anything in it, maybe Ashiq would kindly let me know?⁴

Yours sincerely,
IAN STEPHENS⁵

J. K. Cowley, Esq.,
The *Statesman*, Ltd.,
New Delhi

^{1,2&3} Presumably staffers of the *Statesman*, New Delhi.

⁴ Sidelined in the original.

⁵ Editor, the *Statesman*

Enclosure to No. 82

F.1013/73

JINNAH BIDS GOOD-BYE TO MUSLIM LEADERS IN INDIA¹
Warns Them Not to Expect Anything Special From Pakistan

NEW DELHI, July 30: It may be a realistic appraisal or tactful manoeuvring, but, according to reliable reports, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a private meeting of the Muslim League members² of the Indian Constituent Assembly exhorted them to co-operate in its work and be loyal and law-abiding citizens of the Indian Union.

Declaring that he was [a] citizen of the Union and would remain so, he said that he was going to Pakistan as a "servant" and not as a citizen of the new State. For instance, he said, Lord Mountbatten was the Governor-General of India without being [a] citizen.

Mr. Jinnah asked his followers to respect the new Indian Flag, except on religious or party occasions when the League Flag may be used. Mr. Jinnah announced that he would continue to be the President of the All India Muslim League until and unless the Council decided

otherwise.

It is said that a large number of Muslim members felt sore and asked a series of questions as to their position and fate and the help that they should expect from the Pakistan Government. Mr. Jinnah is reported to have said that they should not expect any help from the Pakistan State and must rely on themselves and fit in with the new conditions.

Replying to one question, he said, that they should learn Hindi if that was the *lingua franca* just as they learnt English. Assuring his old colleagues that he would not leave them in the lurch, Mr. Jinnah is reported to have said, on their own behaviour and attitude largely depended the success of the Pakistan State.

He hoped that just as they, in the Muslim minority provinces, helped to achieve Pakistan, they would not do anything which might adversely affect its well-being hereafter. Mr. Jinnah's farewell address to the Muslim leaders of India has left them in a depressing and dejected mood and many of them seem to ask each other if Pakistan was worth fighting for.³

¹The *Eastern Express*, 31 July 1947.

²The number of Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly of India was: Madras 4, Bombay 2, United Provinces 8, Bihar 5, Central Provinces 1, East Punjab 4 (excluding 12 nominated to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly), and West Bengal 4 (excluding 29 nominated to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly). See Appendix III. 1, Vol. I, Part II, para 19, 39, and also see Enclosure to No. 232, Vol. III, 675-6.

³This report was contradicted by Jinnah. See Annex.

Annex to No. 82

JINNAH CONTRADICTS FALSE PRESS REPORT¹

NEW DELHI, Aug. 7 : Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General designate, Pakistan in a statement says: "My attention has been drawn to a report² in certain sections of the press purporting to give a summary of my address to the Muslim League members of the Indian Constituent Assembly. I wish to say that the report is a piece of concoction and I regret that a report of this kind should have been given publicity which is purely misleading and mischievous".—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 8 August 1947.

²Enclosure to No. 82.

83

W. H. Theobald to M. A. Jinnah

F. 504/1

NARASIMHARAJ MOHALLA, MYSORE,

1 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As I am most anxious to be present and take part in the momentous occasion when the Dominion of Pakistan will become a reality and you will be the first Governor-General of the new State, I request that you will kindly see your way to inviting me as a state guest and arrangements made for my stay at Karachi for the period of the functions connected with the inauguration.

Further, I request that I be kindly favoured with the same courtesy and facilities as Mysore extends to its state guests, and you will be pleased to order the reservation of a seat for me by plane, from Bangalore to Karachi and back, at state cost.

On a memorable occasion like this when the great sacrifices made by you and your compatriots is to be crowned with success, I feel sure you will respond to the request made, in a noble and generous spirit. And may I point out that it would be fitting to have representative guests from far and wide on a great occasion like this.

Soliciting your kind interest and expressing my grateful thanks.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. THEOBALD

Member, Mysore Legislative Council

PS. I am an Anglo-Indian. "William Theobald Mysore", will be sufficient address for telegrams.

84

Syed Mozaffer Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/325-7

KARACHI,
2 August 1947

Bismillah 'ir Rahman ir Rahim

[In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful]

Respected and beloved Sir,

Let me congratulate you in the first instance at [sic for on] your greatest achievement, the reward of your toil and labour, the fruit and essence of your life—Pakistan. In fact *Insha Allah* in due course it will be a heaven on earth, a place wherein your soul will like to rest for ever even when it is presented the heaven's paradise [sic]. Sir, with due regards let me remind you of the story of the "Children of Israel", a story which in the course of time has often been repeated. You, being a devoted student of the Holy *Qur'an*, can understand the significance of this story, (so often repeated in the Holy Book) full well. I am afraid, the same story is being repeated with the Musalmans of Bihar. They have become a nation wanting a Moses, who may come to them and say, "O my people, follow me and let me carry you away from Pharoah, who dishonours your women and kills your children without any fault."

The Pharoah has again appeared in the garb of the Congress Ministry. Much has happened in the past and worse is expected from the coming authorities. Sir, it pains me to write that the Muslim League has taken no step in giving them a definite programme. Since the last carnage, the Bihar Provincial Muslim League proved a failure in this respect. None can remain honest and sincere to his religion in Bihar now, and the same may be the fate of all the Muslims in minority. What we are to do? The light guides us here and says:

Ya 'ibadi inna ardi wasi 'atun fa'iiyyaya fa'budun [O My servants! My earth is indeed spacious; therefore, Me you should worship].

And thanks to the Almighty they have got a neighbouring Muslim State.

But even Bengal failed to absorb a small fraction of the distressed Biharis and even the Western Pakistan has taken no step in making an organised transfer of population. Whatever has been done, is done individually.

Respected Sir, [the] Muslim world has full confidence in you and

Muslim India stands solidly behind you. If you ask the Musalmans in minority to stay in their homes on Providence, they will gladly go on the altar. If you tell them to stand in the waiting list till Pakistan makes satisfactory arrangements, they will be counting hours impatiently. They want a clear answer from their beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

May I have the honour of receiving your answer in a separate envelope?
Praying for your long life,

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your faithful servant,
SYED MOZAFFER AHMED
B.Sc. (Alig.)

85

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 238/31-4

PERSONAL/SECRET

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,
2 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have come to Delhi this time purely with a view to discussing with you, and seeking your advice as my very old and respected friend, about my future and the future of Bhopal State.

You are today the busiest man in India, it is, therefore, a shame to worry you with personal matters or with matters of a comparatively lesser importance. I will, therefore, be very brief and will only touch upon the fringe of the problems which await momentous decisions by me in the course of the next few days.

My intention in writing you this letter, I beg to assure you, is not to seek any personal favours or to ask you to place yourself, as the Head of Pakistan, in any embarrassing position in regard to my State or my personal affairs. The object is only to seek guidance.

I have throughout the last 8 or 10 years been in my humble way a staunch supporter of Pakistan and a loyal and devoted friend of the Muslim cause in India and of the Muslim League. In recent years I took upon myself the task of doing my humble bit in securing the establishment of Pakistan by seeing to it that nothing was done on behalf of the Indian States which would seriously hamper the birth of a separate Muslim State

in India. Without any intention of blowing my own trumpet, I succeeded in this effort on the 29th of March when as a result of incessant toil and sweat involving days and nights of hard and continuous work only 12 representatives out of 93 from the vast majority of Hindu States joined the Constituent Assembly in April last. The task was done, as far as Indian India was concerned, but the revolt started. Pakistan was created on the 3rd June [sic] and I had no further interest as far as the States were concerned. I would have resigned the Chancellorship in April,¹ and would have also abdicated, but for the advice given by certain respected friends not to be in a hurry. I resigned, with your consent, the Chancellorship as soon as Pakistan was established on the 4th June [sic].

Since then I have in my individual capacity tried to maintain and preserve the independence of the Muslim States including Bhopal. In that work I have received no support from the Hindu States. I did not expect it. Communalism had entered the minds of the Hindu Princes with a vengeance. They suspected me and showed no confidence in me. A Hindu Prince would have been far more useful but there was no one to be found amongst that lot who would look after the interests of Pakistan, and the one friend we had (Sir C. P.)² has also now been lost. Bhopal stands alone with an 80% Hindu majority in the midst of Hindu India, surrounded by my personal enemies as well as by the enemies of Islam. Pakistan has no means of helping us. You rightly made this plain to me last night. I myself will not be a party to any attempts on the part of States to drag Pakistan into a conflict on their behalf. It would be wrong to expect anything more than moral support from you. England has already betrayed the States and I for one am not prepared to beg at the door of Great Britain. Situated as we are, we shall be coerced and intimidated. We shall be cut off from all essential supplies— coal, iron, kerosene, petrol, machinery, air-services, arms and ammunition, etc. They are already threatening to give us no standstill arrangements if we keep out. This is how the situation stands. It is not a question of cold feet or fear. I am prepared to stand, but would like to be clear as to what will be our ultimate object, and how far will Pakistan be able to help us and stand by us. What would be the terms of our treaties, accession or other engagements with Pakistan and how will they be implemented.

I am in no case prepared to sign the Instrument of Accession and join Hindustan. If that must be done it would only be done by my successors.

My own personal wish is to abdicate and to serve Islam. I am a poor man not having amassed a fortune at the expense of my people, but that does not matter as long as I can serve Islam and Pakistan and help and support you if I am permitted and privileged to do so. I am prepared to serve Pakistan in any capacity. I should, therefore, like to know how I

should be employed by you and in what capacity. If you have no use for me, or if my presence in Pakistan and my association with you is to be of the least embarrassment to you, I should also like to know this now. I know you have spoken to me about this matter several times. You have also been kind enough to say you would welcome me in Pakistan but we have always talked in general terms. Now that my fate is to be decided in the next few days, I should like to get some specific indication in this matter from you. This I am asking because I feel that to be of any value to Pakistan I must have your support, goodwill and *confidence*.³ My loyalty to your person and my respect, regard, affection, and admiration for you have no bounds. I shall never betray you or let you down. If I can be useful to you I shall deem it an honour and a privilege. I don't think I need say more in this matter. If I am not wanted in Pakistan I must prepare to go out of India and live somewhere else.

As you have very little time this evening, I am writing this in advance so as to enable you to consider beforehand the matters I propose, with your permission, to discuss with you this evening. I shall be at your house at 6 p.m. today.

Yours very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

¹He was Chancellor of Chamber of Princes, 1944-47.

²Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore.

³Underlined in the original.

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Mir Qadir Baksh & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 918/350-5

2 August 1947

Our esteemed Quaid-i-Azam,

We the undersigned representing the various professions and points of view in Baluchistan place the following before you, for favour of consideration.

During the eighty years of British rule Baluchistan has been criminally kept backward, educationally, economically and politically. To perpetuate and strengthen such a rule the so called tribal heads and Jirga System strengthened the hands of the British Government. The British Government too was generous enough for rewarding such treacherous persons.¹

We have heard the wailing of many provinces under Sec. 93 Rule, but no one has ever sympathised with us: for being kept down under Frontier Crimes Regulations. No one could dare raise a word in order to better the

lot of the people; as compared with this state of affairs we would have considered Sec. 93 Rule as a panacea.

In 1927, the Congress agent, Khan Abdus Samad, started spadework for the Congress in this province. He was on the point of success when in 1939, the League Movement was launched in our province by our young leader Qazi Muhammad Isa. Through the untiring efforts and selfless work of our young leader and the respect and esteem with which his family was looked upon by the people of Baluchistan, gave him an easy lead over the Congress.

During the past eight years whatever has been achieved, in view of all the obstacles and difficulties, is nothing short of a miracle. We are not indulging here in self-praise, but it is the verdict of all those neutral persons who have visited our province from time to time. The selfless worker could neither be tempted nor intimidated. Today we can, without fear of contradiction, proclaim that ours is the best organised province in India.

Without any help or guidance from the Centre we have, in our humble way, organised the Musalmans of the province. We have raised a corp[s] of National Guards—10,000 strong, well-trained and disciplined. The Muslim League is the organisation of the masses in the strict sense of the word. The organisation has smashed, cracked or bent many demigods in the province. Even the Provincial Government would bear this out. One example would work as an illustration here. About eight months back a young man was kidnapped from Fort Sandeman.² The authorities tried through the local tribal headmen to secure the release of the person, but they all failed. Ultimately the Political Agent of the area requested the League to secure the release of the person—and within a week the person was brought—surrendered unconditionally.

Ours is the only League which has been acclaimed by non-Muslims.

In spite of the fact that Pakistan has been conceded yet the British officials of the Political Department are preparing the tribal *Sardars* who have become independent under the New India [*sic* for Indian Independence] Act, to present impossible term[s] to Pakistan. We are not perturbed by these tactics; we can smash these men because we have the masses with us, and these masses would overthrow their *Sardars* and come unconditionally to the League. It is our misfortune that we do not possess any Provincial Legislature where talented representatives of the Province would have gone to better the lot of the masses. We were always ruled from a Centre which was never sympathetic towards us. Now we are grateful to God that we have come under a sympathetic Centre and we hope that we, who used to bear the brunt of the Centre, would enjoy its fruits now. Thus we feel we are perfectly justified in requesting our

Centre to give us a share therein. Even if other provinces are not given a share they have the least reason to feel sore about it, because they have their full provincial autonomy and Provincial Legislatures, and a representative at the Centre would not make much difference to them. But in our case it makes a lot of difference to us. We have to convince our people that we are brought at par with the rest of provinces, and that the step-motherly treatment has come to an end now. In these circumstances even if an Englishman is given to us as a Governor it would not pinch our people so much. We have to convince them that we have really achieved Pakistan, and even our man can go and be a member of the whole of Pakistan's Cabinet—thus Baluchistan is elevated. We are making this demand for the sake of our province, for the sake of our long crushed feelings, for the sake of Pakistan, and for the sake of keeping the League strong in the province. We do not wish to give any chance to anyone to play on the local sentiments of the people. Our enemies would not succeed if we are not disappointed. Very big interests are already working against the League in our province. Besides we feel that we can give a man to the Centre who has not only succeeded in establishing the strongest League in our province but whose services to the cause are known all over India, and who has been tried on various occasions by our high command. We feel many intricate local problems are sure to arise in the near future and to face these problems we want our man to be fully equipped for it. If he is taken in the Centre then his position would enhance and at difficult times he would always be there to smoothen our path and thus be of greater service to the State. In due course when a constitution is drafted for our Province he might even come back to us as a more experienced hand having learnt a lot from his colleagues at the Centre. We have produced a man after a very long time and we want that his hands should be strengthened to be of greater help to us and we request you, Sir, to do it for us. Ours is not like other provinces where if one does not come [up] the other is always there to step into his shoes. We have not got another man and we can not see another for the next few years.

Our demand, we hope, would not be misunderstood in the way that either there is a spirit of provincialism in us or that we have no faith in the other members of the Central Cabinet. We have full confidence in our Pakistan[i] leaders. We are also above the curse of provincialism. We want this simply to show to the world that we are no longer backward, and that we too are now considered fit enough to have a share in the Centre, and lastly when we get our provincial autonomy we want to have our own experienced man having gained experience at the Centre.

In our part of the country more depends on personality than on ideology, even a comparatively advanced province of N.W. F. P. cannot cast aside

easily the personality of Khan Brothers.

Qazi Isa is now a household word in Baluchistan. His name [is] on ever[y] one's lips, his name does the trick, a reward to him would be considered as a reward to the whole province. Quaid-i-Azam, in all humility we submit that we know our man, his worth, and his calibre. He has never misled us nor betrayed us and we have always been benefited by his judgment and that is all the qualities we expect our leaders to possess. We have nothing to do with the human weakness of anyone, because every human being has a weakness. Those who are unknown, both their good and bad points remain hidden, but those who serve their weakness are presented more magnificently [sic].

Lastly, we draw your attention to this fact that our representative in the Constituent Assembly can never be accepted as our representative there, even [if] legally he is from the tribal area, which, according to the India Act, does not form part of Pakistan. The right of representation has been given to the Chief Commissioner's province of British Baluchistan. We pray that an opportunity be kindly given to us to send our real representative to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. It may be said that what one man can do in a house of 70—but we feel that sometimes one man can do a lot. He can make himself and the province the laughing stock of the world, and the right man can win the applause, praise and sympathy of the whole world.

We are,
Sir,

Your loyal & obedient followers,

MIR QADIR BAKSH

Vice-President, Provincial Muslim League

HAJI MALIK MUHAMMAD AZAM

President, Muslim Students Federation, Baluchistan

AGHA SAYYED SALAM-UD-DIN

President, Quetta-Pishin District Muslim League

SARDAR MUHAMMAD USMAN

President, Zhob District Muslim League [and]

Vice-President, Provincial Muslim League

NAWABZADA ABDUR REHMAN KHAN OF BUGTI

¹Sidelined in the original.

²Now called Zhob.

87

M. Burhanul Haq to Misra¹
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 965/95

JUBBULPORE,
 2 August 1947

Dear Misra Sahib,

I am enclosing a translated copy of the complaint received from one Ziaul Hasan of Village Khamaria, P. S. Ghunsore, Tehsil Lakhnadone, Dist. Chhindwara, to the effect that his life and property is in danger. Action may kindly be taken to make necessary arrangement [s] so that the life and property of innocent loyal Muslims may not remain in constant fear of annihilation and destruction.

The complainant has been deprived of his D[ouble] B[arrel] muzzle loading gun which, under the above circumstances, be returned to him for his self-defence.

M. BURHANUL HAQ
 MLA

Copy to :

1. The President, Provincial Muslim League,
 C. P. & Berar, Akola
2. The General Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi [and]
3. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, Delhi

¹He was Sub-divisional Magistrate, Jubbulpore. See No. 100.

Enclosure to No. 87

Ziaul Hasan to the President, Muslim League, Jubbulpore

F. 965/96

KHAMARIA, TEHSIL LAKHNADONE,
 DISTRICT CHHINDWARA,
 2 August 1947

I am a resident of Village Khamaria, P. S. Ghunsore, District Chhindwara, for the past 70 to 80 years. My deceased father and myself have been cultivating the land in that village. For nearly a month the residents of this village in general, and Messrs Sheo Pd. Kalar Thakur Gulab Singh and

Hukam Chand Kalar in particular, are forcing me to leave the village, otherwise they threaten to call men from Ghunsore and put me to death. I own nearly 300 acres of land in Village Jamunia P. C., number 58 Circle, Ghunsore, and 40 cattle and 40 goats; besides the widow of my brother owns 200 acres of land and equal number of cattle and goat. In Village Khamaria besides me there is only one Muslim *faqir* and there are 200 houses of Hindus.

I, therefore, request that speedy arrangement may kindly be made for the protection of my life and property. I am prepared to sell my land and cattle but the Hindus of the village do not allow any man to purchase them.

ZIAUL HASAN

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M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 2/257

2 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am in receipt of your letter of 29th July 1947.¹

The conversation we had regarding Cunningham is substantially correct, i.e. "if he was in any way out of pocket, the question of a small *ex-gratia* payment might be considered." But this did not form part of the agreement or of any of the terms embodied therein.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 37.

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Edwina Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 23/4

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
2 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will remember that the other evening I raised with you the question of the position after the 15th August of the various

organisations such as the Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association, the Girl Guides Association, the Tuberculosis Association, etc., in which I am particularly interested by virtue of being the Patron or President. I quite understand your feeling that at the present juncture it is not possible to give full consideration to these matters before August 14th. However, I am sure you will appreciate the necessity for the future working of these organisations within Pakistan, that this question should be examined as soon as possible after that date, and I would suggest that those concerned should be allowed to have preliminary talks with your appropriate Departments, such as Health and Education, to see what, if any, action must be taken in the light of the new Constitutions.

In the meantime I understand that the Heads of certain Organisations, such as Mrs. Captain, Chief Commissioner of the Girl Guides, may be writing directly to you to ascertain your views and perhaps it would be possible for the relevant papers to be examined before the suggested meetings take place.

I was very happy to learn of the decision that has been reached that, as a temporary measure, certain of the All India Technical Institutions are to continue to afford facilities to the peoples of both the Dominions, and I do feel that this will be tremendously helpful at any rate until such time that their services can be satisfactorily duplicated.

Yours sincerely,
EDWINA MOUNTBATTEN

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Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 595/4

CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
2 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been considering further the terms of the draft letter which I was suggesting sending to the Viceroy. You will remember I sent you a copy¹ some time ago. A further alteration of it has occurred to me which the Nawab of Chhatari and Sir Walter Monckton will show you. I should be grateful if you would fix an appointment for this purpose.

I must have your final views in writing next Monday² as my people

are returning to Hyderabad on Tuesday morning [5 August]. On the other hand, there is very little time for me to consider all these matters in their proper light as the 15th August is close at hand.

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

¹Annex I. Also see Enclosure to No. 19.

²4 August 1947. See No. 124.

Annex I to No. 90
Nizam of Hyderabad to Louis Mountbatten

F. 511/6 & F. 1264/2-6

Draft Letter¹

Undated [1947]

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am writing to you to make plain the position of my State in the negotiations which are in progress at Delhi. It has always been my desire and the desire of Hyderabad to make the fullest contribution to the prosperity and welfare of India as a whole. Indeed, I recognise that the States have a great opportunity to exercise a stabilising influence; both because of their relative freedom from communal strife and because the States represent the section of India which at present has the greatest experience of administration. When it was contemplated that India, on gaining its independence, would become a single Union, I was quite ready to take my share in the defence of the subcontinent and to make arrangements for the foreign policy of Hyderabad to be directed in general conformity with the foreign policy of India. The partition of India, however, has gravely complicated the problem for my State. As Your Excellency knows, while Hyderabad is necessarily closely concerned in various ways with what will now become the Dominion of India, there are also many ties between my State and future Pakistan Dominion. It will be within Your Excellency's knowledge also that in this State, which my ancestors and I have ruled for more than two centuries, there has been little communal disturbance and the cleavage on religious grounds has always been much less acute than in British India. It is my earnest wish to pursue a policy which will enable this freedom from discord and disorder to continue and for this purpose I must take into account the importance of maintaining good relations with both the new Dominions. It is not yet clear how far or in what manner the Indian Dominion and the Pakistan

Dominion will consult and co-operate on matters of common concern or how closely their policies can be integrated on the essential subjects of External Affairs and Defence. I understand that this is a matter which, it is recognised, cannot be resolved before the 15th August. It is not possible for me to contemplate an organic union with either of the Dominions until I am more fully informed on these matters. I am bound at this stage to wait and see how the relations between the two Dominions are regulated and developed.²

2. I was happy to observe that in the recent debates in Parliament on the Indian Independence Bill³ the difficulties of the immediate position for such States as Hyderabad did not pass unnoticed. I need only remind Your Excellency, by way of illustration, of three speeches for the Government which recognised that the States ought not to be asked for hurried decisions at this juncture and that a treaty rather than a federal relationship might be the solution in present circumstances. Lord Listowel in the House of Lords stated that from the date when the new Dominions are set up "the appointments and functions of the Crown Representative and his officers will terminate and the States will be the masters of their own fate. They will then be entirely free to choose whether to associate with one or other of the Dominion Governments or to stand alone and His Majesty's Government will not use the slightest pressure to influence their momentous and voluntary decision."⁴ A little later he observed: "Whatever the future relationship between the new Dominions and the States may be, it will require prolonged consideration and discussion before the final adjustment can be made."⁵ The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, in the House of Commons, pointed out that "until the constitution of the Dominions has been framed in such a way as to include the States as willing partners, there must be a less organic form of relationship between them and there must be a period before a comprehensive system can be worked out."⁶ Sir Hartley Shawcross, the Attorney-General, in the course of the same debate, while expressing the hope that no irrevocable decision to stay out would be taken prematurely, said that the Government realised that "it is bound to be some time before the States will have all the information before them to make their final decision."⁷

3. In a later and, as I think, a most helpful passage in his speech the Attorney-General said: "We hope...that the States will associate themselves with one or other of the new Dominions in a federal or treaty relationship on fair terms fairly and amicably negotiated."⁸ I am fully in accord with the spirit of this suggestion. For I have always been resolutely opposed to a policy of isolation for my State and although in present circumstances I cannot decide to bring Hyderabad into organic union with either of the two new Dominions, I am still ready and willing to see Hyderabad play

its proper part in the defence of the Indian sub-continent and to have the conduct of the External Affairs of the whole sub-continent. My difficulty is how to accomplish this purpose in friendly co-operation with both the new Dominions. I have naturally and necessarily taken into account the fact that it is the Dominion of India which is geographically my neighbour and I am fully prepared (in accordance with the Attorney-General's suggestion) to enter into a treaty with them whereby a suitable arrangement is made in respect of land communications, so that all-Indian standards are recognised, and Hyderabad contributes to the defence of the Dominion by a system analogous to that now in force under the Indian States Forces Scheme. Moreover, I should be willing to agree in this treaty for the Dominion of India to conduct the External Affairs of my State as a part of their foreign policy. But it would be necessary for me to provide against the possibility, which I earnestly hope will never arise in fact, that the two new Dominions might pursue a mutually hostile policy. In that case, it would be unthinkable for my troops to be used against the Dominion of Pakistan⁹ and it would have to be provided that Hyderabad in such an event would be neutral.¹⁰

4. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to me that both the new Dominions will be within the family of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I should want a provision inserted in the Treaty whereby if unhappily either party should at some future date decide to secede from the Commonwealth, the other party should be free to review the provisions of the Treaty. For, in spite of the provisions of Section 7 of the Indian Independence Act, I cannot believe that after more than a century of faithful alliance, it is the intention of the British Government to expel my State from the Empire against my will.¹¹

5.¹² If a treaty such as I have indicated is a practical way of meeting the difficulties of the present position, it would of course be essential to negotiate, before such a treaty were concluded, agreements about many matters of great importance both to my State and to the Dominion of India. I do not anticipate that it would be difficult to arrange a provision whereby my full sovereignty and autonomy within my dominion was recognised in return for a reciprocal recognition of the sovereignty of the Dominion. Further, it would be necessary to reach a satisfactory solution of the problem of Berar. My claim to the reversion of administration in Berar has now been officially recognised as being as sound in law as my claim to sovereignty over that territory. On my part, I should be ready to see to it that my Berari subjects were accorded the same freedom and responsible Government as they now enjoy. Berar would of course have to be administered separately from the Central Provinces, but I should be prepared for Berar to enter into organic union with the Dominion of India, though it would be administered under a Governor appointed by me.

6. If a treaty is to be made, its success will depend as much upon the

goodwill of the parties to it as upon the actual terms of the instrument by which it is effected and I regard it as of importance that the treaty should contain mutual covenants to refrain from making, encouraging or permitting propaganda or conduct calculated to create ill will, hostility or disaffection towards either party or its Government or Ruler.

7. It would be desirable in addition to include provisions which, as a result of negotiations, would deal with my right to the recovery of the Northern *Circars* and the Ceded Territories, areas transferred from my Government to the British in return for specific military guarantees which have now been denounced.

8. It would also be requisite to negotiate a Customs Agreement which would take into account the provisions of the Commercial Treaty of 1802¹³ which have long been a matter of dispute between H.M.G. and myself.

9. If the principle of a treaty on the basis of my proposals in this letter is accepted, I do not doubt that with anxiety on both sides to resolve our difficulties in a spirit of reasonable accommodation, we shall be able to reach a concluded agreement without undue difficulty or delay.

10. If, however, those who will be responsible for the Government of the Indian Dominion are unwilling to enter into negotiations on the basis of such a treaty as I am proposing, I shall nevertheless deem it necessary to publish this offer, in order that the policy which I feel bound to adopt, and which I have no desire to hide, may be fully understood both within my State and outside it.

Yours sincerely,
[MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN]

¹For the final version as sent to Mountbatten on 8 August 1947, see Annex II.

²Paras 1 and 2 were repeated in the final version as given in Annex II.

³Enclosure 1 to No. 1, Vol. III, 2-25.

^{4&5}Extract from a speech by Listowel in the Parliament on 16 July 1947. See Annexure to Annex II to No. 19, para 1.

⁶Extract from a speech by Attlee in the Parliament on 10 July 1947. See *ibid.*, para 2. Also see the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 12 July 1947.

^{7&8}Extract from a speech by Hartley Shawcross in the Parliament, on 14 July 1947. See Annexure

to Annex II to No. 19, para 3. Also see the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 July 1947.

⁹Sideline here and subsequently in the original.

¹⁰Para 3 incorporated in the final version with minor modifications. See Annex II.

¹¹Para 4 repeated in the final version as given in Annex II.

¹²The contents of paras 5-9 do not match with the final version in Annex II.

¹³Not traced.

*Annex II to No. 90
Nizam of Hyderabad to Louis Mountbatten¹
Mountbatten Papers*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
8 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

[*Paras 1 and 2 omitted*]²

3. In a later and, as I think, a most helpful passage in his speech the Attorney-General said: "We hope...that the States will associate themselves with one or other of the new Dominions in a federal or treaty relationship on fair terms fairly and amicably negotiated."³ I am fully in accord with the spirit of this suggestion. For I have always been resolutely opposed to a policy of isolation for my State and although in present circumstances I cannot contemplate bringing Hyderabad into organic union with either of the two new Dominions, I am still ready and willing to see Hyderabad play its proper part in the defence of the Indian sub-continent and to have the conduct of the External Affairs of my State undertaken in general conformity with the Foreign Affairs of the whole sub-continent. My difficulty is how to accomplish this purpose in friendly co-operation with both the new Dominions. I have naturally and necessarily taken into account the fact that the Dominion of India is my neighbour and I am fully prepared (in accordance with the Attorney-General's suggestion) to enter into a treaty with them whereby a suitable arrangement is made in respect of land communication, so that all-India standards are recognised, and through communications and mutual interchange facilities are assured, and Hyderabad contributes an agreed number of troops to the defence of the Dominion. Moreover, I should be willing to agree in this treaty to conduct the external affairs of my State in general conformity with the foreign policy of the Dominion of India. But it would be necessary for me to provide against the possibility, which I earnestly hope will never arise in fact, that the two new Dominions might pursue a mutually hostile policy. In that case, it would be unthinkable for my State to pursue a hostile policy towards the Dominion of Pakistan and it would have to be provided that Hyderabad in such an event would remain neutral. Further, Hyderabad already has an Agent-General⁴ in the United Kingdom and must reserve the right to appoint representatives to act for Hyderabad elsewhere if and when it wishes to do so.

[*Para 4 omitted*]⁵

5. Before I turn to other provisions which would need to be included

in such a Treaty, I must record my astonishment and regret that though Hyderabad's Negotiating Committee was available in Delhi for a fortnight until the 5th August those who will be responsible for the Dominion of India refused to negotiate with them on any subject, even including Standstill Agreements and Berar, unless as an essential preliminary Hyderabad was prepared to agree to accede. It was made absolutely plain by my Committee that, short of accession, Hyderabad was ready and willing to enter into Treaty relationship. Political relationship other than accession was expressly included as an alternative open to States, in the Memorandum of the 12th May 1946⁶ which was re-affirmed in the Statement of the 3rd June 1947⁷ accepted both by Congress and the Muslim League. The reason why standstill arrangements were recommended by the Government of India was to avoid administrative chaos. It is recognised that Section 7 of the Indian Independence Act⁸ does not cover the whole ground. For this very reason Hyderabad was anxious to negotiate a standstill agreement but those responsible for the Dominion of India entirely declined to take part in such negotiations. My State will nevertheless do its best, even without such an agreement, to avoid any administrative deadlock which is bound to cause inconvenience to both. If any such deadlock or inconvenience should occur the fault will rest squarely on the Dominion of India.

6. It is even more surprising that negotiations should be refused on the subject of Berar. His Majesty's Government and the new States Department have unequivocally recognised my sovereignty over Berar and also my legal right to the reversion of administration over that territory on the 15th August 1947. I should be prepared to arrange for the continuance of the *status quo* for the time being to enable the whole problem to be reasonably and amicably settled. But those responsible for the new Dominion wholly refuse to negotiate in the matter, unless I first agree to accede and this, for reasons which I have already explained, I decline to do. I learn (though I find it hard to believe) that in defiance of my admitted rights the new Dominion of India mean to start their career by seizing my territory.

7. I cannot but regard this refusal to negotiate except on terms that Hyderabad first agrees to accede as coercion and pressure to join and a compulsion to a hurried decision. And I hope that even at this late hour, through the good offices of Your Excellency as Crown Representative with special responsibilities to see that His Majesty's Government's pledges to the States are honourably fulfilled, this policy may be reversed. For it is utterly inconsistent with the declared pledges and policy of His Majesty's Government.

8. Such a Treaty as I have suggested would have to cover various other matters, among them a Customs Agreement which would take into account the provisions of the Commercial Treaty of 1802⁹ which has long been a matter of dispute between His Majesty's Government and myself. But it is not necessary to elaborate such provisions in this letter, because if the principle of a treaty on the basis of my proposals in this letter is accepted, I do not doubt that with anxiety on both sides to resolve our difficulties in a spirit of reasonable accommodation, we shall be able to reach a concluded agreement without undue difficulty or delay.

9. If, however, those who will be responsible for the Government of the Indian Dominion are unwilling to enter into negotiations on the basis of such a treaty as I am proposing, I shall nevertheless deem it necessary to publish this offer, in order that the policy which I feel bound to adopt and which I have no desire to hide, may be fully understood both within my State and outside it.

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

¹No. 376, *TP*, XII, 575-8.

²See Annex I, note 2.

³See Annex I, note 8.

⁴There was no Agent-General of Hyderabad in the UK. Nawab Mir Nawaz Jung was the State's Trade Commissioner in London.

⁵See Annex I, note 11.

⁶Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

⁷No. 1, Vol. II, para 18, 5.

⁸See F. 4/2-18, *QAP*. Not printed. Also see No. 164, *TP*, XII, 233-49.

⁹Not traced.

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Beverley Nichols to K. H. Khurshid

F. 1-GG/1

MERRY HALL, ASHTEAD,
SURREY,
2 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I hope you have received my cable¹ asking you to forward the enclosed article² to the editor of *Islampura*,³ in response to a cable bearing no address which I received from him. I am sorry to have

troubled you in this connection.

If you should have the opportunity I should be so happy if you would convey my kindest regards to Mr. Jinnah.

Yours faithfully,
BEVERLEY NICHOLS

¹Not traced.

²Enclosure.

³Not traced.

Enclosure to No. 91

F. 1-GG/2-5

ARTICLE BY BEVERLEY NICHOLS

The accomplishment of Pakistan is history's most startling example of the invincibility of truth. But even most of us who know that we should triumph in the end, can hardly believe that the victory has come so quickly.

My own championship of this just and mighty cause in *Verdict on India*, barely three years ago, was greeted throughout England and America with an unprecedented uproar of abuse. I was called a mischief-maker, a blackguard, and a plain lunatic. Particular venom was aroused by my unqualified description of Mr. Jinnah as "the most important man in Asia". This was gall and wormwood to the followers of Mr. Gandhi.

Even those critics who were favourably disposed towards the rest of my book, shook their heads over the chapter on Pakistan, solemnly warning me that it was politically undesirable, economically impossible, morally unsound and historically ridiculous.

A few of these adjectives might today be applied to those critics themselves!

However it is not for personal reasons that I recall this vendetta; it is rather to remind the weak-hearted—if there still are any in the Muslim ranks—that ideas, if they are true ideas, are irresistible, and that the Muslim nation need only hold fast to these ideas to establish itself, in a shorter space of time than now seems possible, as a great power, destined under the masterly leadership of Mr. Jinnah to play a leading role in world affairs.

Perhaps you will forgive me if I venture on a word of warning.

It is inevitable that Pakistan should be attacked. I do not mean in a physical sense, though this, of course, is possible. However, there are subtler, more insidious methods of undermining a nation's strength.

And if one thing is quite certain it is that ruthless pressure will be brought to bear on promising young Muslims to desert their homeland. They will be subject to constant temptation and constant bribery, and the more brilliant their qualifications the greater will be the inducements offered.

There is no need to say from what quarter this pressure will come!

It is vital that the younger generation should resist these temptations. Pakistan, for many years to come, will have need of every good brain and every good body. It is for Muslim youth to show that they are able to rise above any sordid consideration of personal gain. Surely it is more glorious to live dangerously as a pioneer in a young and virile country, than to amass a fortune among strangers who can never share the ideals of Islam.

And here is a word of advice. Pakistan stands on the threshold of a history that may well be momentous. As an Englishman, naturally I trust that your fortunes will be closely linked with ours. The form of constitution which you may eventually adopt, and its technical relations with the Empire, are to me matters of minor importance, provided that there is warm and growing friendship between us. But whatever choice you may make, it is essential that you should at least realise the importance of raising your voice, of giving your ideals the fullest publicity—in other words, of cultivating a proper service of propaganda.

All the publicity is on the other side. All the big guns are constantly booming against you. For every word that is spoken or printed by a Muslim, a thousand words are spoken or printed by a Hindu.

Until my own book was published, it is literally true that the vast majority of the people of the English-speaking world had hardly heard of Pakistan, and were unaware of even the barest fundamentals of the Muslim case.

That is all wrong. The Muslim may perhaps despise propaganda; he may say that truth will prevail in the end. That is, unfortunately, not so in the modern world. It is quite essential that you should establish a proper "service of public relations" in the principal centres of the world, where the Muslim case and the Muslim creed can be properly represented.

To put it at its lowest, it is in your own practical interest to do so. To put it at its highest, it is in the world's interest. The world has need of the clean, manly vigour of the Muslim message. It is your duty to make the world listen.

And, finally, now that the peoples of the world have accepted your nationhood, let us hope that the unhappy strife with your neighbours

will die down for ever. The people of Pakistan have already given proof of their strength; let them give an equally shining example of their charity.

Long live Pakistan!

92

*B. B. Parab to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

F. 908/120-1

517/2 OUTRAM ROAD, KARACHI 1,
2 August 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to communicate to you the following resolutions passed at the crowded public meeting of Marathas held on Sunday, the 27th July 1947 at 4 p.m. in the M.G.E. Society's Hall, under the chairmanship of Dr. B. B. Parab:

1. That in view of the public assurances given by Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General designate of Pakistan, that the minorities in Pakistan including Sind would be treated not only justly but generously and that their lives, their rights of property, language, script, religion and culture would be zealously safeguarded, and considering all-sided circumstances at present, this meeting of the Marathas, recommends to their community to stay here unitedly with their families and not to leave the place of their domicile where they have been staying since 1843 and exercise the rights of citizenship due to them.
2. That this meeting expresses its joy and offers felicitations to the Hon'ble Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Premier of Sind, on his well-deserved elevation to the honoured position of Governorship of Sind.
3. That the Marathas here, feel confident that the Governor designate would treat the minorities justly and generously and continue to maintain peace and order previously done by him during his premiership.
4. That the Marathas in Sind are confident that the Pakistan Government would grant protection to life, property, culture, script,

and our mother tongue and help us to develop them freely in an unfettered manner, according to our genius.

5. That this meeting, therefore, recommends to the Marathas to adopt the policy of co-operation with the Government.

The above meeting was convened to dispel the doubts and allay the fears caused by the spread of baseless rumours and to chalk out future policy to be followed by the Maratha community in the new political set up obtaining in this province.

After mature deliberations lasting for nearly three hours in which prominent figures of our community participated, the resolutions referred to above were unanimously passed.

The prominent persons who addressed the meeting besides many others, included 1. Mr. A. B. Pundit, B. A., one of the Managing Directors of Messrs Graxault & Co. 2. Mr. Shivram Chawan, Manager, The Mercantile Co-operative Bank Ltd. 3. Mr. G. G. Gawde, Secretary, The Maratha General Education Society 4. Mr. D. X. Anaokar, Editor, *Sind-Maratha* 5. Mr. Rajaabyksha, B. A., LL. B., Secretary, The M. G. E. Society 6. Mr. V. A. Angachekar, M. A. B. T., Secretary, Shivaji High School 7. Mr. A. H. Lagu, B. A., L. T., J. P., Administrative Officer, Karachi Municipal School Board 8. Mr. G. B. Parab, Member, Managing Committee, E. J. A. V. School, Keamari 9. Mr. Abdul Hai, a prominent Konkani Mohammedan, and 10. Mr. V. G. Pradhan, M. A., L. T.

I hope, you will appreciate the spirit of co-operation on the part of our community and help us to safeguard our legitimate rights.

Thanking you,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

B. B. PARAB

93

Secretary of State for India to Viceroy

Telegram, F. 1004/3

SECRET

No. 99052

2 August 1947

Please pass following personal message from Sir George Cunningham to Mr Jinnah.¹

Begins: Thank you very much for your kind message. I feel greatly

honoured by being asked to serve Pakistan and NWFP. *Ends.*

¹Also see No. 248, TP, XII, note 2, 367

94

Fateh Mohammed Khan Usmania to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/328

BEGOWAL, JULLUNDUR,
2 August 1947

Your Excellency,

I was very pleased to hear that you are now the Governor-General of Pakistan and I hasten to send you my sincerest congratulations on your well-deserved success. Every Musalman is proud of the appointment of your honour as their supreme head in Pakistan. Your Excellency is the only person in the world, who put an ideal before the Muslims, fought for it and achieved it in your own life [time].

It will not be out of place to mention here that all members, partners and workers of the Society, shall for ever remain most loyal and faithful to your goodself and are whole-heartedly ready to obey your orders, as the Holy *Qur'an* says, "Obey Allah, His Rasool and Amir amongst you."

With heartiest congratulations.

Yours obediently,
FATEH MOHAMMED KHAN USMANIA
Hony. President,
Zamindara Co-operative Society

95

Nawab of Amb to M. A. Jinnah

F. 7-GG/3-5

SHERGARH, AMB STATE,
P. O. Oghi, HAZARA DIST.,
3 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have got my previous letter of 25th July 1947.¹

Prompted by genuine love and affection which my heart has been

entertaining for you in your un-paralleled work for the betterment of Islam, I have been feeling for some time the necessity of keeping you informed of the general local situation of this small but predominantly Muslim province. This smallest of the Indian provinces has, like the proverbial atom, immense potentialities for great good and great evil. The Pathans are generally very faction-ridden, traditionally very obstinate, and, though very hardy and brave on the whole, are born in intrigue and very seldom forgive and forget. The justifiable jubilations over the success of the recent Referendum were promptly followed by wire-pulling and intrigue for the appointment of a Governor and for shares in ministerial jobs. For obvious reasons, no resident of this province, however capable he might personally be, would have made a fair success of the job on account of personal bickerings and animosity. When rumours were started that some high-ranking Mohammadan politician from outside the province may be appointed Governor, a propaganda was immediately started egging the sensitive Pathans not to submit to foreign domination. Thank God, you have done the right thing in selecting Sir George Cunningham whose qualities of the head and heart and cool and well-balanced temperament had made him very popular with all classes of people during his nine years' tenure of office. But things were somewhat different then and even a man of Sir George Cunningham's calibre will not find it very easy now to reconcile the present-day unprincipled and badly warring elements. He is however the best Englishman who may do something useful for Pakistan in general and for this province in particular.

Religious frenzy forms no small part of the politics of the various Pathan tribes, especially in the tribal areas in which the four Frontier States are situated. Various well-known and influential *mullahs* and *faqirs*, both in the settled districts and in the tribal areas, have had personal rivalries and animosities for ages and at times some of them have gone to the length of dubbing each other as *kafirs*. For instance, the present Mullah Sahib of Manki [Sharif] who has done great work for the Muslim League and made no small sacrifices for its cause is very young and inexperienced and is very much handicapped by the great rivalry and enmity which has existed for ages between his late father and the late Mullah Hadda of Bajaur in tribal territory, both of whom claimed great influence and following in the tribal belt and in the settled districts. It is very difficult to bring their partisans and followers together. He is friendly with the Wali of Swat and therefore the Nawab of Dir and his subjects, who have had very old scores to

clear with the freshly risen Wali of Swat, naturally look with great disfavour on the activities of the Mullah Sahib of Manki and his partisans and will be ready to fly to their arms on the least possible excuse. The attitude of the Faqir of Ipi in Waziristan, who has during the last 11 years been receiving overt but constant help first from the German and Italian Legations in Kabul and now from the Afghanistan and Soviet Governments, does not appear to be very satisfactory, and he is inclined more to side with [the] recently raised stunt of Pathanistan. Majority of the Mahsuds will not support him but the majority of Wazirs will, as the Faqir of Ipi, named Mirza Ali Khan, is himself a Tori Khel Wazir. The Khan brothers have been in touch with Afghanistan and being Pathans are out to fulfil their Pathan obstinacy by causing some trouble in the province, and keeping it out of Pakistan on one excuse or another. It will be a very sad day if disturbed conditions in the province or on its borders force the newly formed Pakistan Government to suppress such disturbances by force which is the only argument that carries weight with the Pathan.

A wrong impression is being widely created in the tribal areas that, with the lapse of Paramountcy on 15th of August, everybody will be his own master and there will be no power to restrain them from flying at each other's throats, and some preparations with that end in view have also been in progress. I and my Adviser, K.B. Major Rana Talia Moh[amma]d Khan, B.A., O.B.E., I. P. (Retd.), have been trying to contradict this false propaganda but without much effect. In a private letter to Sir Rob Lockhart, the present acting Governor, who is an old friend of his, he has laid stress on the great necessity for a local official declaration on the subject. People in tribal areas do not read newspapers and very seldom hear wireless broadcasts, otherwise your recent pronouncements could have made them understand the true position. My Adviser named above and another representative will come to Karachi as soon as possible after the 15th of August and will submit to you a number of local problems which deserve your consideration. The standstill formula² is not known to many and has not so far been officially discussed. I have accepted the continuance of the present political control till fresh agreements are made with the Pakistan Government, but my friend, the Nawab of Dir, still persists in believing that the British power will never go from India and that even if such a thing miraculously happens, he will be free to do what he likes on 16th of August, which means that he will clash with Swat or vice versa. This will draw other neighbouring tribes into the conflict. I may hold out for some time but in the end may have

to fulfil the friendly pacts and agreements that have existed between his and my forefathers. I will do my best to smoothen matters but in Pathan countries sudden spates of this nature leave one helpless.

The above is for your personal information. You may talk over things with Sir George Cunningham when he is passing through. The prompt enforcement of *Shari'at* Laws throughout Pakistan is also being used as a lever to cause disruption. The Hazara Dist[ri]ct which has done so much in [*sic* for for] the League cause has started feeling that they are being ignored by the more powerful Peshawar clique.

I apologise for taking so much of your valuable time but as you were not able to come for a long time I felt I must let you know privately what people feel here. I hope you will not mind if I let you have my views occasionally on such matters that may be exercising the minds of people of these parts.

With best wishes for you and your esteemed sister's long life and health,

Yours sincerely,
M[UHAMMAD] FARID

¹No. 246, Vol. III, 702-3.

²Appendix to Annexure II to No. 83, Vol. II, 158-9.

96

Mehtar of Chitral to M. A. Jinnah

F. 5-GG/1-2

CHITRAL STATE,
3 August 1947

My dear friend,

First of all I wish to offer my heartiest felicitations on the formation of the new Muslim State of Pakistan. We should thank Almighty '*Allah*' for putting you at the helm of the Muslim cause, and for gratifying the aspirations of the Indian Muslims.

The decision of Chitral State to join Pakistan has already been communicated to you telegraphically.¹ Although I am conscious that your precious time, now-a-days, might be occupied with too important matters to be encroached upon with affairs of Chitral, yet the rapid political changes bring us with [*sic*] some pressing problems, which I think it expedient to acquaint you [with] in proper time.

Chitral State as you know occupies a strategic position in the extreme north of NWFP. Historically it has been an independent State since time immemorial, and through [the] centuries [it] had maintained this independence against odds.

Just before the establishment of our existing relations with British Govt., Chitral had friendly connections on equality basis with Afghanistan. In the time of my grand-father, when Afghanistan became aggressive to its neighbours, he sought the protection of the British Empire. In those days, other routes being more or less under Afghan influence, Kashmir was the only way through which Chitral State could contact the Britishers, so friendship with Kashmir was indispensable. To maintain this friendship mutual presents were exchanged [*sic*] annually.

Our first relations with the British Government was [*sic* for were] established on our own initiative in 1885. Later on, Kashmir State, for reasons still incomprehensible to us, began claiming suzerainty over Chitral. Worst [*sic*] still for Chitral, it got the support of the British Government. Chitral State, as can be imagined, had no power to resist this combination, and my predecessors, though they never acknowledged the Kashmir suzerainty, had to sign agreements under pressure. The Kashmir suzerainty was always considered such a great shame that all, except very few, of the State people are kept ignorant of it to avoid violent repercussions.

Not only was this Kashmir suzerainty forced upon us, but large parts of the State in the North and South were detached from it and given to Kashmir and Afghanistan respectively. In the North the Districts of Yasin, Ishkoman, and Ghizar were incorporated in Gilgit Agency and given to Kashmir in spite of our repeated protests and entreaties. These three districts formed an integral part of Chitral State. Their people are kith and kin of my people having common religious, cultural, and linguistic tendencies.

Now, as the end of Paramountcy coincides with the emergence of Pakistan, Chitral State exultingly joins Pakistan with full confidence and hope of redeeming its honour by shaking off the Kashmir suzerainty, of recovering the Gilgit Districts ceded to Kashmir, and finally of concluding a new honourable agreement with Pakistan in due course.

There is one more point which also I wish to bring to your kind notice. It is the financial position of Chitral State. Excepting the Government subsidy (which hardly meets our requirements) the State has no other important source of income. Without this subsidy the very administration of this State will not be possible. Chitral State is believed to have great

resources in minerals and forests, but owing to the communication difficulties and the State's financial weakness, these are hardly tapped. I earnestly hope that the Pakistan Government would help this State in the development of its communications and natural resources, so that it may cease to be a financial liability to Pakistan as early as possible.

I end this letter with prayers for the consolidation of Pakistan.

With best wishes and sincere regards,

Your sincere friend,
MOH[AMMAD] MUZAFFAR UL MULK

¹Not traced. However, Chitral acceded to Pakistan on 6 November 1947.

97

Fazal Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 908/122-3

H/77 MURREE ROAD,
RAWALPINDI,
3 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I have sent you a telegram on 1.8.47¹ which was as follows:

Military Engineering [*sic* for Engineer] Services, Northern Command, authorities planning immediate large-scale retrenchment. This news creating great panic among entire staff. Non-Muslims who were staying permanently and those who were staying for the time being planning immediate migration due to coming retrenchment. We are afraid this short-sightedness forcing retrenchment and migration shall cause sudden shortage of technical personnel adding to already heavy shortage and thus precipitating crisis harmful for reconstruction of our new State. Please intervene immediately to stop retrenchment. Railways and Postal Departments suspended retrenchment till partition complete. Assure non-Muslims through union of full protection and equal treatment. Union already trying to allay panic and maintain maximum staff here. Union offers full co-operation.

2. The facts of the case are that in an open letter the Chief Engineer has threatened large-scale retrenchment declaring the present staff to be largely surplus of [*sic*] the basic establishment. We do not know how he has calculated the surplus staff when there are definite assurances from the Partition Council and leaders of each Government that all the organisational

problems are to be solved after the new governments have taken over. In the same letter there was reference to the fact that, besides the above retrenchment, non-Muslims who have chosen to seek transfer to Hindustan will be retrenched. This news, contrary to assurances by the leaders and also of [*sic* for by] the union, leads to fears in the minds of the non-Muslims that in Pakistan they will be treated in this manner; consequent upon which a wave of panic has run in [*sic*] them and those that we were winning over for stay in their own country have again become migration-minded.

3. As I see it, this is going to create a sudden vacuum in the Dept., which has to play a positive role in the future reconstruction of our State. With this shortage, we are sure any amount of will to do the jobs on the part of the union is not going to make up the loss. I cannot understand what was the purpose of the authorities in taking a step which was sure to lead to results harmful for the future.

4. Therefore, I have approached you to put a stop to this short-sighted policy and to assure the minorities through the union of full protection and equal treatment. A statement to that effect to the union will very much help us in our campaign that we are already launching and are going to launch with greater vigour for maintaining the clerical and skilled staff in our State.

5. This news, I have been able to gather, has also affected staff in other departments and in view of the same, I request you to please expedite intervention.

6. In the end, I, on behalf of the employees of the Military Engineering [*sic* for Engineer] Services, assure you of our fullest co-operation in the future tasks before our State after the transfer of power. We also hope that the demands of the workers will be looked into by the new Government to enable them to do their maximum. Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
FAZAL DIN
President,

Northern Command MES Workers Union

¹Not traced.

98

Haji Ghulam Haider to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/329

BUNGALOW 24,
CHERAT, [DIST.] PESHAWAR,
3 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I came to Delhi for a day or two but as you were extremely busy I did not think it proper to ask for interview, because that would be simply wasting your and our nation's precious time. I met Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and discussed the Frontier questions with him.

We always pray for your health and long life. May you lead the Muslim nation as you have done up to today. We look to your decisions as most wise and the correct decisions.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
HAJI GHULAM HAIDER OF SHERPAO

99

Sahib Gul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 16/33
[Original in Urdu]

P. O. DAGREZI,
DIST. KOHAT, N.W.F.P.,
3 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad, Muslim League Zindabad, Pakistan Zindabad
Most revered Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General [designate] of Pakistan,

Heartiest congratulations on the achievement of Pakistan. May God give you a very long life. *Aameen*

I retired as a Subedar after rendering 21 years' service and have been leading a retired life for the past 27 years. My age is 67/68 years. I am very keen to serve in the Islamic Army, even if the period of

service is one month. I would be very proud of this honour although I am not fit enough to take up this employment.

I am not in need of money. One of my sons is a Major in the Army, the other, a Sub-Inspector of Police. The offer of service is motivated by my devotion to Islam, although I have no right to make this request. Please excuse me for writing this letter which is for your consideration.

Yours obediently,
SAHIB GUL
I.D.S.M.

100

M. Burhanul Haq to Francis Cole

F. 965/92-4

JUBBULPORE,
3 August 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you about a very sad incident at Panagar on 2nd August 1947.

2. The report which has been submitted by the A.D.S.P. [Additional District Superintendent of Police], Jubbulpore, is a version of Hindus and is one-sided and without any investigation. This was prepared by the C[ircle] Police and it was dictated to him. The C[ircle] I[n]spector of Police is a most communal-minded one and against whom the Muslims have made complaints. He wants to take the credit himself to check [sic] the violence but he himself is responsible for it.

3. One Mohammad Yasin Khan, an old man of 70 years, the President of Muslim League, Panagar, was assaulted by a servant of Naik, while he was going home from market. This Yasin is known to you, Mr. Cole, and also S[ub] D[ivisional] M[agistrate] Rai Saheb Mishra. He is a calm and quiet old man. This Yasin made a report to Panagar Police and he was given an injury form and sent to Jubbulpore. He was presented before Rai Saheb Mishra, S.D.M., with all blood [sic]. The C.I. Police, Panagar, was sitting at that time in the Court. He was putting questions otherwise [sic], and showing his bias. The S.D.M. ordered him to look into the matter promptly, and seriously, with all the forces at his command. But the C.I. Police did not heed it at all. This is the incident at about 2.00 p.m. [sic]. Had the C.I. Police left Jubbulpore for Panagar, there would not have been any trouble. This unfortunate event is the direct result of his dereliction of

duties. Now the C.I. wants the whole credit on [sic] himself, for which he is responsible [sic].

4. The entire aggravation [sic] and the violence by the Hindus was preplan[ned], organised and thought over, with the connivance of the local police. It is strange that when both the C.I. and S[ub] I[n]spector], Panagar, left for Jubbulpore on the Panagar market day, and [sic] within half an hour there were so many assaults. This speaks much. The weapons used were knives, swords, *ballams*, *barchhis* and *lathis*. No arrest has been made although the culprits have been named by the victims. No search was made of the houses of [the] Hindus to find out the weapons of offence. The Hindus are being given full latitude by the police to wipe away [sic] the factual evidence. This shows how the police has taken interest after their due connivance [sic].

5. Eighteen Muslims have been injured seriously and grievously with deadly weapons. One of them died in the hospital and another was sent from Panagar by the police as dead. Five Muslims are missing. They seem to have been butchered by the Hindu mob. The missing persons are well-to-do persons and their names are as follows:

1. Diwan Gulab Khan
2. Shahadat Khan s/o Gulab Khan
3. Amin-ullah
4. Rafi Mohammed
5. Chhotey Khan

6. The police is not taking any interest even to trace them out although there is grave risk of their falling prey to the frenzy of the Hindu mob. No Hindu has at all been injured and if some have received any injury it must be in consequence of self-defence of Muslims. But the police is kind enough to register an offence against the Muslims. This shows how the police is working there. Is it the sort of treatment the minority may expect to receive in the Central Provinces when there is a loud cry made by the Congress Ministers on platform and in papers claiming to protect and safeguard the minorities?

7. The A.D.S.P.'s official report about the violence at Panagar on 2.8.47 *inter alia* mentions that there were 400 Hindus and [an] equal number of Muslims arraigned to fight [sic]. It is shameful to know this. The Muslim population at Panagar including children, females, old, and young are [sic] hardly four hundred.

On account of the market day, they were dispersed. It is impossible and beyond the imagination of their number [sic]. When the Hindu mob in thousands with all sorts of deadly weapons wanted to finish off the life and property of the Pathanpura Muslims, near about some fifty Muslims, in order to protect the *mohallah*, [the Muslims]

took their positions on the railway line and warded off the Hindu attack to cross it. Only some Godly [sic] help could save them from complete obliteration. Mr. Mishra, the S.I. of Saleemabad, was sent by Providence with two or three constables who saved the Muslims' life and property from the fury of the Hindu mob. He deserves all credit.

8. The report of the A.D.S.P. is silent about the five Muslim victims mentioned in para 5, although there are reports to this effect to the police before the report was sent from Panagar.

9. We are much thankful to, first of all, Mr. Mishra, S.I., Saleemabad, who saved many lives of the Muslims. We are also thankful to Mr. Hakam Singh, the present City Sup[erinten]d[en]t of Police, Jubbulpore, who took keen interest personally to provide facilities and convenience to the injured brought to Victoria Hospital, Jubbulpore, from Panagar. We are also thankful to Mr. Chobe, the House Surgeon of Victoria Hospital, who did his best beyond his capacity in treating the injured persons.

10. We strongly press for the posting of punitive police at Panagar at the cost of Hindu aggressors. We further request that some senior Hindu and Muslim C[riminal] I[n]vestigation D[e]partment officers should be posted for investigation of the offences committed at Panagar on 2.8.47. The local Police have no confidence of the Muslim public and we fear the[ir] cases will be spoiled at the initial stages. We also request you to provide us all help to remove the Muslims of Panagar and the outlying villages as they have no confidence in the Panagar Police and they are extremely nervous.

M. BURHANUL HAQ
MLA

Copy to :

1. Pandit R.S. Shukla, Premier, C.P. & Berar, Nagpur
2. Pandit D.P. Mishra, Minister, Local Self-Govt., C.P. & Berar, Nagpur
3. Inspector General of Police, C.P. & Berar, Nagpur
4. D.I.G. Police, Eastern Range, Jubbulpore
5. Dist. Supdt. of Police, Jubbulpore
6. Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah
7. Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League

101

M. A. Jinnah to Aga Khan

Telegram, F. 327/9

3 August 1947

His Highness Aga Khan, Montreux [Switzerland]

Many thanks. Your cable¹ will receive my most careful attention.
Wishing you best of health,

JINNAH

¹No. 72.

102

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Bahawalpur

F. 691/3

3 August 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I received your letter on 3rd July 1947,¹ written from London, only a few days ago and I hasten to reply and thank you for it.

It is very very kind of you to make such glowing personal references. Whatever I have done and the part that I have played in the final achievement of Pakistan is nothing but pure selfless service and I hope that I will be able to contribute my share in the building of Pakistan as one of the best sovereign states in the world.

With very kind regards and my deep appreciation of your proposal which we shall discuss when I am in Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur,
Sadiqgarh Palace

¹Not traced.

103

M. A. Jinnah to Columbia Broadcasting System, New York
Telegram, F. 1004/5

3 August 1947

Thanks your cable¹ proposal broadcast. Accept it with pleasure.

JINNAH

¹No. 27.

104

M. A. Jinnah to Ramakrishna Dalmia
F. 85/21

3 August 1947

Dear Mr. Dalmia,

As desired by you, I am sending you a list of the articles which you would like to keep.

1. Carrier air-conditioning plant in my library Rs. 2,850
2. Desert cooler of Refrigerators (India) Ltd., in my bedroom Rs. 1,500

These two include all fitting charges and are [as] good as new [, having been] used only for a few months.

3. Refrigerator "Coldspot" Super Gold Seal Rs. 2,000

Please let me know in the course of the day, and if you agree to the prices I can have them marked as sold to Mr. Jaidayal Dalmia, the purchaser of 10 Aurangzeb Road.

Yours sincerely,
 M. A. JINNAH

Ramakrishna Dalmia,
 9 Mansingh Road, New Delhi

105

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay

F. 684/442

3 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a Demand Draft for Rs.115 (Rupees one

hundred and fifteen only) with a pay-in slip, which amount, on realization, please credit to my Current Account No. 2¹ with your bank and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M.A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay

¹Account No. 2 had been opened by Jinnah in his capacity as the Muslim League President. Account No. 1 was his personal account. See Appendix II. 17, note 1, Vol. III, 739.

106

M. A. Jinnah to the Income-Tax Officer, Bombay

F. 684/447

3 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your notice dated 11th July, 1947,¹ asking me to send my return of income for the Income-tax year 1947-48, and I beg to inform you that as all my papers are at Bombay, I cannot give you the particulars of my total income. But since you give me the alternative by your notice of 11th July, I accept the assessment and, accordingly, I am sending you the first instalment which is due on the 15th of September [19] 47. The second and third instalments are due on 15th December, 1947, and 15th March, 1948, respectively.

Yours faithfully,
M.A. JINNAH

The Income-Tax Officer, D Ward,
Government of India,
Queens Road, Bombay

¹Not traced.

107

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 23/5

3 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just heard that Sir George Cunningham with Lady Cunningham will arrive at Karachi on the evening of August 11th.

They will have to spend the night in Karachi, and I am arranging for an aircraft to take them on to Peshawar the next day via Delhi as I would like to give them luncheon and have a brief meeting.

As you will be in Karachi on the 11th it occurred to me that you might like to invite the Cunninghams to stay with you for the night. If so, I could ask the Secretary of State to convey an invitation.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

108

S. M. Nasiruddin¹ to M. A. Jinnah

F. 706/1-2

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

THE PALACE, MANGROL,
3 August 1947

My dear *Janab Jinnah Sahib*,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

The force of circumstances have [*sic*] compelled me to approach you and seek your advice at this critical juncture. Secondly, yours would be the sincerest and the wisest advice from every point of view.

You know all the States are asked to come to an early decision as regards their future relations. As regards Mangrol, I myself find it difficult to come to any final conclusion. Mangrol has a most peculiar and unique status in the whole of India. It has all the attributes of an Indian State with plenary civil and criminal jurisdiction; still it is put under Junagadh State. In short there can be ample ground for both to contend for their respective rights after the lapse of paramountcy. In order to avoid this position, I have been incessantly trying for the last one year and a half for an honourable and respectable mutual settlement. But for reasons best known to Junagadh, it has not so far extended a co-operative hand.

I am enclosing a copy of the note² which I had submitted to Junagadh for consideration and mutual settlement. I shall feel most grateful if you kindly see that note, which will not take more than 15 minutes to go through, and it contains all the data that is necessary.

I am also kept in the dark and am totally unaware of Junagadh's intentions regarding its future policy. I shall feel most grateful if you very kindly advise me as to how I should conduct my affairs so that I

may be able to join Pakistan and also preserve my entity from Junagadh's ambitions. Mangrol is a small State with a population of 50,000 and an income of about eight to nine lakh [rupees]. The major part of its population is Hindu but it can claim geographical contiguity with Pakistan via the sea.

I hope you will kindly excuse me for approaching you like this and giving you trouble in your already abundant anxieties. I shall be earnestly awaiting your advice and guidance.

Yours very sincerely,
S. M. NASIRUDDIN

PS. I shall certainly like to join Pakistan even at the cost of some sacrifice provided I can possibly do so. The present ambiguous political status of Mangrol is the result of the compulsory mediation of the British Govt.

¹Ruler of Mangrol.

²Not traced.

109

A. Samanta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 163/36-7

249 BOWBAZAR STREET,
CALCUTTA,
3 August 1947

Dear Sir,

There are about 12,000 temporary employees in the Directorate of Rationing under Bengal Govt. They were recruited in the year 1943 at a time when Bengal was devastated by man-made famine.

Due to their untiring efforts and sincerest services, rationing scheme in Bengal has been successful and the crisis was averted.

So long they have not been given any assurance about their future security of service. Moreover, possibility of retrenchment in the immediate future threatens their very existence.

But they cherish strong hopes that they will surely get employment in various nation-building development schemes under the national Govt.

With this expectation in view they are holding a convention, with

the demand of security of permanent service, on the 10th August 1947 at Calcutta. They believe strongly that your blessings will make their object successful.

Yours faithfully,

A. SAMANTA

Secretary, All Bengal Rationing Employees Association

110

Syed Zakir Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 845 /1-2

NOORI DARWAZA, AGRA,

4 August 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you are keeping the best of health and pray that the All Merciful God may in His benevolence grant the Muslims of Pakistan—nay, the Muslims all over the world, the benefit of your leadership for long long years.

Whether or not there is anything very pressing or urgent to consult you about, I am at least one of those Muslims who cherish the idea of meeting you as frequently as possible for the sake of seeing you, but, in consideration of the great strain upon your time and health owing to the great and onerous responsibilities of the stupendous task you have undertaken, I have so far preferred to deprive myself of that honour. But Mr. Syed Abdul Qadir, a perfumer here, has eventually prevailed upon me to write this letter to you. He is sincere and selfless to the extreme. He is so enamoured of Quaid-i-Azam that I really envy him. He has been asking me for a long time to present to you on his behalf a few phials of choicest scent (*'Itr*). I can postpone him no longer. He says whether Quaid-i-Azam personally uses *'Itr* or not but on the next *'Id al-fitr*, when *Insha Allah* he will be meeting friends and guests at Karachi not only as their beloved and respected Quaid-i-Azam but also as the Governor-General of Pakistan, the *'Itr* should form part of the presents which is the characteristic of Muslims on *'Id* day.

I have directed him to send his heart's [*sic*] present direct to you by parcel post and I beg of you to kindly accept the humble offering of a loyal and loving heart.

Trusting you are keeping the best of health and assuring you that, as ever before, [I am] always at your beck and call.

Yours sincerely,
SYED ZAKIR ALI
Member, Legislative Assembly,
United Provinces

111

S. A. Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 144/107-8

23-24 WINDSOR MANSIONS,
QUEENSWAY LANE,
NEW DELHI,
4 August 1947

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

May I venture to address this letter with the sanguine hope that it would receive your kind and sympathetic consideration.

The Honourable Messrs. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar were kind enough to give me letters of introduction to the Honourable Mr. G. H. Hidayatullah and Pirzada Abdus Sattar.¹ I had been to Karachi twice, but the terms offered by the Sind Government involve my resignation from the Bihar Civil Service with no prospect of being made permanent there; apart from losing my previous career of 21 years in the civil service and the loss of pension.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was also kind enough to suggest that I should send the particulars of my qualifications to the Appointing Authority of the Pakistan Central Government. I could not apply officially over the head of the Bihar Government and I was sure that my Government would not have forwarded it. Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman Sahib² thereupon was good enough to forward the details of my qualifications to Mr. Ghulam Mohammed³ for an appointment in the Pakistan Central Government. I have not heard anything yet about it.

For the reasons already stated in the letter⁴ of Mr. S. M. Latifur Rahman, Member, All India Muslim League Working Committee, it is impossible for me to say [*sic* for stay] in Bihar and despite the letter of the Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Sind Government do not seem to hold out any bright shelter for me. I feel rather stranded in the

wilderness with frustration all round and now beg to approach you with the fervent hope that you would be generous and sympathetic enough to bestow your kind thought to my case—only after you are satisfied that it deserves to merit your kind consideration.

I shall feel awfully grateful to you if you could kindly direct your Secretary to acknowledge this letter by [*sic* for on] the following address:

[Omitted]

Apologising for intruding upon your most precious time. With profound respects. *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!*

Yours respectfully,
S. A. ASHRAF

¹No. 478, Vol. I, Part I, 866-7 and No. 460, *ibid.*, 836-7.

²Member, AIML Working Committee

³Director, Tatas, 1947.

⁴Enclosure to No. 460, Vol. I, Part I, 837-8.

112

G. Dunsford Barne to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/10

CATHEDRAL CLOSE, LAHORE,
4 August 1947

Dear Governor-General,

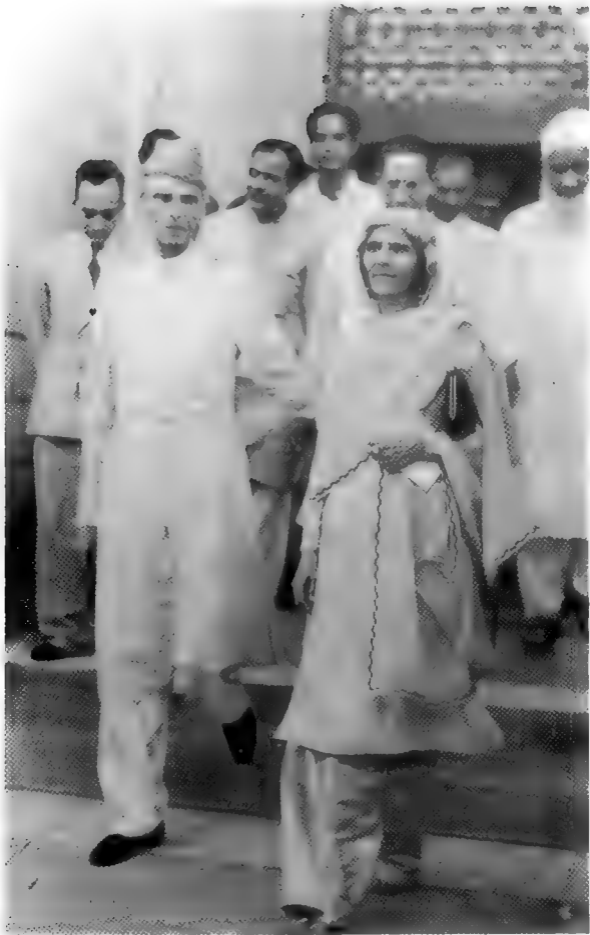
May I, as the only Diocesan Anglican Bishop in West Pakistan, send you my good wishes and hearty congratulations on the momentous occasion of your assuming your important office as Governor-General. You have indeed come into a great responsibility. May the divine assistance go with you, as you shoulder your burden, to uphold and support you.

My Diocese of Lahore contains the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., and Kashmir. It is, therefore, under your jurisdiction. Had the pleasure of meeting you once when I took the chair at a meeting in Lahore at which you were speaking on a certain Sunday afternoon. I was Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University at the time.

Yours sincerely,
[G. DUNSFORD BARNE]
Bishop of Lahore



Jinnah arrives at Karachi on 7 August 1947



Jinnah coming out of the Constituent Assembly after his election as President on 11 August 1947



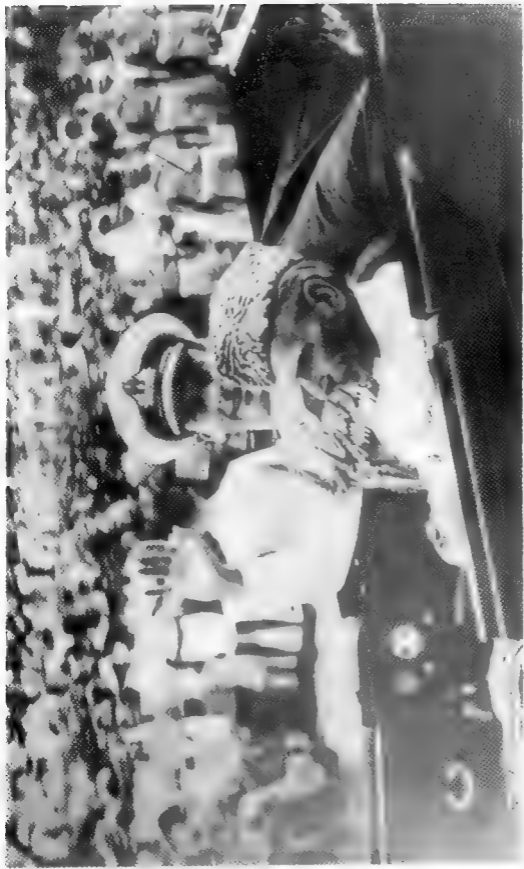
Jinnah addressing the Constituent Assembly following
Mountbatten's speech on 14 August 1947



Jinnah and Mountbatten coming out of the Constituent Assembly on
14 August 1947



Fatima, Jinnah, Mountbatten and Edwina before the state drive
on 14 August 1947



Jinnah and Mountbatten during the state drive



Jinnah, Mountbatten, Edwina and Fatima at Government House
after the state drive

~~SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~

No. P055/JDC/47.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
PARITIC. OFFICE
New Delhi, the 4th August, 1947.

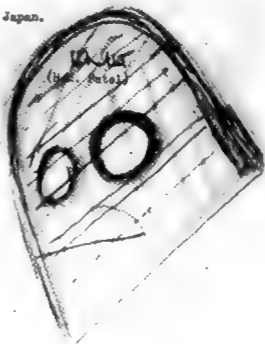
The S. r. ng Committee present their compliments to
Mr. M.A. Jinnah:

and are directed by His Excellency, the Viceroy to request that he
will attend a meeting of the Provisional Joint Defence Council to
be held at The Viceroy's House at 10 a.m. tomorrow, the 5th August.

~~SECRET~~

1. Draft Joint Defence Council Order.
(Papers attached)
2. Withdrawal of Indian troops from Japan.
(Note attached).

M.A. Jinnah, Esq.



Specimen of a doodle by Jinnah
(F. 723/223, QAP)

113

Mrs Eileen Bond to M. A. Jinnah

F. 16-GG/1-2

FIVE SPRINGS, RACE COURSE SPINNEY,
QUETTA,
4 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will, my husband and I hope, forgive us for troubling you at a time when we know how immensely busy you are, but we would be so very grateful if you would spare us a few minutes of your valuable time and read through this letter—which is in connection with our property here in Quetta—and in which we ask for your assistance. We ask your assistance because the matter is very urgent, my husband is gravely ill, and the Civil Surgeon here has said that he must be taken to England as quickly as possible for treatment. The Local Government, after evaluation, had agreed to purchase our property in connection with one of the post-war agricultural and veterinary schemes and have offered Rs. 90,465 which we accepted. The papers on the subject are at the moment with the Director-General of Agriculture at Delhi, and after having been approved by the Committee dealing with the schemes and passed by the Finance Dept. (at Delhi) but it now awaits the formal sanction to issue from the D. G. Agriculture. This is now pending until partition is completed, and as this means further (great) delay and uncertainty, we are asking for your help—it might even be that some of your friends, or Members of your Government, would care to purchase it as a summer home. The position is considered the beauty spot of Quetta. The garden has been developed for over twenty years, and the house (not built by [*sic* for on] contract) was constructed in 1941-42. We enclose copies of the specifications¹ and could send photos to anyone interested. Our difficulty is this, that even though we own this very beautiful property, every bit of our money has systematically been put into the property to improve and beautify it for over twenty years. So now, in our great need, we haven't the means, without the quick sale of our property, to go to England at once—and Mr. Jinnah, it means the saving of my

husband's life—please consider this. It's useless to tell you how deep the gratitude will be.

Yours sincerely,
[MRS EILEEN BOND]

'F. 16-GG/3-6. Not printed.

114

Lahiri Choudhury to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.1005/18

GOURIPUR, [MYMENSINGH DISTRICT],

4 August 1947

Pakistan flag should represent all citizens therefore suggest colour blue for greatness, crescent for purity, star for luck.

LAHIRI CHOUDHURY

115

Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 17/2-GG/9

NEW YORK,

4 August 1947

Mr. Jinnah, Bombay

Delighted your acceptance.' Broadcast will originate New Delhi.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

'No. 103.

116

An ex-Khan Bahadur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886 /335

KARACHI,

4 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Still we have faith in you. We rejoice on achieving Pakistan but tears

flow for the loss of Delhi, Aligarh and Calcutta. Above all we sob for the sorrows of Muslim India.

There is no hope of their salvation. God help them in their dire distress.

Recent utterances are shaking the Muslims. We pray that at least Pakistan will be a country where Muslims can find solace and a place where Islam and Muslims will flourish. If this much is not achieved God will never forgive our architects.

Yours obediently,
EX-KHAN BAHADUR

President of District Muslim League in India

117

Sarwat Fatima to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/330

NASEEM MANZIL,
MARRIS ROAD,
ALIGARH,
4 August 1947

Our most beloved Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad,

You had appealed to Muslim girls to join medical profession and serve the Muslim nation, as there was a great dirth [*sic* for dearth] of women in this profession.

The accompanying reply from the Principal, Medical College, Karachi,¹ to my application for admission, will show how far the spirit of your appeal is being observed by those concerned.

I have a special claim for admission into the College for the following reasons:

- i. I am a Muslim girl.
 - ii. My father is a doctor.
 - iii. My elder sister is a student of final year of Medical College, Agra.
 - iv. I have been brought up in an atmosphere of medical profession.
 - v. I could not get admission into the U.P. medical colleges because there was a great influx of students from Sind.
- I hope you will kindly help me by directing some higher authority

in Sind to reconsider my deserving case.

With heartfelt respects,

Yours obediently,
SARWAT FATIMA

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 117

F. 886/331

KARACHI,
22 July 1947

Miss Sarwat Fatima Hasib,
Naseem Manzil, Marris Road, Aligarh
Reference your application dated 6-7-47.¹

It is regretted that you cannot be admitted to this college as the admissions for 1947-48 are closed.

The accompaniments received with your application are returned herewith.

A. K. M. KHAN
Lt. Col., I. M.S.,
Principal, Dow Medical College

¹Not traced.

118

Geti Ara Bashir Ahmed to Fatima Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/56

MURREE,
4 August 1947

Heartiest congratulations on our beloved Quaid-i-Azam's appointment as Governor-General. God grant him health and long life.

GETI ARA BASHIR AHMED

119

Syed Anisul Haque to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/339-40

CROWN HOTEL, FATEHPURI,
DELHI,

4 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

As already communicated per wire dated 1st August 1947,¹ on behalf of the Bihar refugees I have been instructed to put up their case before your honour.

2. According to your instruction we contacted the Chief Minister, the Relief Minister, Bengal, and other leaders including Maulana Akram Khan and Mr. K. Nazimuddin, the President, Central Bihar Relief Committee. We have already communicated to you the impression through a telegram to you dated 18th July 1947.²

3. Bengal Government has issued an order through the S.D.O., Asansol (Mr. M[uhamma]d Subhan) to the effect that all facilities to the refugees will be stopped on the 15th and the refugees meanwhile should go back to Bihar. A number of refugees (mostly of Momin community) are now going back to Bihar; still there is a large number of such refugees who in no case are prepared to go to the place where they personally experienced the most shameless barbarities perpetrated on their kith and kin before their eyes and somehow managed to escape away and it is impossible to persuade them to go back there. They are those who already lost all they had there and there is nothing left of their homestead in their villages.

4. If the door of Pakistan is shut against these unfortunate people and the Pakistan leaders are determined to send them back in their own interest, they would rather welcome the second instalment [*sic* for option] of calamities and disaster on the soil of West Bengal.

5. In the last resort, therefore, I have come down to you with the prayer of the refugees to instruct the concerned leaders to make arrangements for their shifting to any Pakistan area before the 15th August 1947, and on their behalf I have to pray to give me your personal message to the widows and orphans which they are impatiently waiting for.

One of the devotees of Quaid-i-Azam,
SYED ANISUL HAQUE
*Representative of Bihar
Refugees in West Bengal*

120

*H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah**F. 14-GG/2*

No. 1446/57

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
4 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will remember that at your meeting this morning with the Viceroy and the Khan of Kalat,¹ it was agreed that a communique should be issued defining the present situation in regard to Kalat.

Accordingly, I send you herewith the draft² which was read out at the meeting, for favour of your approval or comments.

I have sent a copy of the draft to the Khan of Kalat.³

Yours sincerely,
ISMAY

¹Mountbatten had a meeting with Khan of Kalat and his *Wazirs* and Legal Advisers on 4 August at 9.30 a.m., at the end of which Jinnah and Liaquat were also invited in and they agreed to issue a press communique. See Annex. Also see Appendix VI. 2, para 2.

²Enclosure.

³See IOR, R/3/1/166: ff 44-5. Not printed.

*Enclosure to No. 120**F. 14-GG/6*DRAFT COMMUNIQUE¹

As a result of a meeting held between a delegation from Kalat and officials of the Pakistan States Department, presided over by the Crown Representative, and of a series of meetings between the Crown Representative, His Highness the Khan of Kalat, and Mr. Jinnah, the following is the situation:

1. The Government of Pakistan recognises Kalat's status as an independent sovereign State; this status is different from that of Indian States.

2. Legal opinion will be sought as to whether or not treaties made between the British Government and Kalat will be inherited by the Pakistan Government.

3. When this opinion has been received, further meetings will take

place between representatives of Pakistan and the Khan of Kalat.

4. Meanwhile a Standstill Agreement has been made between Pakistan and Kalat.

5. Discussions will take place between Pakistan and Kalat at an early date with a view to reaching decisions on Defence, External Affairs and Communications.

¹For the amendments suggested by Jinnah in the draft communique, see No. 154. The communique was published on 11 August 1947. See No. 396, *TP*, XII, note 2, 620.

Annex to No. 120

Minutes of Viceroy's Twenty Fifth Miscellaneous Meeting¹

R/3/1/166

SECRET

4 August 1947

Present

Louis Mountbatten

Sultan Ahmed

H. L. Ismay

Khan of Kalat

Ersine Crum

Nawabzada Mohammed Aslam Khan

The Viceroy said that since his last meeting² with the Khan of Kalat, he had spoken to Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Nishtar. Mr. Jinnah had explained that he was under such pressure of work at the present time that he had been unable to give his full consideration to the problems arising between Pakistan and Kalat; he was, however, willing and anxious to find an amicable solution. Mr. Jinnah had told the Viceroy that he could rely on him to find, after 15th August, a solution which would suit both Kalat and Pakistan. It was his desire to live in peace and friendship with this large Muslim State.

The Viceroy said that he had proposed, and he understood that Sir Sultan Ahmed agreed (incidentally Sir Walter Monckton agreed also) that before the next series of meetings between the Khan of Kalat and Mr. Jinnah took place a decision should be reached on the legal position as to whether or not treaties made between the British Government and Kalat would be inherited by the Pakistan Government. Mr. Jinnah had admitted Kalat's claim to be an independent sovereign State of a status different from that of Indian States, and was prepared to negotiate on those terms.

Sir Sultan Ahmed said that he also understood that Mr. Jinnah wanted more time to study the problems between Pakistan and Kalat; and the Kalat representatives felt that this time should be given.

Mr. Jinnah had appeared very anxious that the correct decision should be reached and that he should not be rushed. It was certain that Mr. Jinnah did not as yet realise the full complexity of the problem. Sir Sultan Ahmed suggested that if no agreement was reached on the legal question this would have to go before a higher tribunal for decision.

The Viceroy said that every effort should first be made to establish the legal position by agreement between the representatives of the two parties concerned. He suggested that Mr. Jinnah himself should not be brought into these particular discussions. Only in the event of failure to reach agreement between these representatives would the matter have to be referred to a tribunal.

His Excellency said that he considered it essential that an immediate Standstill Agreement should be made between Pakistan and Kalat. The Kalat representatives agreed that this was necessary.

Nawabzada Mohammad Aslam Khan asked that a statement should be made declaring the recognition by the Crown Representative, as well as by the Government of Pakistan, of Kalat's independent status. The Viceroy replied that the advice which he had received on this point from the Political Adviser precluded this; in any case a declaration by the Crown Representative would be of little value at the present time compared to one by the Pakistan Government.

The Khan of Kalat said that Mr. Jinnah had asked him whether Kalat would be willing to send representatives to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He had replied that this was not possible because of the State's independent status, but he had agreed that (?with) Mr. Jinnah that it was essential that a reasonable understanding should be reached between Pakistan and Kalat on Defence, External Affairs and Communications. The Viceroy gave his opinion that agreement on these subjects was essential.

The Viceroy pointed out that, if legal opinion decided that the treaties made between the British Government and Kalat would not be inherited by the Pakistan Government, a further decision would be necessary on the financial arrangements to be made in view of the fact that much capital had been sunk into construction at Quetta on the basis of a lease in perpetuity. It would presumably be necessary to obtain a further legal opinion on this point also. With this Sir Sultan Ahmed agreed.

It was then decided that a communique should be issued outlining the negotiations between Pakistan and Kalat. A first draft was made and agreed in principle at the meeting. This was also agreed to in

principle by Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who entered at the end. The Viceroy asked Lord Ismay to clear it in detail with representatives of both parties.

¹No. 330, TP, XII, 498-500.

²The meeting took place on 28 July in which Khan of Kalat thanked Mountbatten for obtaining recognition of the Pakistan Government that Kalat was an independent sovereign state. See No. 258, TP, XII, 378-9.

121

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Amb

F. 689/4

4 August 1947

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of 25th July 1947¹ and I thank you for your congratulations and good wishes for Pakistan and kind personal references to me. I am glad that we have won the Referenda in the N.W.F.P. and Assam in spite of all difficulties that we had to face. I sincerely hope that with the help and cooperation of our Muslim brethren not only in Pakistan but outside—from Karachi to Cairo and Ankara and beyond—we shall make Pakistan one of the greatest states in the world.

I endorse your sentiments that we will endeavour to make Pakistan a State that will attain its full glory as the premier sovereign Muslim State.

I shall be very glad to see your representatives at Karachi after 15th August, as desired by you.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[M. A. JINNAH]

The Nawab of Amb,
Amb (N.W.F.P.)

¹No. 246, Vol. III, 702-3.

122

*M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten**F. 23/6**4 August 1947*

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of 3rd August 1947.¹

I am very glad that you are making arrangements for Sir George and Lady Cunningham to fly to Peshawar from Karachi. I shall be very pleased indeed if they will stay the night with me at Karachi. Please ask the Secretary of State to convey my invitation to the Cunninghams to stay with me while in Karachi on their way to Peshawar.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 107.

123

*S. L. Johar to M. A. Jinnah**F. 886/332*

NO. BB/332A KRISHANPURA,
RAWALPINDI,
4 August 1947

Honourable Sir,

I most respectfully and humbly beg to state that in order to enable all people in Hindustan and Pakistan to take part in the rejoicings to be held on 15th August 1947, some statutory protection may kindly be announced for those persons who have lost their relatives or who had their houses looted or burnt in the last communal disturbances in the Punjab, so that such persons may also join the rejoicings. I would further beg to suggest that the claims of the sufferers, submitted to their respective District Magistrates, under the Ordinance¹ promulgated by the Governor of the Punjab, may kindly be taken into consideration while partitioning liabilities and assets between Pakistan and Hindustan.

I strongly hope that this application will receive your sympathetic consideration.

1½ [one and a half] annas envelope is enclosed for favour of reply.

Hoping to be excused for intrusion on your valuable time and thanking you in anticipation.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. L. JOHAR

A Sufferer

¹Not traced.

124

*Note by Nawab Ali Yavar Jung about an interview with
M. A. Jinnah*

F. 908/128 & F. 1264/13-6

ASOKA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
4 August 1947

The Prime Minister,¹ the Constitutional Affairs Member² and the Local Government Member³ interviewed Mr. Jinnah on the afternoon of 4th August, the subject of the interview being the note sent by His Exalted Highness to Mr. Jinnah on 29 July.⁴ In the course of a separate interview,⁵ which Sir Walter Monckton had the same day with Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jinnah was apprised of the discussion the previous night with the Viceroy.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Viceroy and the Congress were following a policy totally contrary to the declared policy of H.M.G. H.M.G. had definitely offered the two alternatives, of accession or political relations, and had also said that time would be given and that the choice would be free and voluntary. If H.M.G. had a shred of conscience, they would put a stop to the threats which were now being given both by the Viceroy and the Congress. It was highly probable that at least the Conservative Party would rebel.

What had been said by the Viceroy about Berar was tantamount to daylight dacoity. It amounted to holding a pistol at a person and making him sign the Instrument of Accession. H.M.G. had admitted the legal and constitutional claim of the Nizam over Berar; the Nizam had all the right on his side and what was being now threatened was

the exercise of might. If, even the little that was necessary to continue the Nizam's legal title to Berar was not done, it would not be much of a loss but the world would know the standard of morality which governed the conscience and acts of the Congress Party. *Mr. Jinnah said that he could not believe that this could be supported by the sense of honour and conscience of the British people.*⁶

Mr. Jinnah said that he thought if H.E.H. and his advisers had really made up their mind against accession they should stick to it, firmly and loyally. He did not believe that threats of economic sanction would be carried out but even if they were, His Exalted Highness' line should be as follows:

You may do what you like and you may threaten as you like but I shall never agree to sign any Instrument of Accession or join the Union unless my conscience says that I should do so. You have no right to coerce me and I have the right to make a free choice.

He said that after all there was some such thing as standing for one's own right, despite every threat or provocation. If it came to the worst, one should die fighting rather than yield on a point of fundamental principle. Mr. Jinnah gave the illustration of what he called the greatest martyrdom in history, the example of Imam Hussain standing for what was right and giving his life for it. All the sanctions in the world then existing were applied against him and his followers but they withstood them and suffered wholesale butchery. It was a moral triumph and they gave their lives for it. That should be the attitude which the Nizam and his advisers and people should adopt. If it came to the worst, rather than yield to coercion or to the surrender of what was right, he should *be prepared to abdicate and go in the last resort* and show to the world that he had fought uncompromisingly for right as against might. Mr. Jinnah said that, in our own times, England had done the same against the heaviest odds. Her people had fought till the end and had reversed the position, by perseverance and conviction, from defeat to victory.

This immoral aspect of threats and coercion on the part of the Viceroy and the Congress, despite the declared policy of H.M.G. to the contrary, should be broadcast to the world and be supported by propaganda so as to convince the man in the street of the wrongness of their position and the rectitude of Hyderabad's stand for her rights. But any such declaration or announcement should contain a firm indication of absolute willingness to enter into standstill arrangements *which are necessary for the advantage of both* to avoid a breakdown of the administrative machinery or the prevalence of chaos. It must be stated that Hyderabad desires to help India and herself in producing the

conditions necessary for stability. If, by the time of such announcement, the Congress persist in refusing to negotiate Standstill Agreements, *the entire responsibility of the consequences would rest with them.* The above declaration may mention the fact that, while accession was never understood to be a condition for the conclusion of Standstill Agreements and had in fact nothing to do with them, even such agreements had been refused because the State had declined to accede and had chosen the other alternative offered to the State both by His Majesty's Government and by the political parties through their acceptance of the Plan of June 3.⁷

As regards His Exalted Highness' question as to how far Pakistan would be able to assist Hyderabad economically or politically or with troops or arms and equipment and the like, Mr. Jinnah said that it was not possible for him at present to give any specific undertaking but that, generally speaking, he was confident that he and Pakistan would come to the help of Hyderabad in every way possible. *There should be no doubt on that point.* He said that even countries with long-established Governments could not give specific undertakings of the nature desired except by reference to the situation as it developed. The United States could not give any such undertaking when it was *first* approached by the United Kingdom for help during the last war,⁸ but the United States gradually began helping on different fronts until they ultimately came into the war itself. England was very nearly booted when, to her good fortune, Hitler diverted himself from England and attacked Russia, thus bringing the latter into a natural alliance with England and saving England from the concentrated attack which might otherwise have centred upon her. Then, America which had till then kept out of the war except by way of moral and material help, entered the struggle as a result of the Japanese attack upon her. These were providential developments without which all the *odds* were against England. They brought about Allied victory. If Hyderabad was short of petrol or kerosene, it would not matter if, *on the other hand* Hyderabad had abundance of firmness, perseverance and courage. The Russians were threatened by a blockade against them but they won the war. If Hyderabad was similarly threatened, there would be other ways to fight, not necessarily with guns if there were no guns, and not necessarily with mechanised transport if there was no petrol.

The Prime Minister thanked Mr. Jinnah for the interview and for the elucidation of his views on the different points raised by His Exalted Highness; he also said that H.E.H. would expect a written reply as he had made that request in his letter to Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah

The above notes are correct of the
 interview and represent my view and I
 hope that H.E.H. will be p.c. and ac-
 cept them and act accordingly and I
 most fervently pray to God that he will
 help us all in our cause in rightness.

Sd/- M. A. Jinnah.

24 September 1947

M. A. Jinnah

said that, with all the volume of work which had been thrust upon him and the short time left between now and the establishment of Pakistan, it would be most difficult for him to write a detailed letter answering each of the points raised by His Exalted Highness. He said, however, that the best way would be to have a record prepared of the interview. The record could then be shown to Mr. Jinnah the same night at 9.30 and, if he had any modifications to make, he would make them after which he could sign the record and give it back for submission to His Exalted Highness. The Prime Minister agreed with this suggestion and the Constitutional Affairs Member was requested to prepare a record of the interview.

[NAWAB ALI YAVAR JUNG]

The above notes are correct [version] of the interview and represent my views and I hope that H.E.H. will be firm and accept them and act accordingly and I most fervently pray to God that He would help us all as our cause is righteous.

M. A. JINNAH

¹Nawab Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari.

²Nawab Ali Yavar Jung.

³Syed Abdur Rahim.

⁴Enclosure to No. 19.

⁵Monckton had urged Mountbatten that the Nizam should not be rushed or coerced so that he might decide to make a satisfactory offer by treaty. On the other hand Mountbatten emphasised that if the Nizam did not accede to India, Hyderabad would be ruined and he would lose his throne. See No. 329, TP, XII, 495-8.

⁶The words italicised were handwritten in the original.

⁷No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

⁸World War II.

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S. Nasiruddin Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/338

NUR BAGH, P. O. AJUDHIA MILLS,
DELHI,

4 August 1947

*Jamilulmunakib Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Salamat,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

This book named *Strong Arguments for Pakistan* is being sent to you as an offering. Neither the printing nor the publication of the book has been done according to my wishes, as it unfortunately fell into the

hands of Congress-minded publishers, resulting in unnecessary delay.

Thinking it to be a counter-attack on Dr. Shaukat Ansari's book *Pakistan*, a misleader [*sic*] on account of its title, as in the book it is argued against Pakistan. I have proved by quoting Quranic verses and *Hadis* that mixing with non-Muslim organizations is a sin.

Half of the profit of this book will go towards the fund of Masjid Nawab Qasimjan, while the other half will go to the Muslim League Fund. I shall send the income to you immediately after disposal of the copies.

Praying for your health. May God keep you alive for a long long time, to be at the helm of the Muslim nation to guide her through the difficult time that faces us.

Yours sincerely,

SAHIBZADA NASIRUDDIN AHMED KHAN
ALIAS KHUSRO MIRZA OF LOHARU STATE

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Shafqat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 886/336

BARA MAHAL, BHOPAL, C.I.,
4 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to my letter of 1st inst[ant],¹ I am extremely sorry I could not reach Delhi yesterday. The reason was that my son unfortunately had a nasty toss [*sic*] from his bicycle while returning from school, and fractured his right forearm. He is lying in hospital with his arm in plaster, in great agony and pain, and I am really worried on his account.

It seems to me that fate will not allow me to meet you at present. I shall, however, try to come to Karachi later on, when I hope you will have more leisure and peace of mind. In the meantime, I wish you all success and happiness in the future.

With my hearty good wishes and best regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHAFQAT ALI KHAN

¹Not traced.

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*Waris Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 886/333-4*

CHERAT CANT.,
PESHAWAR DIST.,
4 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I [am] much pleased to hear the delightful news of Pakistan. I hearty [*sic* for heartily] congratulate you on your success in the long race and struggle. God helps those who help themselves. No doubt that truth always come over [*sic* for overcomes] the false and pride [*sic* for proud].

Pakistan is the reward of your honesty, hard working [*sic* for work] and great sacrifices. Pakistan is the new name which comes over [*sic*] the world map and you are its founder.

I pray that may God give you long life to lead Islam in the world. *Aameen.*

I much regret to write you that I was seriously ill, so forgive me for my delay [*sic*] letter. I must come for your salutation [*sic*] when I recover.

Please give my best compliments to Bai Fatima Sahiba.

Your most obedient servant,

WARIS KHAN

Your ex-bearer in Bombay

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*M. I. Malik to M. A. Jinnah**F. 163/40-4*

R.I.A.F., JODHPUR,
4 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

I take this opportunity of congratulating you most warmly on the establishment of Pakistan and on the eve [of] your assumption of the

supreme office in our cherished State *Mubarak Aameen*. This letter of mine was purposely withheld as I did not want it to be "just another letter" even at the risk of being late. But, believe me, it had been uppermost in my mind to convey my feelings of profound gratitude for this unparalleled and glorious achievement.

I am sending you a copy of the photograph¹ taken by airmen when you last visited Jodhpur. I hope to present personally a few enlargements on the 7th August, 1947, when, I believe, I shall have another opportunity of welcoming you here.

If you do not consider it impudent, I have [a] suggestion to make. I would earnestly ask you to consider seriously selecting me as your ADC from the P[akistan] Air Force, if you have not made up your mind already. Suffice it would to say that I am a fit person for this job in all respects and you will surely find me a useful member of your staff.

With best wishes to you and *Aapa Sahiba*,

I am,
Your obedient Pakistani,
M. I. MALIK
Flying Officer

PS. In the picture, I am in A[ir] Force uniform on your left, nearest to you.

¹Not reproduced. It bore the caption Jodhpur, November 1946.

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Muhammad Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 908/126-7

SHEIKHUPURA,
4 August 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I wish to bring to your kind notice that I am a *Zilladar* in the Irrigation Branch of Punjab P.W.D., now under suspension since 28-6-45, a period [of] more than two years. It is one of the most important period of one's life.

Painful it is to say that the departmental enquiry against me is still

in its preliminary stages. Needless to add that I have been a victim of Hindu mentality which has kept me in this lingering state of mental worries and spiritual agonies, pecuniary losses and unsettled means of livelihood, for such a long period.

It is not due to sentimental emotions that I am blaming the Hindu mind which has been immune to all human feelings of sympathy towards Muslim officials. But it is based upon hard realities and bitter facts. Inordinate delay in the course of the conduct of the enquiry which is still in its preliminary stages is a glaring instance to substantiate my contention. I believe you need not require any further proof of havoc played by Hindu mentality. Numerous such cases must have come to your notice.

Now the conditions have undergone a complete change and Muslim India is heaving a sigh of relief at the establishment of an independent Muslim State. And Muslim India is preparing itself to share the rejoicings of that auspicious occasion of 15th August, but clouds of gloom and sorrow are still overcasting my spirits. The havoc played by Hindu mentality are [sic] still pinching my soul and disturbing my peace of mind. How do I wish to share these rejoicings. It is fruitless to cherish such hopes unless this dismaying gloom is cast away. Now when I hear that almost all provincial Governments in Hindu India have ordered general concessions in all cases of punishments, I also request that such concessions may also be granted to victims of Hindu tyrann[y] in Pakistan. I, being one of such persons whose case is still under investigation, request that my case may kindly either be decided before 15-8-47 or withdrawn to enable me to share the rejoicings and blessings of this auspicious occasion of "Gala Day" of 15th August 1947.

Hoping [for] a favourable and early reply,

Yours truly,

M. ISMAIL

Zilladar (under suspension)

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The Muslim Students' Society to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/16

RANGOON,
4 August 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

On behalf of the Muslim Students' Society, Rangoon, I have the

honour to offer you our heartiest felicitations on the formation of the biggest Islamic State, Pakistan.

We take this opportunity of offering you also hearty congratulations on your able leadership and guidance of the Muslim nation. It is your inspiring leadership that has filled the Musalmans of India with renewed confidence in themselves and in their future. Our only prayer is for your long life and prosperous future of the new State.

Assuring you of all our possible co-operation,
We remain,

Yours in Islam,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Hony. General Secretary

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A Pakistani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 163/38

INDORE, C.I.,
4 August 1947

Dear Sir,

The date of transfer of power is drawing nearer and near[er] and the employees who have elected [*sic* for opted] for Pakistan are still in the dark about their movement, and hence they are very much worried about their future.

Many departments such as Political Agencies will cease functioning from the 14th August 1947, and their employees who have elected for the rest of India are being transferred to the Hindu majority provinces. The Hindu employees are given preference even over the nationalist Muslims in this respect. The Pakistan Govt. have made no arrangement to accommodate those employees who elected for Pakistan. In such [a] state of affairs the Muslim employees are at a very critical juncture. Some of the affected employees, somehow or other, could approach the persons who are supposed to be the chief instrument of Pakistan authority but the response was very much discourgeous [*sic* for discouraging]. Who asked you to elect [*sic*]for Pakistan? We are only in need of technical men for Pakistan. At present we are unable to put [*sic* for pay] our attention to others, were the replies received by some of the affected persons when they approached the authorities. It

can authoritatively be added that the heads of some departments do not trust the Pakistanis at all, so much so that they are debar[re]d from touching even important papers.

While putting an end to this appeal I also beg to stress that the people moving towards Pakistan may be given an option of choosing either Eastern or Western Pakistan because those interested in one or the other are rather worried about this important question also.

Yours faithfully,
One who knows,
A PAKISTANI

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Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/98-101

ELYSIUM HOTEL, SIMLA,
4 August [1947]

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is so extremely kind of you to answer my letter in spite of the heavy pressure of work on your shoulders at this time, for which I have to thank you from the core of my heart. I pray to God Almighty that He may give you a long life and the strength of body and mind to fulfil your responsibilities to such perfection that your name may become the greatest in the twentieth century, as it deserves to be.

I am drawing your attention today to a very urgent matter about the Punjab. You have very generously and democratically left the provincial matters in the hands of the local leaders which is proving to be very dangerous for the Muslim League. It would have been all right to do so, had there been master-minds in plenty in the Muslim community. Unfortunately you have very few such men who can handle the new situation with skill, honesty of purpose, and with a disinterested desire to serve the nation loyally as they should.

A friend of ours, judge of the High Court and the would-be Chief Justice of the West Punjab told me the same story that the old ambitious Unionists are starting their nefarious game to come into power by various means. This would be very dangerous indeed for the League. You should step into the matter and not allow anyone except the very tried, honest, and sincere workers to take charge of the newly formed

State. Otherwise the neighbouring Congress Province will work schemes to swallow down your Frontier Province of West Punjab[sic]. Therefore, nip the trouble in the bud. What I was planning to write to you two days ago and which I could not on account of being a bit unwell, also came in the *Pakistan Times* editorial yesterday.¹ So I am hastening to send it to you to see what is happening in the W[est] Punjab. Before you leave for Karachi² you should handle the Punjab affair yourself. The old ambitions are kindled again perhaps to conspire for mischief again. You are the only one to guard against such dangers. The Hindu Congress not reconciled itself to the idea of partition and hence Pakistan. This thought has to be kept in mind all the time.

Look what Pandit Nehru says at the Seva Dal GOC's address!³ Who is this inner enemy? If you recall the debates of the A.I.C.C., you will remember what it is. And the fact that the Congress High Command is still instigating the Sikhs and the Pathans not to reconcile themselves to the idea of two dominions, clearly shows which way the wind is blowing. One is surprised and amazed at what is happening in the Punjab—Sardar Patel and Baldev Singh are both signatories to the High-Power[ed] Partition Committee's acceptance of the Boundary Commissions' Award[s]⁴ and yet you see Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh go on defying the decision of their high command! What is the meaning of all this? Even the Congress has accepted the division of the country into two dominions, and yet Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan still has secret meetings with the top ranking Congressmen and threatens to defy all top-acceptance [sic]. What does it all reveal? Only this that the Congress means to give trouble to Pakistan area and not let it settle down to constructive work. If the mind of the Congress was clear, they would straightway tell the Frontier Congress and the Punjab Sikhs to now settle down to peaceful work. But no.

Mr. Gandhi also is looking forward to a military dictatorship in India.⁵ He is the pulse of the Hindu nation which now wants militarization. All these things are the writing on the walls which must be heeded. Don't allow what is now happening in the Punjab. Everybody is talking about it. I have heard it here in Simla. If things continue as they are, the Congress will take advantage of it. Punjab will be far from you, if there is not a good start there; defeat is bound to follow.

I am enclosing a typed request⁶ regarding the representation of Indian Xtians [Christians] in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do hope you will give them their due share in the new State. You should give special seats to the women of Pakistan in the assembly. In my

opinion for [*sic* for in] the first stage, women should be nominated by you.

Praying for your long life and good health and wishing you a safe journey to Karachi.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM

¹Enclosure 1.

²Jinnah left New Delhi for Karachi on 7 August 1947.

³Enclosure 2.

⁴See Annex to No. VI. 4, Vol. III, 960.

⁵Enclosure 3.

⁶Not traced.

Enclosure 1 to No. 132

THE SCRAMBLE¹

The day the partition of the Punjab was voted in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the scramble for the leadership of the new Muslim parliamentary alignments began. For a democrat there should not be much to choose between the two leaderships of Eastern or Western Punjab; each leader will represent and interpret the wishes and demands of his people in the Legislative body of his Province, he will serve and fight and suffer for the common man who has made him his spokesman and has entrusted to his custody his present happiness and future welfare. In the terms of tangible political power and personal importance, however, the two leaderships are vastly different. The leadership of the Eastern Group does not stand for much more than the leadership of an opposition, perpetually struggling against what promises to be an unsympathetic Government; the leadership of Western Punjab means the Premiership of the Province with all the power and authority that such an office implies. The first noticeable thing regarding the present race for leadership is that nothing or next to nothing has been heard regarding the leader of the Eastern Punjab. His duties will be sterner and his battles harder and there will be neither spoils nor garlands to signalise any victories won, or to sweeten the hours of labour and sweat with hope and joyful anticipation. One should have thought that our brothers beyond the Eastern Frontier, who will soon be forcibly separated from us, had earned enough of our gratitude to deserve a closer interest to [*sic*] their affairs, and that the choice of the leader who would be at their head, would receive as much thought and deliberation as the leader of the West. No one, however, looks particularly bothered to offer or to

accept the crown of thorns, which may be the leadership of the East, while every nerve and artery in every political organism that managed to insinuate itself into the Provincial Legislature through merit, intrigue or good fortune, has been and is being strained to effect the election of one contestant or the other to the leadership of the West. We have scrupulously refrained from commenting on this contest for fear of compromising the dignity of the great organization to which we all belong, we have shielded from the public eye the cess-pools of intrigue which have sprung up in the last few days, in the hope that the stink would remain confined to the lordly residences where they had been dug. We consider, however, that continued silence on the subject would be a betrayal of public trust and a condonation of the unsavoury dealings daily being executed. We had thought that with the coming of Pakistan, any office in the State, however humble, would be regarded not as a key to petty power but as a mandate from the people for selfless service; that any person who accepted such an office would do so with a full consciousness both of his limitations and of the responsibilities involved, and would decline the honour if he found himself wanting. The highest office in one of the principal provinces of Pakistan, therefore, should have given pause to the stoutest heart before he put himself forth as a candidate, it should have called for an immense amount of heart-searching and self-inspection before one could definitely pronounce in one's own favour; unless a person were incredibly vain, it should at least have called for a certain amount of diffidence in one's fitness for the tremendous responsibilities involved before the others had pronounced one fit. In this self-analysis, one might also have included one's loyal services to alien masters and the consequent decades of disservice to the best interests of one's own community. The obscene anxiety at present being displayed for this office, therefore, can only be put down to the fact that the contestants do not regard the premiership of the province as an ordeal of service and sacrifice but as an agency for power and patronage, that this office is being so highly prized not for the sake of the good that might accrue to the people but for the sake of the benefit that the holder might be able to extract out of it for himself. The methods that are being employed to ensure election might have been envied by the worst exponent of Unionist opportunism. Public offices, or promises of offices we are told, are being bartered away for votes, all the fetishes of clan and kindred that we hoped Pakistan would rid us of, are being invoked, Unionist gauleiters and flunkies of the British are being appeased and befriended. On the one side, cases have been

reported to us of administrative decisions supposed to have been taken and reversed not in public interest but according to the sectarian proclivities of certain voters, on the other side, offices and other favours to officials who happen to possess parliamentary connections, are being lavishly promised. For the last few days one can hardly walk about the streets, for fear of being knocked down by some party-car or other, in reckless pursuit of a vote with the frenzied concentration of a bloodhound tracking a murderer. In recent weeks the Muslims of the Punjab, particularly the citizens of Lahore, have faced many difficult trials and many moments of extreme anxiety. One wonders why the amount of industriousness and energy which is so much in evidence now, did not find the same expression in useful activity then? Whatever the good or evil attaching the methods of election, however, our worry is not for the present but for the future. If our future leaders hold out promises and enter into commitments with all sorts of scum today, if they aid, abet and befriend the hierarchy of scoundrels reared by the Unionist Party, if they ignore merit and encourage incompetence, all for the sake of ensuring office for themselves, what sort of a future have we in front of us? Shall we not again be plagued by family cliques who monopolise all offices and cohorts of fools manning all the jobs that demand wisdom and foresight? Will the hunger and the ignorance and the disease in our midst continue to take their toll of happiness and laughter and the future administration become as much of an insult to the intelligence and good sense of our people as all past administrations have been? Whoever the individual, and however high his name, if he seeks to direct the course of our destiny along these paths, he will not be there to direct it for long. As for the electors we hope that they will fully adhere to the democratic principles enunciated by the Quaid-i-Azam in his statement² regarding the present elections for leadership, a statement which was in striking contrast to the oligarchic Congress profession and practice in the conduct of party affairs.

¹Editorial, *The Pakistan Times*, 3 August 1947.

²Appendix VIII. 2.

Enclosure 2 to No. 132

F. 487/100

NEHRU ADDRESSES CONGRESS SEVA DAL GOCs¹

NEW DELHI, Thursday [31 July]—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the GOCs of the Congress Seva Dal this evening said: *We have*

*reached a stage when we have successfully fought the outer enemy but our inner enemy is still there to weaken us and the organization which we all wish to serve.*²

Pandit Nehru added: "In the past we met very perilous occasions but this, unfortunately, was a dark period for us. We notice there is neither discipline nor order in our life, leave aside communalism and violence which are witnessed all around us.

We, as individual Congressmen lack discipline. This, however, is no matter for disappointment. Many things that we do may be good but if they are not done at the proper time they do not do any good to anybody."

The Seva Dal, he said, "should develop such a sense of discipline in themselves as well as in others that they become capable of doing the proper things at the proper time."

Concluding Pandit Nehru said: "Our immediate task lies in strengthening the national Government. When an old order changes and a new order takes its place it is but natural that it gives rise to many new problems and even many old problems take more time to solve than desired. Yet there is an all round cry for quick solution.

Unless there is a strong Government these solutions are more difficult to find. Since ours is a people's Government we must make it strong first so that we march forward with utmost speed."—API.

¹General Officers Commanding.

²Underlined in the original.

Enclosure 3 to No. 132

F. 487/101

DANGER OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN INDIA, SAYS GANDHI

NEW DELHI, Tuesday [29 July]—Addressing his post-prayer meeting today Mr. Gandhi said that Lord Mountbatten was asked to stay on as the Governor-General of India so that he might see to the proper delivery of his charge. He was trying his best to wash off the sins of the past.

The British Government's imminent withdrawal, Mr. Gandhi added, *had set free the bottled violence which was finding fervent [sic] against their own kith and kin.*¹

Every province almost wanted military assistance. If they did not wake up betimes, there was even danger of military dictatorship being established.

Mr. Gandhi said when he goes to Noakhali he would visit Sylhet if required.

A friend has asked if the division of the Army and the retention of British officers had Mr. Gandhi's approval. The friend should first ask whether Mr. Gandhi approved of the Army at all. *As it was, the military expenditure in free India would probably be more, no less than before.*

Mr. Gandhi, could never be a party to it. He viewed the military with apprehension. Could it be that India would also have to pass through the stage of military rule? *For years they had said that they did not want any army.* He stood by that statement even today, but the others did not.

A new generation had set in. Congressmen were not bound by what they had done during India's bondage. No blame could be imputed to them for the change. He had mistaken passive resistance for non-violence. There was violence in people's hearts.

¹Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

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W. P. Spens to M. A. Jinnah

F. 2/259

FEDERAL COURT,
NEW DELHI,
4 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I duly received your letter of the 30th of July¹ informing me that Mr. Justice Mohammad Ismail has been nominated your representative on the Arbitral Tribunal. I look forward to his assistance as a colleague.

Yours sincerely,
W. P. SPENS

¹No. 44.

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H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 458/83-8

40 THEATRE ROAD, CALCUTTA,
4 August 1947

Janab Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I am writing this to you in an agony of apprehension.

When Sir Cyril Radcliffe¹ first came to Calcutta and gave his opinion, he was certain that it was not intended to have three or four Bengals but only two; and isolated patches would not be left scattered under the allegiance of Bengal some distance away. We all understood from that that at least Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts, which are not contiguous to Hindu areas, would be bound to go to Pakistan. It is now strongly rumoured that Sir Cyril proposes to draw a line (along the River Ichamati) which will give a very substantial portion of Bengal to West Bengal and will give to them also the Muslim majority Districts of Nadia, Murshidbad and Malda, with a corridor through the Muslim majority District of Dinajpur in order to provide a corridor from West Bengal to Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. This is so outrageously unfair that it will become impossible for the Muslims to accept the award and I am sure that whatever we may do we shall not be able to avoid a civil strife of vast magnitude. We are prepared to carry out your orders and sacrifice ourselves in carrying them out, but I am sure that this is going to be so absolutely unfair and so much in favour of [the] Hindus that the Muslims, particularly of these areas, will absolutely refuse to obey. The majority Muslim areas in 24-Parganas, namely, Barasat and Basirhat will also go Hindus. The whole of Calcutta and the industrial area is also going to them. I think that Sir Cyril ought to realise that if Calcutta and the industrial area go to the Hindus there is no further necessity in enriching them with areas of Muslim Bengal. If he feels that it would be unfair not to give to the Hindus (mainly Hill tribes and tea garden labourers from other parts of India) Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling because it is cut off from Hindu areas, he has not realised the situation. If they are cut off from Hindu areas, then it is clear that according to Lord Mountbatten's Plan² they must remain with Muslims, and it is not given to the Boundary Commission to upset this by taking away Muslim lands on the basis of "other factors" because all the "other factors" are in favour of

Muslims and not in favour of the Hindus. It appears that the only thing the Muslims will gain over the "Notional" partition will be Khulna where they are already 49.5 per cent according to census. They are actually more but we cannot help the census. If the Indian Christians are eliminated, then the Muslims are in a majority. Also the Hindus are sandwiched between two Muslim subdivisions. Hence Khulna even from the point of view of contiguity would have come to East Bengal but the price that we are being called upon to pay is far too great. It is said that by drawing the line he is surrendering certain pockets of Hindus in Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur and Barisal, but these pockets are small and even here Muslims, though in a minority are almost equal to all the non-Muslims taken together, and pockets would have to go in any event. Any boundary to include them will be zig-zag and stupid. The Muslims have demanded the river Hooghly as the boundary until it meets the Ganges on the top. In this scheme we shall give up a certain portion of the District of Murshidabad and a certain portion of the District of Nadia but we would gain in return Calcutta and the industrial area on the right bank of the Hooghly. If, however, Sir Cyril is determined to give the whole of Calcutta and the industrial area, then a line can so be drawn (I have shown that in blue in the map which I am sending).³ The Hindus have claimed a terrific amount of land, everything south of the Ganges up to Madhumati. This is obviously fantastic. So Sir Cyril thinks that he should give some boundary in the middle and he chooses the Ichamati (see red chalk line). But this is not a question of trying to find the middle way. It is a question of trying to do justice, and he is not right whatsoever to give up Muslim majority areas where Muslims are in a considerable majority (unlike Khulna where non-Muslims have a majority of only .57) to the Hindus. He seems to think that we ought to give a large chunk to the Hindus so that there will be fewer Hindus in his East Bengal and more Muslims in his West Bengal. He is more anxious about the Hindus than there should be more Hindus in West Bengal. Why, I ask. The partition was none of our seeking. It is the Hindus who wanted the partition of Bengal and why should they be given more areas to which they are not entitled. There may be a reply that the partition of India was a seeking of the Muslims. What is the meaning of this? Does that mean, therefore, that the Muslims must suffer in this side of Bengal? Have they not suffered already from the fact that five crores of them are in Hindusthan [*sic* for Hindustan] whereas there are only two crores of Hindus in Pakistan. The question for Sir Cyril is not to appease the Hindus or to give them the tracts of land in proportion to their

population. It just happens that the Muslims are concentrated in East Bengal which is overpopulated and the Hindus in West Bengal. What again Sir Cyril does not appear to have realised is that the Muslim areas are overpopulated and these are the only Muslim areas where there could have been a certain amount of expansion. We cannot expand in Assam or Burma. We must have as much territory as possible. He also does not seem to have realised that West Bengal is contiguous to Hindustan, whereas East Bengal is so far away from other areas of Pakistan. He does not seem to have realised that East Bengal is very much poorer in economic resources. It is a *new*⁴ State which will have to be developed from the bottom and it will be entirely wrong to reduce its resources further. At the same time, East Bengal has far greater defence responsibilities. It is cut away from other areas of Pakistan and is surrounded by unfriendly neighbours. It must not be weakened by taking away its territories but on the other hand should be given a boundary like the Hooghly and the Bhagirathi. The scheme which he is propounding is so fantastic that it appears to me that he does not realise how poor East Bengal is in natural resources. Then he is taking away areas which are absolutely necessary in order to save East Bengal from starvation. Dinajpur is our granary, and its crop is absolutely essential to feed the deficit areas of East Bengal. Even then we shall have a deficit which will have to be made up by Western Pakistan. But everybody knows that we must have Dinajpur and Malda and the surplus areas of Murshidabad in order to feed East Bengal. If Sir Cyril adheres in [sic for to] his plan then I feel it intensely that East Bengal will be utterly ruined, starved out, destroyed and at the mercy of West Bengal and the enemies round about East Bengal. We shall have no resources whatsoever even to carry on our administration or our internal defence. All our money, whatever it is, will be spent in trying to feed the people and save them from starvation. Jute, which could save the people of Bengal, will become even less a monopoly than it is now if these areas are handed over to West Bengal and we shall have no resources to fall back upon. If there are "other factors" to be taken into consideration, the "other factors" are all in favour of East Bengal and not of West Bengal. What possible claim can West Bengal have *after it gets Calcutta and the industrial area which alone are far richer than the whole of East Bengal taken together and over and above that to give them further chunks of land from Muslim areas, is to say the least grossly unfair.* Another very strong ground is that in order to develop North Bengal we must have the Teesta Barrage and develop power by that river. The Teesta rises in the Darjeeling area and hence that is absolutely

necessary for our economy because it not only will supply power and irrigation to North Bengal but will also help in supplying water to the rivers of Central Bengal. The Teesta scheme is absolutely essential to bring back prosperity to Bengal and it is absolutely essential more for North and East Bengal than for West Bengal.

2. The Muslim area comes very near to Kanchrapara workshop and we had thought that if "other factors" were to be taken into consideration, namely that Pakistan has no railway workshop, Kanchrapara workshop should have been handed over to us. How on earth can we run a railway in East Bengal without its parent workshop? But the scheme propounded by Sir Cyril not only takes away the Kanchrapara workshop but practically the whole of Nadia along with it.

3. I do not think that we have a weak case for Calcutta. It is the railhead of the railway system of East Bengal. Howrah is the railhead of the railway system of West Bengal and Hindustan. To the north of Calcutta, in Ichapur and Cossipur we have ordnance factories and we must have ordnance factories. Then we have no port. Calcutta is the only port we can have. The port is entirely manned by Muslims. Then there is the Kanchrapara workshop and the dairy in Nadia. Calcutta is well divided. On the east of lower and upper circular roads, there are strong Muslim localities. The port area of Kidderpore is overwhelmingly Muslim. I leave out strong Muslim pockets in the centre of Calcutta, e.g. Colootola, Mechuabazar. A line could easily have been drawn giving to Pakistan the eastern side of lower and upper circular roads, and to Hindustan the west side. Even this would give Hindustan practically the whole of the industrial area but it is absolutely unimaginable that not only we shall lose the whole of Calcutta and the industrial area but along with it large chunks of Muslim land. I place these facts before you. I wish I could have gone up to Delhi to explain matters to you on the map, but I am sure that you will be able to follow it with ease as you have already studied the matter so closely.

I am ,
Yours respectfully,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

PS. There is one further point which militates against giving special consideration to the Hindus. The fact that they have been out of office for some time has made them extremely hostile and they feel that they have some scores to settle. The Muslims have no scores to settle and do not feel so hostile against the Hindus. Latterly there are signs of increasing aggressiveness on the part of

the Hindus as August the 15th approaches nearer. In some places their aggressiveness has exhibited itself in violence. It would be absolutely disastrous for the Muslims if the districts in which they are in a majority are handed over to the Hindus under these circumstances.

H. S. SUHRAWARDY

PS. Just as the case for Goalpara was being argued before the Boundary Commission, a telegram was received from Sir Cyril that Goalpara's case is not to be considered⁵... "contiguity means contiguity to Sylhet". The Viceroy has let us down again. Could not something be done to rectify this?

[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

¹Chairman, Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commissions.

²No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

³Not traced. See No. 216, Vol. III, 601-31.

⁴Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

⁵See Annex.

Annex to No. 134

Message from Cyril Radcliffe to George Abell¹

IOR, R/3/1/157

2 August 1947

There is a difference of opinion among the members of the Bengal Boundary Commission as to the scope of their duty in respect of Sylhet. The wording of their Terms of Reference is as follows:

"The Boundary Commission is instructed...contiguous Muslim majority areas of the adjoining districts of Assam".²

2. Two members of the Commission take the view that the adjoining Districts include all parts of Assam that join Bengal, even if they do not adjoin Sylhet and that the Commission is, therefore, intended to ascertain contiguous Muslim areas of such districts (Goalpara) and transfer them to East Bengal. Two other members take the view, on the other hand, that the only districts of Assam that the Commission should consider are those that in fact adjoin Sylhet and that it is only the contiguous Muslim majority areas of those districts that should go with the Muslim areas of Sylhet to East Bengal.

3. If I have to decide between these two views I should, with some hesitation, adopt the latter. I think that it accords better with the natural meaning of the words used in our Terms of Reference, and with paragraph 13 of the statement of the 3rd June, 1947.³ I think also

that it would be to some extent anomalous that a referendum in Sylhet⁴ in favour of amalgamation with East Bengal should occasion the transfer to East Bengal of parts of other districts that have had no hand in the Sylhet decision, and are not even its neighbours geographically.

4. The question is, however, an open one, and as the Commission only wish to carry out whatever duty was intended to be entrusted to it, I think I ought to ask whether any further instructions can be given to me on this point so as to put the matter beyond dispute. It does not seem to me that there would be anything to object to in the Terms of Reference being supplemented in this way, but I would be grateful if any instructions that are to be given should be given at the earliest possible date, as the Sylhet sittings of the Commission begin on Monday, 4th August, and I shall have to give them a decision one way or the other by Monday, the 4th August.

¹No. 318, TP, XII, 483-4.

²The terms of reference for Bengal as notified by the Governor-General stipulated that "the Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors. In the event of the referendum in the District of Sylhet resulting in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and the contiguous Muslim majority areas of the adjoining districts of Assam." See No. 45, TP, XI, 756. Also see Enclosure to Annex I to No. 312, Vol. II, 597.

³No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

⁴See No. 153A, Vol. III, note 2, 396.

Enclosure to Annex to No. 134

MESSAGE FOR P.S.V.

2 August 1947

Sir Cyril Radcliffe would be very grateful if P.S.V. or D.P.S.V. could give a reply to the point raised by 7.30 this evening and hopes that P.S.V. or D.P.S.V. can meet him at 4, Willingdon Crescent.

H. E. considered this matter in a Staff Meeting today. He authorised me to tell Sir Cyril Radcliffe that he agreed with his view about the meaning of the terms of reference but thought that he must leave it to Sir Cyril Radcliffe to decide the matter for himself since there would be many complications if H. E. gave a ruling.¹

G. E. B. ABELL

¹Radcliffe's decision was conveyed by P. S. V.'s telegram 3130-S of 3 August to Secretary to Governor of Bengal, which reads as follows: "Please pass following from Sir Cyril Radcliffe to members of Bengal Sylhet Boundary Commission. *Begins.* Reference our conversation of August 1st. I think that Commission must proceed on the basis that adjoining districts are adjoining districts of Assam that adjoin Sylhet, not any districts of Assam that adjoin Bengal. *Ends.*"

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H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 458/81-2

CALCUTTA,

4 August 1947

We consider joint military control in Calcutta and Howrah absolutely essential. All Muslim officers policemen and armed police being replaced in these areas. Punjabi Muslim armed policemen who opted for West Bengal are not being accepted. Muslim officers being displaced from important administrative posts by order of Governor because they have opted for Pakistan. With this displacement Hindus have started attacking Muslims with guns and bombs. Sikh military here not firing on Hindu rioters. Muslims being arrested by Hindu police although Hindus are firing on Muslims and throwing bombs on them. Hindus utilising Sikh military to search Muslim houses and search and disgrace Muslim women. Muslims are in a state of great panic. Joint military control with Muslim military and Muslim Brigadier absolutely essential as entire police administration Hinduised.

[H. S.] SUHRAWARDY

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M. Muhammad Zakria to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/130

146-49 EBRAHIM SAHIB STREET,
BANGALORE CITY,

4 August 1947

Reverend Quaid-i-Azam,

I most humbly beg to recall to your memory our meeting in Bangalore through Mr. Syed Abdur Rahman, MLC (Mysore), in the year 1942 in Kumbara Park. In this meeting I had the much longed for opportunity of discussing with you the economics of Pakistan, of [sic for and] a pamphlet which I presented to you in the form which you ordered me to keep a closely guarded secret, which I have done ever since.

I now take the opportunity of most respectfully congratulating you, beloved Quaid-i-Azam, on obtaining the cherished goal of Pakistan and on your being unanimously chosen as the Governor-General of Pakistan, the united voice of the *millat*. May God grant you a long and prosperous life to steer the ship of Pakistan through the turbulent waters of world politics.

I have contributed my mite towards the Pakistan Fund through Habib Bank, Karachi, which may graciously be accepted.

Yours faithfully,
M. M[UHAMMA]D ZAKRIA

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Ziaudin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 169/31

123 BAIRD ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
4 August 1947

Respected Quaid -i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In continuation of our telephone [sic] talk of yesterday, I beg to submit that after enquiry in the market I find that the usual offer for 1940 Chevrolet De Luxe Model ranges between Rs. 7,000 to 8,000. Your car, being in exceptionally good condition, is sure to fetch a greater price. I intend to keep the car for my personal use. I beg to offer Rs. 9,000 for the same. If my humble proposal is not acceptable to you, I would be glad to keep the car and dispose it in the market whenever the opportunity arises, for the amount you may fix.

I may further be allowed to state that the control price of 1947 Chevrolet De Luxe Model is Rs. 9,000 but the cars are usually being black marketed between Rs. 11,000 to Rs. 12,000.

I would request you to kindly send me the plans of your Malir Estate and the requirements of the prefabricated aluminium house you desire to get erected there, so that I may get the blueprints and the estimate, etc., prepared at an early date. I will be seeking further instructions regarding fitting, finish, air conditioning, etc., when I have the honour to see you at Karachi. As already submitted, I will be leaving for Karachi on the 7th instant. My address there will be c/o N. D. Malik, Supdt., Communications Dept., Pakistan Govt., Karachi. I would be glad to come and pay my

respects whenever summoned by you. It would be more convenient if you were to give the necessary instructions on the spot at Malir.

With best wishes. *Pakistan Zindabad.*

Yours respectfully,
ZIAUDIN

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Notes by Osman Ali & M. W. Abbasi

F. 921/185

4 August 1947

1. I have spoken to Col. Birnie¹ on the phone today and he has asked me to inform you that the electricity in the Govt. House, Karachi, is A. C. current.

2. Sir Evan Jenkins, present Governor of the Punjab, is flying to the U. K. and will be passing through Karachi on the 16th. Sir Francis Mudie² has suggested that perhaps Mr. Jinnah may like to invite him to stay as his guest for that night at Karachi. Col. Birnie says that if Mr. Abbasi³ consults Mr. Jinnah and he agrees, there will be sufficient accommodation in Government House on that day. Mr. Jinnah's instructions may be obtained and communicated to Col. Birnie on the phone.

OSMAN ALI
I.C.S.

This message for you was dictated to me by Mr. Osman Ali.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

Mr. Abbasi

Please see the above messages.

No. 1 [para] has been communicated to Miss Jinnah.

About No. 2 [para] please ring up Col. Birnie and say that Mr. Jinnah does not think he can put him up.

M. W. ABBASI

Mr. Khurshid⁴

¹Military Secretary to Governor-General of Pakistan.

²Governor of Sind.

³Private Secretary to Governor-General of Pakistan.

⁴Private Secretary to Jinnah.

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*Abdul Ghani to M. A. Jinnah**Telegram, F. 560/55*

35 COMPANY, RIE,
JOHORE BAHRU, MALAYA,
5 August 1947

His Excellency the Governor-[General] designate,
Pakistan, New Delhi

Nk. Sodan Khan of No. 1 Engr. Group, RIE, is at present under sentence [of] death in Outram R[oa]d Jail, Singapore, for murder. His appeal has been dismissed. It is requested that representation be made to the Governor-General of Singapore to have this sentence commuted to life imprisonment, to be in line with the general amnesty proclaimed in India for Aug[us]t 15th.

ABDUL GHANI

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*George Abell to M. A. Jinnah**F. 10/102*

No. 1141/10

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
5 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

H.E. asks me to send you for your information a copy of the report¹ of the Chief Justice and the two other Judges of the Federal Court on the cases of 8 I. N. A. convicts.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. ABELL

¹Enclosures 1&2.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 140**F. 10/103*

SUMMARY

<i>Case No.</i>	<i>Name of accused</i>	<i>Sentence of Confirming Authority</i>	<i>Recommendation of Federal Court Judges</i>
Case No. 1	Captain Burhan-ud-Din	7 years' rigorous imprisonment	Sentence should be substantially reduced.
Case No. 2	Captain Abdul Rashid	7 years' rigorous imprisonment	Conviction not justified; should be released forthwith.
Case No. 3	Subedar Shungara Singh and Jemadar Fateh Khan	7 years' rigorous imprisonment	Sentence not unreasonable.
Case No. 4	Jemadar Puran Singh Khawas	7 years' rigorous imprisonment	Sentence should be substantially reduced.
Case No. 5	Havildar Clerk Jaswant Singh	3 years' rigorous imprisonment	Sentence already undergone [is] sufficient; rest should be remitted.
Case No. 6	Sepoy Resham Singh	2 years' rigorous imprisonment	Evidence on record not sufficient to uphold the conviction of the accused.
Case No. 7	Havildar Mela Singh	6 years' rigorous imprisonment	Case not covered by the terms of H.E.'s letter; no recommendation.
Case No. 8	Sepoy Gurdial Singh and L/Nk Kartar Singh; Sepoy Sajjan Singh	6 Years' rigorous imprisonment	Cases not covered by terms of H.E.'s letter; no recommendation.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 140**F. 10/104-31 & 172*

REPORT OF THE JUDGES OF THE FEDERAL COURT RE[GARDING]
 THE CONVICTIONS AND SENTENCES OF THE I.N.A.¹ PERSONNEL
 STILL IN DETENTION

SECRET

By his letter dated the 12th April, 1947,² addressed to the Chief

Justice of India, His Excellency the Viceroy asked that the available Judges of the Federal Court should peruse the proceedings of the Courts Martial, without holding any formal hearing in Court, and after such perusal, report to His Excellency their conclusions in respect of those cases on the following two points:

- i. Whether in their opinion the findings are justified by the evidence; and
- ii. Whether the sentences are reasonable and free from any trace of discrimination.

In pursuance of that communication the Adjutant-General forwarded to us the proceedings in the following cases:

1. Capt. Burhan-ud-Din, 2/10 Baluch Regiment
2. Capt. Abdul Rashid, 1/14 Punjab Regiment
3. Subedar Shingara Singh and Jemadar Fateh Khan, both of 5/14 Punjab Regiment
4. Jemadar Puran Singh Khawas, 2/1 Gurkha Rifles
5. Hav. Clerk Jaswant Singh, 5/2 Punjab Regiment
6. Sepoy Resham Singh, 2/12 F. F. Regiment
7. Hav. Mela Singh, 1/15 Punjab Regiment
8. i. L/Nk. Kartar Singh, 1/11 Sikh Regiment [and] Sepoy Sajjan Singh, 1/11 Sikh Regiment
- ii. Sepoy Gurdial Singh, 1/11 Sikh Regiment

We find that in some of these cases a charge of waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor of India punishable under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code was included. In such cases the Courts Martial found the respective accused guilty on [*sic*] the charge under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code as well as on [*sic*] other charges. Under the provisions of the Indian Army Act one sentence only is passed in respect of all charges for which the accused is convicted, and this rule was followed in all the proceedings examined by us. The order of the confirming authority, while commuting the sentences in certain cases, also does not show in respect of what charge or charges the sentence was reduced.

We understand that in certain Court Martial proceedings not before us the charge of waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor of India, under Section 121 Indian Penal Code, was framed on the ground that the parties concerned had joined the I.N.A. forces and actually fought against the Allied troops, and that in those cases, though this charge was fully established, no sentence of imprisonment was given by the confirming authority.

The accused who have been convicted under section 121 I[ndian]

P[enal] C[ode] in the proceedings referred to us are not alleged to have actually fought against the Crown Forces but they were held guilty of the offence of waging war against the King on the ground that they had joined the I.N.A. and had been engaged in recruiting and training the personnel of the I.N.A. and were in charge of concentration and detention camps. As against one of the accused involved in these proceedings, namely, Burhan-ud-Din, the allegation is that he was in command of a portion of the I.N.A. known as the Bahadur Group, which in April moved to Batu Pahat for intensive training in small arms, infiltration, sabotage and propaganda designed to win over troops of the Indian Army to the I.N.A. and in September 1943 he moved with the Group to Rangoon for the final period of training preparatory to portions of it moving up to the front lines. It was contended on behalf of some of the accused persons before the Courts Martial that these activities did not constitute the offence of waging war against the King. Assuming, however, that they did, it seems to us that the persons who were engaged in these activities should not be treated on a worse footing than those who were in the firing line and took an active part in actual fighting against the troops of the Government of India and His Majesty the King Emperor. We have therefore assumed that in the cases referred to us the sentences approved by the confirming authority should be deemed to be in respect of charges, other than the charge of waging war, proved against the accused and which charges were founded on individual acts of alleged murder, cruelty or brutality. We have accordingly directed our attention to considering whether there is sufficient evidence to prove the individual charges, other than the charge of waging war, and whether the sentence is reasonable in relation to the charges considered proved.

We find that no specific charge of having run any concentration camp with systematic brutality has been framed in any case although much evidence to this effect has in fact been allowed to be produced. This evidence cannot be considered to support any such charge, or any punishment for such a charge, as the accused were not called upon to defend themselves against such a charge.

In perusing the proceedings we found that questions of jurisdiction of the Courts Martial were raised in certain cases. Questions of the proceedings being time-barred were also agitated and discussed. The points referred to us do not cover a consideration of these questions and therefore we have refrained from considering these points in the course of our work and deliberations.

We have also been asked to consider whether the sentences are free

from discrimination. We have found no trace in the sentences of any discrimination at all.

With these preliminary observations we submit our report in respect of the individual cases.

¹Stands for Indian National Army.

²Not traced.

CASE NO. 1

CAPTAIN BURHAN-UD-DIN

The accused was charged with two offences:

1. Waging war against the King (Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code); and
2. Murder under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code by causing the death of Joga Singh.

The Court Martial found him guilty of charge 1, with the exception of an offence alleged to have been committed at one locality. On the 2nd charge he was found not guilty of murder, but guilty of voluntarily causing grievous hurt punishable under Section 325 of the Indian Penal Code. On these findings he was sentenced on the 14th February 1946 to be cashiered, to suffer transportation for life and forfeiture of pay, allowances and public money due to him. The Commander-in-Chief, while confirming the findings, commuted the sentence of transportation for life to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

It should be noticed that for the offence of waging war against His Majesty, Section 121 IPC prescribes the minimum sentence of transportation for life. Proceeding on the footing that no sentence of imprisonment was given with reference to the first charge, the sentence of seven years' rigorous imprisonment, under the circumstances, must be considered as having been passed on the second charge.

The facts on charge 2 are somewhat in dispute. The prosecution case was that the accused ordered, and was present at, the infliction of a punishment of flogging on one Joga Singh, a soldier, which punishment was so severe that the victim died on the spot, and that the punishment inflicted was so severe as to result in the death of any normal person who had to undergo it. The details brought out in the witnesses' statements vary somewhat but the general picture is as follows: A rope some nine to twelve feet high was tied between two trees about 20 ft. apart. To this rope the hands of Joga Singh were tied.

This was done while Joga Singh was standing on a table. The table was then removed leaving Joga Singh suspended by his hands from the rope with his feet off the ground. In that position (until the rope sagged for various reasons so that his feet touched but did not rest firmly on the ground) he received ten strokes each from a number of men, given according to different witnesses, as from 120 to 200. At the conclusion of the punishment when he was taken down he was examined by a qualified medical practitioner who is a witness—Captain Misra—who pronounced life extinct.

The defence case is that Joga Singh was an ill-liver, a disgrace to the Unit as well as a deserter and suffered from venereal disease. He received a mild flogging on the buttocks in which not more than 30 blows were inflicted on him one by each of 30 comrades. He did not die as a result of the beating which was a token beating to put him to shame and not a flogging to injure him.

The original sentence as mentioned above was of transportation for life, and it is obvious that in awarding this sentence the Court Martial had in mind the minimum sentence that can be awarded if an offence under Section 121 (waging war against the Queen [*sic*]), on the first charge, is made out. But with reference to the second charge, that of murder, it is not clear whether the finding of guilty of causing grievous hurt was based on an acceptance of the defence case *in toto* or on a belief that the truth of the matter lay somewhere between the story of the prosecution and that of the defence. It could not have been based on an acceptance of the prosecution case *in toto*, for a conviction for murder or at least culpable homicide not amounting to murder would have followed on such an acceptance. It seems unlikely that the Court Martial based its finding on a belief in the defence case *in toto* on this second charge for in that event a conviction for simple hurt would have been the proper conclusion.

It is to be noted that the sentence of seven years' rigorous imprisonment is the maximum sentence that can be awarded for an offence of causing grievous hurt under Section 325 IPC and the question therefore arises whether this was a case in which maximum sentence should have been awarded. In submitting their finding to the confirming authority the Court Martial strongly recommended the accused to mercy on certain grounds. The ground which was urged in relation to the charge under Section 325 IPC was that that particular offence "was committed by the accused in the discharge of what according to his own lights he regarded as his duty as an officer of the I.N.A."

The accused who is a brother of the Mehtar of Chitral had a record

of good military service. The evidence shows that while the accused believed in strict discipline, he showed great interest in the welfare of his men and his treatment of his soldiers was uniformly kind and considerate. The evidence also shows that when cases of desertion from the I.N.A. personnel were noticed, the accused was particularly told to see that this did not happen as it would undermine the morale of the forces. Joga Singh was one of the deserters and this was his second desertion. He was punished along with four other deserters at a special parade ordered by the accused for the purpose. Whilst there can be no doubt that Joga Singh was very severely beaten by the order, and in the presence of the accused there is considerable conflict of evidence about the punishment actually prescribed by the accused for Joga Singh and what was inflicted on him. Taking the view that the case on either side has been exaggerated, it is still clear that Joga Singh was given a considerable number of stripes on the buttocks at this parade, with serious result and consequences. Having considered the evidence in detail and gone through all the proceedings on record, we agree with the Court Martial that the order given by the accused was out of a strong sense of duty, as he conceived it to be. It was to prevent desertion as enjoined by his leader. The sentence of seven years' rigorous imprisonment passed by the confirming authority is, as we have already pointed out, the maximum sentence prescribed under the Indian Penal Code for the offence of voluntarily causing grievous hurt. Such a sentence is applicable when there are no mitigating circumstances. This is not, in our view, the case here. Nor is the sentence in accordance with the strong recommendation made by the Court Martial which tried the accused, and which almost certainly would have refrained from imposing on the accused the maximum sentence prescribed under the Section.

In our opinion there is sufficient evidence to uphold the conviction of voluntarily causing grievous hurt but, having regard to all the circumstances, the sentence should be very substantially reduced. We recommend accordingly.

On a perusal of the record we find that the case was ably conducted and the Judge Advocate summed up the case very clearly.

CASE NO. 2

CAPTAIN ABDUL RASHID

The accused stood his trial on seven charges before the Court Martial. The charges and findings were as follows:

CHARGES	FINDINGS
1. IAA S. 31 (1). Committed an offence of a cruel kind in that he at the Naval Base, Singapore, in or about August 1942, cruelly induced a Japanese Sgt. by name Kokuda, to beat with a stick Sep. Jamsher Khan of 1/14 Punjab Regiment.	Not Guilty
2. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, waging war against the King, contrary to Indian Penal Code S. 121, in that he at Bidadari, in Malaya, between about 1.9.42 and 30.4.43 waged war against His Majesty the King Emperor of India.	Guilty
3. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, abetment, contrary to S. 109 of the Indian Penal Code, of an offence punishable under S. 325 I.P.C. in that he at Bidadari, in Malaya, in or about September 1942 did abet a Dogra Naik (name unknown) who voluntarily caused grievous hurt to Lt. Abdul Qadir Shah of 1 Bahawalpur Infantry which offence was committed in consequence of such abetment.	Guilty except that the abetting person was different.
4. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, abetment, contrary to S. 109 I.P.C. of an offence punishable under S. 323 I.P.C. in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 14.9.42 did abet L/NK. Fateh Ali, Sepoy Sher Bahadur and Sepoy Reshamsingh who voluntarily caused hurt to Jem. Mohammad Nawaz of 5/2 Punjab Regiment which offence was committed in consequence of such abetment.	Guilty
5. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that he at Bidadari, in Malaya in or about September 1942, in company with two other men names unknown, cruelly beat with sticks Hav. Ram Rikh of 4/19 Hyderabad Regiment.	Guilty
6. IAA S. 31 (1). Ill-treating a person subject to the Indian Army Act being his subordinate in rank, in that he at Serangoon Road, Singapore, in Malaya, in or about March 1943, ill-treated Sep. Sharifullah	Not Guilty

of 1/14 Punjab Regiment by beating the said Sepoy with a stick, pushing him to the ground, and then jumping on him.

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| 7. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that he at Bidadari in Malaya, in or about April 1943 cruelly caused Hav. Clerk Taj Mohammad Khan, RIASC, to be tied above ground level to the trunk of a tree and left there until he lost consciousness. | Guilty |
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The Court Martial sentenced the accused to be cashiered, to suffer transportation for life and to forfeit all arrears of pay and allowances, etc.

The confirming authority confirmed the findings but commuted the sentence of transportation for life to rigorous imprisonment for seven years. The rest of the sentence was confirmed.

The 2nd charge was of waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor of India punishable under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code. In respect of this charge the general observations at the commencement of the report apply. Out of the remaining charges, as mentioned above, the accused was acquitted on charges 1 and 6. It is therefore unnecessary for us to discuss them any further.

The 3rd and 4th charges are of abetment respectively of the offences of voluntarily causing grievous hurt and voluntarily causing hurt to the parties mentioned in the charges. The two witnesses who gave evidence to prove those charges admitted that the accused was not present at any beating and there is no reliable evidence to show that the accused gave specific orders to beat the two persons named in the charges. On examining the Court Martial proceedings against Shingara Singh and Fateh Khan *we find that charge of abetment of the same offence*¹ against the same persons mentioned in charges 3 and 4 against the accused in this case were made against Shingara Singh and Fateh Khan. That Court Martial acquitted Shingara Singh and Fateh Khan of those charges. In our opinion, the evidence in this case is wholly insufficient to support the conviction of the accused on charges 3 and 4.

Charge 5: The prosecution case in so far as this charge is concerned is that Ram Rikh was a motor driver in the service of a British Officer and was arrested by two members of the I.N.A. Military Police in Singapore and taken to the Concentration Camp at Bidadari in or about September 1942. On his inability to give the name of the Unit to which he belonged, he was slapped and kicked by a Naik and a Sepoy

on the orders of the accused and accused also gave him two strokes with a stick. On the day subsequent to this incident the accused is said to have given the witness two slaps.

The charge rests on the uncorroborated statement of Ram Rikh whose evidence appears to us to be most unsatisfactory. He has given a somewhat unconvincing account of his movements prior to his alleged arrest by the two members of the I.N.A. Military Police. In cross-examination the defence endeavoured to prove that it was not possible for him at material times to live in Singapore without identification papers. The witness claimed that he had an identity card and a ration card but he was unable to produce them though his cross-examination was postponed for that purpose. According to the charge the incident for which the accused was convicted took place "in or about September 1942". But on a careful examination of the dates elicited in the cross-examination of the witness it would appear that it could not have taken place later than the end of July or beginning of August, when the accused is stated by some of the witnesses to have been in charge of an entirely different Camp known as the Naval Base Camp. At his cross-examination Ram Rikh has stated: "I had never seen Major Rashid before I saw him at the Concentration Camp described by me. I did not see him after that either." In view of this statement the Defence rightly urged that there should have been an identification parade before the witness was produced to give evidence before the Court. The witness stated that he had been shown in Agra in October 1945 several photographs from which he picked out the photograph of the accused who was at that time not there. No evidence however was produced to show when and in what circumstances and by whom these photographs were shown to the witness, nor was the photograph alleged to have been shown to the witness produced in the Court.

In our opinion the charge is not proved and the finding of the Court Martial is not justified by the evidence bearing on it.

Charge 7: The prosecution case in regard to this charge is that sometime in April 1943 the accused cruelly caused Taj Mohammad Khan to be tied above the ground level to the trunk of a tree and left until he lost consciousness in order to persuade him to confess to which Unit of the I.N.A. he belonged. As he did not belong to any Unit he said so, but this did not satisfy the accused. According to Taj Mohammad this treatment was repeated on the next day also.

This charge is undoubtedly the most serious charge against the accused. But here again the whole case of the prosecution rests on the

uncorroborated statement of Taj Mohammad who in our opinion is not a reliable witness. It seems that this witness typed out a statement and handed it to a Military Officer before the summary of his evidence was recorded. This statement is marked "R" and covers nearly two type-written pages. In this statement the witness after giving a fairly long account of the hardships to which he was subjected offered to give evidence against Captain Rashid and two other persons and also mentioned the names of four persons who could support his account. Strangely enough however there is no mention in this statement of the specific incident in regard to which the accused has been charged and convicted. The explanation which the witness offers for not including the specific incident in his statement is that he was asked to give only a brief statement but the statement is by no means a very brief one and it does not seem likely that the witness would have omitted the outstanding act of cruelty alleged to have been perpetrated upon him by the accused. It is also remarkable that not one of the four persons mentioned by Taj Mohammad in his statement as persons competent to prove his allegations against Captain Rashid and others was examined by the prosecution. The matter does not rest there. There is a very serious discrepancy in the statement of the witness as to the person who had actually tied him to the tree. In the summary of evidence he gave the name of one Damodar Singh as the actual culprit whereas in Court he gave the name of an entirely different person named Ghulam Rasool. His final statement is that his earlier statement was wrong and the statement made by him in the Court was correct.

In our opinion the evidence led against the accused on charges 3,4,5 and 7 is unsatisfactory and insufficient and we do not think that any of these charges has been established.

The case was very badly conducted and a lot of evidence not relevant to the charges which the Tribunal had to investigate, was admitted. This evidence appears to have weighed with the Tribunal in coming to its conclusion, although there was no general charge of running a concentration camp brutally. In considering the evidence on the different charges, this evidence should have been excluded and so considered we seriously doubt if the convictions could be sustained. In our opinion, therefore, the sentence of seven years' rigorous imprisonment given to the accused cannot be justified. The accused was in custody for several months before his trial before the Court Martial and has undergone the sentence of imprisonment up to now. As in our opinion the findings on the charges cannot be considered as based on sufficient evidence, we

recommend that the accused be released forthwith.

CASE NO. 3

SUBEDAR SHINGARA SINGH AND JEMADAR FATEH KHAN
BOTH OF 5/14 PUNJAB REGT.

These accused were put up for trial before the Court Martial on eight charges. The charges and findings of the Court Martial thereon were as follows:

CHARGES	FINDINGS
1. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, murder, contrary to IPC S. 302, in that they together at Kranji in Malaya on or about 24th August 1942 by causing the death of L/Nk Mohammad Alam of 22 Mtn. Regt. did commit murder.	Guilty
2. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, murder, contrary to IPC S. 302, in that they together at Kranji in Malaya on or about 24th August 1942 by causing the death of Driver Allah Ditta of 22 Mtn. Regt. did commit murder.	Guilty
3. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, murder, contrary to IPC S. 302, in that they together at Kranji in Malaya on or about 24 August 1942 by causing the death of Sep. Said Zaman, RIASC, otherwise known as Bamboo did commit murder.	Guilty
4. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, voluntarily causing grievous hurt to constrain to an illegal act, contrary to IPC S. 329, in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 24 August 1942, voluntarily caused grievous hurt to Hav. Maj. Nur Khan of 22 Mtn Regt. by suspending him from a bar and beating him with a stick, for the purpose of constraining the said Hav. Maj. to wage war against His Majesty the	Not Guilty, but are guilty of the lesser offence of causing hurt—S. 327 IPC. There is a small difference in the

King Emperor of India.	fact proved as compared with the fact charged. Hav. Maj. Nur Khan was tied to a bar and not suspended from a bar.
5. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, voluntarily causing grievous hurt to constrain to an illegal act, contrary to IPC S. 329, in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 24 August 1942 voluntarily caused grievous hurt to Nk. Mohammad Hanif of 22 Mtn. Regt. by beating him with a stick for the purpose of constraining the said Nk. to wage war against His Majesty the said King Emperor of India.	Not Guilty but guilty of an offence under section 327 Indian Penal Code.
6. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, waging war against the King contrary to IPC S. 121 in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya between about 1 Sept. [19] 42 and 30 April 1943 waged war against His Majesty the King Emperor of India.	Guilty
7. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, abetment contrary to S. 109 IPC of an offence punishable under S. 329 IPC in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya in or about Sept. 1942 did abet a Dogra Naik (name unknown) who voluntarily caused a grievous hurt to Lt. Abdul Qadir Shah of 1 Bahawalpur Infantry for the purpose of constraining the said Lt. to wage war against H. M. the King Emperor of India which offence was committed in consequence of such abetment (alternative to 6th charge).	Not Guilty
8. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that	Not Guilty

is to say, abetment contrary to S. 109 IPC of an offence punishable under S. 327 IPC in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 14 September 1942 did abet L/Nk Fateh Ali, Sepoy Sher Bahadur and Sepoy Resham Singh who voluntarily caused hurt to Jem. Mohammad Nawaz of 5/2 Punjab Regt. for the purpose of constraining the said Jemadar to wage war against H. M. the King Emperor of India, which offence was committed in consequence of such abetment (alternative to 6th charge).

Charges 1 to 3 relate to a very serious incident which took place at the Kranji Camp in Malaya when the accused went to remove eleven NCOs to the Concentration Camp at Bidadari. Charges 4 and 5 are in respect of the beating of two of those persons under the orders, and in the presence of the accused at the Bidadari Camp. The 6th charge is the general charge of waging war against the King on which, for reasons already indicated, we shall express no opinion.

Charges 1 to 3: A large number of witnesses were examined by the prosecution to prove the incident at the Kranji Camp which is the basis of these charges and though their statements vary in regard to many details, the general picture which emerges from the evidence taken as a whole is somewhat as follows:

After the surrender of Singapore the Muslim members of the 22nd Mountain Regiment of the Indian Artillery were sent to the Kranji Camp with the exception of 70 men who were left behind in the Camp known as Seletar Camp. Some of these 70, it is alleged, were sent in August 1942 to what was known among the men as the Concentration [Camp] of Bidadari [words missing in the original] accused were in charge, and the men had gained the impression that considerable hardship and ill-treatment including beating had been inflicted upon some of these 70. After the Mountain Regiment had been in Kranji Camp for a short time it is alleged that Fateh Khan, one of the accused came to the Camp on the 23rd August 1942 with a letter which ordered that 12 men of the Mountain Battery were to report to I.N.A. Headquarters at once. I.N.A. Headquarters was at that time at Bidadari and everyone concerned assumed that this was an order for these 12 men to be sent to the Concentration Camp. Some kind of discussion took place among the rest of the Unit and they decided that they would not allow these 12 men to be taken to the Concentration Camp unless the whole Unit went as well. The real purpose of these twelve men being taken was, it is alleged, to force them to join the I.N.A., if

necessary by a systematic course of brutal and degrading treatment. It was hoped that if these 12 joined the I.N.A., the other members of the Unit would soon follow their example. The order was communicated by Fateh Khan accused to Lieutenant Rashid who again communicated it to Lieutenant Parshotam Das who in turn gave it to Hav. Maj. Nur Khan, one of the twelve. Hav. Major Nur Khan took some action to carry out the orders received and one man was in fact taken from the hospital. But the men of the Unit protested and Hav. Major Nur Khan informed Lieutenant Rashid of the men's decision. Upon this Jemadar Fateh Khan accused stated that he would come next day and remove the remaining eleven forcibly.

On the next day—24th August—some time after midday accused Sub. Shingara Singh and Jemadar Fateh Khan arrived armed each with pistols and with an armed guard placed variously at between 12 and 15 Sikhs armed with rifles. Lieutenant Chaudhri (who was not called in evidence) ordered Havildar Major Nur Khan to assemble the other 11 men ordered on the previous day to go to the Concentration Camp which he proceeded to do. The account of the witnesses as to what followed is somewhat confused, but almost all of them testify to the following incidents though not in the same order of sequence: One or other of the accused blew a whistle; a pistol was fired; members of the Unit came out of their barracks shouting *Allaho Akbar* and *Nara-i-Takbir* (Muslim battle-cries) and the guards opened fire; both the accused were chased for some distance and had to withdraw together with the guards; as a result of the firing by the accused and their party, three men of the Kranji Camp, namely L/Naik Mohammad Alam, Driver Allah Ditta and Sepoy Said Zaman alias Bamboo (vide first three charges) and 14 persons were wounded; also a Sikh sentry who had accompanied the accused to the Camp was attacked by one of the men of the Regiment and apparently killed by a blow from his spade.

The evidence relating to this set of incidents is somewhat conflicting, but broadly speaking, the prosecution case is that it was only after firing began that the members of the Unit attacked the guard as a measure of protection and in particular that L/Nk Shah Wali who admits the attack upon the Sikh with the shovel only attacked him after the Sikh had fired upon him with a rifle from a distance of 5 or 6 yards and hit him in the thigh.

The defence case which is based mainly upon the statement of the accused Shingara Singh and Fateh Khan and the admissions elicited from the prosecution witnesses in cross-examination is briefly as follows:

On the 23rd August accused Fateh Khan went to Kranji Camp with

a letter from Supreme H.Q. of the Prisoners of War addressed to the Camp Commander. This contained an order that 1 VCO and 11 NCOs from 22 Mountain Regiment were to be brought to H.Q. Lieutenants Parshotam Das and Rashid, Commander of the Mountain Regiment and Commander of the Kranji Camp, respectively, ordered these 12 persons to go with the accused. They refused.

On the 24th August Shingara Singh received orders from the Administrative Branch ordering him to go to Kranji Camp with Fateh Khan and a guard to collect the recalcitrants. He took 10 sentries only, four of whom were armed with rifles. When he reached the Lines one Lieutenant Chaudhri called Havildar Major Nur Khan and ordered him to collect the 11 men on which the Havildar Major went inside and shouted *Tayyar ho jayo* [get ready]. Immediately there was a sound of whistling and Muslim war cries were raised upon which members of the regiment ran out of the barracks armed with sticks, shovels and spades. Simultaneously there was a pistol shot. Upon this Shingara Singh fled pursued by Nk. Mohammad Hanif and many others armed with sticks, shovels, stones and spades. Shingara Singh himself was hit several times by stones. While running he heard guards shouting *mar dia* which may be translated, we think, in the context as "they have killed him". Immediately after he heard rifle fire. When he reached the main gate, his pursuers gave up the chase and he turned back and shouted "stop firing". One of the guards, however, continued firing from the lorry. The accused rushed towards him and shouted again to him to stop firing.

Charges 4 and 5: The basis of these charges is that the accused after the incident at Kranji subjected two of the persons, namely, Nur Khan and Mohammad Hanif, who were involved in this incident to severe beating after bringing them to the Concentration Camp at Bidadari.

The prosecution case with regard to the 4th charge is briefly as follows:

After the Kranji firing incident, Havildar Major Nur Khan and Nk. Mohammad Hanif together with the other nine men for whom the accused had called, and Lieutenant Rashid, Lieutenant Chaudhri and Lieutenant Parshotam Das were taken that same evening to the Concentration Camp. On arrival they were searched and 11 of them were put in a cage, while Lieutenant Parshotam Das was placed in a separate cage nearby. At about 2200 hours that night Havildar Major Nur Khan heard Jemadar Fateh Khan shout out to his staff to get ready for "the Nimbu parade", which expression signified that the victims were to be beaten by a sweeper called Nimbu who was

notorious for the cruel beating he used to administer to those brought into the Concentration Camp. Shortly afterwards, certain persons armed with hockey sticks approached the cage and asked Nur Khan to come outside. He did so, and went first to Shingara Singh. Shingara Singh then put certain questions to Nur Khan, and when he could not reply, Shingara Singh ordered one of the men to handcuff Nur Khan. Then three of the men started beating him, and after receiving four strokes from each man, the Havildar Major still remained standing. He was thus beaten with sticks 4' long and 2" to 4" thick, and also with hockey sticks. Soon after, he fell down. When he fell down, two men caught hold of his handcuffed wrists and stretched them out above his head. Two others caught hold of his legs and stretched them out behind, while one of them stood on his neck. The two persons started beating him. After that Shingara Singh ordered them to stop and he was given salt water to drink. The same questions were then again put to him. Whenever any of the Sepoys did not beat him hard enough, the accused used to take the stick from him and demonstrate how the beating should be done. Whenever Nur Khan lost consciousness for a short time, he was given hot salt water to drink, and then used to regain his senses. Finally, he was taken to a horizontal pole, which was attached to two vertical poles. His hands were bent in front of him and tied to this pole with wire, and the upper portion of his body was tied over this pole. His legs were stretched out behind him and tied to two pegs with wire. Then in the presence of both accused two sepoy's started beating him. He lost consciousness, and cannot say how long he was beaten. When he came to, he had been taken down and was lying on the ground. After this beating he was constantly asked the same questions by one or other of the accused. After a while he saw Nk. Mohammad Hanif on the ground. He was also being beaten; he appeared to be unconscious. Then Nur Khan was taken to the hospital tent, where he was made to lie on a stretcher but was not given any treatment or food, and was unable to drink water. He remained there throughout the night. On the following morning he found some other persons there with him, including Mohammad Hanif. He remained in the hospital throughout the following day, and started passing blood through his bowels.

The prosecution case with regard to the 5th charge which relates to the beating of Mohammad Hanif is to the following effect:

Nk. Mohammad Hanif was sitting in the cage while Havildar Major Nur Khan was being beaten. After Nur Khan, Havildar Mohabbat Khan was given a similar beating, and then Shingara Singh called

Mohammad Hanif out of the cage, and Nimbu tied his hands. Shingara Singh then told him that he was the ring-leader in the Unit among those doing propaganda against the I.N.A. and was responsible for all the mischief that had occurred and had attacked both the accused with an axe. He also told him that he attacked the Sikh Guard. When Mohammad Hanif denied these allegations, Shingara Singh and his party started beating him. After some time he was given hot salt water, and the allegations were repeated to him and when he again replied similarly, his beating was continued and he became unconscious. The following morning he found himself in the hospital tent where he stayed for about three days. After this Fateh Khan came and called him for fatigues. He stayed in the Concentration Camp for about 13 days, and then returned to Kranji Camp, where he was able to walk only with difficulty, and this condition continued for about two or three months.

So far as the 4th and 5th charges are concerned, the defence attacked the credibility of those witnesses who testify to the beating of Nur Khan and Mohammad Hanif and relied on various discrepancies in the evidence of prosecution witnesses as to the duration and other particulars of these beatings.

Having gone through the whole evidence we think that the convictions of the accused on charges 1 to 5 are based on sufficient evidence. In our opinion on the first three charges the accused are guilty, at the very least, of the offence of culpable homicide not amounting to murder, and having regard to the loss of lives at the Kranji Camp and the extremely cruel treatment to which the persons mentioned in charges 4 and 5 were subjected, we think that the sentence which has been awarded to them by the confirming authority is not unreasonable.

CASE NO. 4

JEMADAR PURAN SINGH

The accused stood his trial on seven charges before the Court Martial. The charges and findings of the Court Martial thereon were as follows:

CHARGES	FINDINGS
1. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, attempt to murder, contrary to S. 307 of the IPC in that he at Bidadari, in Malaya, on 24th September 1942 did an act, to wit, caused hurt to	Guilty

No. 7545 Rfn. Kambe Karki, 2/9 Gurkha Rifles, by wounding him with four bullets with such intention and under such circumstances that if by the said act he had caused the death of the said Rfn. Kambe Karki, he would have been guilty of murder.

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| 2. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, attempt to murder, contrary to S. 307 of the IPC in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on 24th September 1942 did an act, to wit, caused hurt to No. 8511 Rfn. Pahal Bahadur, 2/9 Gurkha Rifles, by wounding him with a bullet, with such intention and under such circumstances that if by the said act he had caused the death of the said Rfn. Pahal Bahadur, he would have been guilty of murder. | Guilty |
| 3. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, attempt to murder, contrary to S. 307 of the IPC in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on 24th September 1942 did an act, to wit, caused hurt to No. 95947 Rfn. Kul Bahadur, 2/9 Gurkha Rifles, by wounding him with a bullet, with such intention and under such circumstances that if by the said act he had caused the death of the said Rfn. Kul Bahadur, he would have been guilty of murder. | Guilty |
| 4. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, attempt to murder, contrary to S. 307 of the IPC in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on 24th September 1942 did an act, to wit, caused hurt to No. 8459 Rfn. (L/Nk) Padam Singh, 2/9 Gurkha Rifles, by wounding him with a bullet, with such intention and under such circumstances that if by the said act he had caused the death of the said Rfn. (L/Nk) Padam Singh, he would have been guilty of murder. | Guilty |
| 5. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, attempt to murder contrary to S. 307 of the IPC in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on 24th September 1942 did an act, to wit, caused hurt to | Guilty |

No. 955613 Rfn. Ran Bahadur, 2/9 Gurkha Rifles, by wounding him with two bullets, with such intention and under such circumstances that if by the said act he had caused the death of the said Rfn. Ran Bahadur, he would have been guilty of murder.

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| 6. IAA S. 41. Committing a civil offence, that is to say, attempt to murder contrary to S. 307 of the IPC in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on 24th September 1942 did an act, to wit, caused hurt to No. 7662 Hav. Wolit Bahadur, 2/9 Gurkha Rifles, by wounding him with a bullet, with such intention and under such circumstances that if by the said act he had caused the death of the said Hav. Wolit Bahadur, he would have been guilty of murder. | Guilty |
| 7. IAA S. 31(1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that he at Bidadari in Malaya, on 24th September 1942 cruelly beat with a stick No. 8305 Rfn. (L/Nk) Kul Bahadur, 2/9 Gurkha Rifles. | Guilty |

The Court Martial having found the accused guilty on all the charges sentenced him to seven years' rigorous imprisonment, dismissal and forfeiture of pay and all allowances.

The confirming authority confirmed the findings and sentence without any alteration.

There is no charge of waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor in this case. It was alleged by the prosecution that on the 24th September 1942, the Battalion of 2/9 Gurkha Rifles was called to attend a meeting and the followers were separately asked to go there. When the followers were asked why they did not join the I.N.A. they replied that they would go where the Gurkhas went. It appears that some of these followers were then beaten in the presence of the Battalion. No charge in respect of the beating of the followers is made against the accused. Thereafter the names of certain persons considered to be ringleaders amongst the Gurkhas against joining the I.N.A. were called out and they were individually beaten. Kul Bahadur was one of the persons so beaten. The 7th charge relates to that incident.

The prosecution case in respect of the remaining six charges is that after Kul Bahadur was severely beaten the accused ordered the guards to fire at the Gurkha Battalion who had become very excited by reason

of the beatings. A few shots were fired at first in the air but thereafter the accused ordered the guards to fire at the Gurkhas. That order was carried out and the six persons mentioned in the six charges were injured.

There is satisfactory evidence about the severe beating of Kul Bahadur at the instance, and in the presence, of the accused. The evidence does not, however, show whether the beating was of a kind which, in the language of the Indian Penal Code, would amount to voluntarily causing grievous hurt. The charge was under Section 31(1) of the Indian Army Act. We are satisfied that there is sufficient evidence on record for the conviction of the accused under the 7th charge.

As regards the other six charges, the question is whether the accused gave the order to the guards to fire at the Gurkhas. The evidence in this connection is conflicting. In the previous statements made by several of the witnesses called on behalf of the prosecution they had mentioned that the order to fire was first given by Fateh Khan and the accused repeated the order. Several witnesses called on behalf of the prosecution in their previous statements had stated that they did not know who gave the order to fire. Some of them changed their statements by dropping the name of Fateh Khan altogether. Several of them went back on their previous statements and denied having made them at all. We are not therefore satisfied with the evidence of those witnesses on this point and in our opinion there is not sufficient evidence to show that it was the accused who gave the order to fire at the Gurkhas. In our opinion, there is not therefore sufficient evidence to convict the accused on charges 1 to 6.

As regards the reasonableness of the sentence, we presume that the sentence of 7 years' rigorous imprisonment was imposed in respect of charges 1 to 6 as well as in respect of charge 7. As we consider that the accused should be relieved of liability for charges 1 to 6, it remains to be considered whether such a sentence should stand in respect of the conviction on charge 7 alone. We think that a sentence of 7 years' R.I. would only be justified if it were clear from the record that the offence of voluntarily causing grievous hurt had been made out. As this is not clear, in our opinion the sentence is not reasonable under the circumstances and should be substantially reduced.

CASE NO. 5

HAV./CLERK JASWANT SINGH

The accused along with another was put up for trial before the

Court Martial on five charges. We are not concerned with the remaining charges which were framed against the other accused. The charges and findings of the Court Martial thereon were as follows:

CHARGES	FINDINGS
1. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya on or about July 1942 cruelly beat with sticks Sepoy Gulzar Khan of 1/8 Punjab Regiment.	Guilty
2. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 24th August 1942 cruelly beat with sticks Hav. Maj. Noor Khan of 22 Mtn. Regiment.	Guilty
3. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 24th August 1942 cruelly beat with sticks Hav. Mohabat Khan of 22 Mtn. Regiment.	Guilty
4. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 24th August 1942 cruelly beat with sticks Nk. Mohammad Hanif of 22 Mtn. Regiment.	Guilty
5. IAA S. (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that they together at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 13th September 1942 cruelly beat with sticks Sepoy Syed Abid Hussain Shah of 2/16 Punjab Regt.	Guilty

As he was found guilty on all the five charges the Court Martial sentenced him to rigorous imprisonment for three years with dismissal and forfeiture of pay and all money due from the public funds.

The findings and sentence were confirmed by the confirming authority.

Charges 1 and 5 can be separately considered while charges 2, 3 and 4 can be considered together.

In our opinion charges 1 and 5 are not proved. Gulzar Khan alone has given evidence to prove charge 1. It is not corroborated by any

other witness although Gulzar Khan stated that others were in the tent and awake when he was taken from the tent and thereafter beaten by the accused under the orders of Fateh Khan. We do not think the evidence of this witness alone is sufficient under the circumstances to support the conviction of the accused on the 1st charge.

On the 5th charge three witnesses were examined, but their statements are far from clear. It appears doubtful if they were deposing to the same incident of the beating of Abid Hussain. Having gone through the record we think that in respect of this charge there is not sufficient evidence to uphold the conviction of the accused.

Charges 2, 3 and 4 relate to the beating of the three persons mentioned in the charges on the night of 24th August 1942 at the Bidadari Concentration Camp. The accused was ordinarily working as a clerk. Although the evidence about the accused taking part in the beating is meagre, we are unable to state that the evidence is not sufficient under the circumstances of the case. It is, however, clear that although he took some part in the proceedings he certainly did not take a major part therein. The sweeper who carried out the orders of the superior officers to beat different persons was sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment. The accused in the present case appears also to have taken a minor part in the beating under the directions and in the presence of the superior officers. Under the circumstances, while the finding may not be disturbed, we think that the sentence is not reasonable. In our opinion the sentence undergone by the accused is sufficient and the rest of it should be remitted.

CASE NO. 6

SEPOY RESHAM SINGH

The accused was tried by the Court Martial on five charges. The charges together with the findings of the Court Martial thereon were as follows:

CHARGES	FINDINGS
1. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 24th August 1942 cruelly beat with a stick Hav. Major Noor Khan of 22 Mtn. Regt.	Guilty

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 2. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 24th August 1942 cruelly beat with a stick Mohabat Khan of 22 Mtn. Regt. | Guilty |
| 3. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind at Bidadari in Malaya in that he on or about 24th August 1942 cruelly beat with a stick Nk. Mohammad Hanif of 22 Mtn. Regt. | Guilty |
| 4. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on or about the month of August 1942, in company with one sweeper Nibua and four other men unknown, cruelly beat with sticks Sep. Gul Nawaz of 1/8 Punjab Regiment. | Guilty |
| 5. IAA S. 31 (1). Committing an offence of a cruel kind in that he at Bidadari in Malaya on or about 14th September 1942 cruelly beat with a stick Jemadar Mohammad Nawaz of 5/2 Punjab Regiment. | Not Guilty |

The accused was not charged with the offence of waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor. Charges 1 to 3 relate to the beating of three persons at the Bidadari Concentration Camp on the 24th August 1942, an incident in respect of which charges have also been framed and convictions obtained against Shingara Singh, Fateh Khan, Jaswant Singh and sweeper Nibua. The fourth charge is in respect of beating Gul Nawaz in August 1942.

The Court Martial convicted the accused on charges 1 to 4 and sentenced him to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment, dismissal and forfeiture of money due to him from the public funds.

The findings and sentence were confirmed by the confirming authority.

The conviction on the 4th charge is founded on the oral statement of Gul Nawaz. The witness did not see the accused beat him. He, however, said that he recognized the voice of the accused in the party which was beating him and therefore stated that the accused had beaten him. He admitted that he had come to the Camp only that day and had not seen or heard the accused before that day. When challenged in the course of his cross-examination whether he would recognise the voice of the accused in the Court the witness did not show his willingness to stand the test. He

admitted that he could not recognise the voice of others in the beating party. In our opinion the evidence led to support this charge is quite insufficient.

As regards charges 1 to 3, the only direct evidence is of Mohammad Hanif. The other witnesses have not given directly the name of the accused as having beaten them. The previous statements of Mohammad Hanif do not support his evidence before the Court Martial inasmuch as he had not given the names of all persons he alleged before the Court Martial to have been in the beating party that night. The witnesses are all interested and not independent. Unlike the others charged and convicted in respect of these beatings, this accused was not apparently a member of the I.N.A. or on the staff of the Concentration Camp. He claims to have been present in the Camp as a convict and there is some evidence to support this claim. Under these circumstances there should, we think, have been very clear evidence that he was used or permitted to take part in beating his fellow prisoners. On the evidence on record, we think that a Court dealing with the matter under the ordinary criminal law would not have convicted the accused on any of the charges. In our opinion the evidence under the circumstances is not sufficient to uphold the conviction of the accused.

CASE NO. 7

HAVILDAR MELA SINGH

In this case the accused was put on his trial before the Court Martial on two charges: (1) Under Section 29 Indian Army Act, viz. that on the 27th of February 1943 while on active service he deserted from the 1/15 Punjab Regiment to the enemy; (2) Abetment of waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor by becoming a member of the I.N.A., punishable under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code.

The prosecution alleged that the accused deserted to the enemy before he became a member of the I.N.A. and took part in its activities. The Court Martial found him guilty of desertion, but not of abetment of waging war. These findings have been subsequently confirmed. The accused was ultimately sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment. Under the circumstances this sentence must be considered as having been given for the offence of desertion only.

By the terms of reference we have been asked to examine the cases of the accused who joined the I.N.A. and thereafter committed the offences charged against them. This accused was found guilty only of an offence under the Indian Army Act, which offence had nothing to do with the activities of the I.N.A. The present case is thus clearly outside the scope of

the terms of reference and we have therefore not considered the same.

¹Words added in hand in the original.

141

George Abell to Viceroy

F. 2/261

5 August 1947

STOP GAPS FOR E. BENGAL

Sir H. Stevens—Chief Secretary, Bengal

Mr. Dundas—Defence Secretary, Pakistan

Sir F. C. Bourne—Governor, C.P.

Sir O. Caroe¹

Sir John Bennett—Inspector-General of Police, Punjab

Mr. Herbert—Resident in Hyderabad

2. Sir Wylie² has not yet answered the second telegram.

3. Sir A. Lothian³ seems to have been dropped by Mr. Jinnah.

G. E. B. ABELL

H.E.

¹Governor of NWFP, 3 March 1946 to 25 June 1947.

²Governor of UP, 1945-7.

³Resident in Hyderabad, 1942-6.

142

Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/58

31 MORTON FOLGATE,
LONDON E 1,
5 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, New Delhi

Kindly cable date arrival Pakistan High Commissioner. His presence essential August 18th day fixed by Great Britain League celebrate birth Pakistan State. Request his arrival here before 15th August flag hoisting

and thanks-giving day. Have we your authority hoist Pakistan flag on India House.

NAZIR AHMED
Secretary, AIML

143

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. [?]¹/52-3
[Extract]

8 ZAKARIA STREET, CALCUTTA,
5 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you valuable notes and cuttings on the Boundary problems.² I specially invite your attention to:

1. Calcutta and Pakistan
2. The Gangetic Delta
3. A scientific study of the boundary line between Hindustan and Pakistan (By Prof. Sadeque)
4. Purnea and Pakistan

The third article by Professor Sadeque,³ Professor of Political Economy, London, is of special importance.

Its careful study shall be much beneficial to Muslims. Please bring it to the notice of the Viceroy. It brings new light on the question and [is] an objective and scientific study of the problem of boundary demarcation. For God's sake see it and show it to the Viceroy and the Chairman, Boundary Commission.

The Calcutta situation is most heart-rending. Over 8,000 Muslims are in prison. Daily hundreds are being rounded up. No Hindu is arrested. The entire Government, Police force and the Army is non-Muslim. The Muslims of Calcutta are being treated like the enemy No. 1 of Hindustan. The Hindu Police is acting like the Army of occupation and treating Muslims like vanquished enemy.

Truly yours,
RAGHIB AHSAN

¹Not traced.

²³Ibid.

144

Hakim Mohammad Ahson to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 760/268

KARACHI,
5 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Governor-General designate of Pakistan, Delhi

Corporation resolved last evening present civic address of welcome to you on arrival in Karachi to be followed by Mayor's reception. Shall feel grateful by your acceptance. Kindly wire date and time suitable for the purpose.

HAKIM MOHAMMAD AHSON
Mayor

145

Anjuman-i-Haidariya to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 760/271

WAZIRABAD, NIZAMABAD,
PUNJAB,
5 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, D[elhi]

Shias of Wazirabad Punjab demand a seat for Shia *Mujtahid* Maulana Mohammad Bashir of Taxila, in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

ANJUMAN-I-HAIDARIYA

146

Anjuman-i-Sodagaran-i-Delhi to PS to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1130/197-9

KARACHI,
5 August 1947

We members of the Muslim mercantile community of Delhi residing

at Karachi are overwhelmed at the achievement of Pakistan through the untiring and selfless efforts of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam. On the auspicious occasion of the first 'Id in Pakistan it is our earnest desire to be At-Home to Quaid-i-Azam on 19th August. We pray Quaid-i-Azam to grace the occasion and honour us with kind acceptance of our humble request. On this occasion it is also our desire to invite members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Pakistan Central and Provincial Governments. Should the above date be not suitable we pray Quaid-i-Azam to honour us by accepting our request for any nearest date convenient after 'Id.

ANJUMAN-I-SODAGARAN-I-DELHI

147

Anonym to Winston Churchill

F. 142/43

CIVIL LINES,
MIANWALI,
5 August 1947

Dear Mr. Churchill,

Many thanks for your kind letter of 16th June 1947.¹ In order to give you a picture in India of things to be, I am sending a cutting from the *Tribune*² dated 30 July [19]47, giving the statement of Dr. Hari Lal Saxena, a prominent Congressman of Lucknow. Dr. Hari Lal says:

Partition must be complete in all details, i.e. all Muslims in Hindustan, who had demanded Pakistan, must leave Hindustan and go to their 'homeland' of Pakistan and all Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan should return to Hindustan, the Central Governments of the two Dominions to make proper arrangements for the repatriation of their respective nationals from the other dominion, with every facility and authority to bring all their movable property with them, including machinery, etc. The Muslims in Hindustan now cease to be nationals of the state of Hindustan and as such they must be treated as aliens without any franchise, property or other rights in Hindustan. Hindus and Sikhs may be treated likewise in Pakistan.

The above relates to Muslims who have voted for Muslim League. Even the nationalist Muslims who work in the Congress for the benefit

of the Congress have not been spared. The statement of Dr. Hari Lal goes on to say "The Nationalist Muslims have been playing the role of fifth columnist".

The above statement of Dr. Hari Lal, a prominent Congressman, is well worth a closer study. It brings out the picture of what India is going to be. There will be no toleration of any kind. In the interest of humanity, it is essential that the inter-migration should be started on scientific lines. Areas in both zones be acquired and developed to accommodate refugees. The boundaries to be so adjusted as to leave the residual population in the same percentage or proportion on both sides.

In order to meet the above, the boundaries of Bengal and Punjab ought to be kept as before. A corridor through U.P. and Bihar be provided through Tarai belt. It should be of sufficient depth. Lucknow, and Districts of Gorakhpur and Chhapra be linked with the corridor to serve as strong points in the long line of communication. This corridor will absorb the Muslim population of U.P. and Bihar. A corridor be provided for Hyderabad State as well. It will give contiguity to Pakistan through sea. The state will absorb the Muslim population of Madras and Bombay.

The above could be accounted in section 9 of June 3 Plan³ under "other factors". The boundary on the above lines between Hindustan and Pakistan will prevent cramping which is bound to happen if the division is carried out on purely communal lines.

As per my note [of] last March,⁴ Britain to keep her army till the inter-migration and boundary question is properly settled. As India is an agricultural country the inter-migration will not be difficult. This is a bit difficult for industrial countries.

I hope you are well and back to health now,

Yours sincerely,
[ANONYM]

¹&²Not traced.

³No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

⁴Not traced.

148

Orr, Dignam & Co. to M. A. H. Ispahani

F. 309/342

101/1 CLIVE STREET,
CALCUTTA,
5 August 1947

Dear Sir,

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.
ats.

A. K. Fazlul Huq, Esq.

We enclose our Current Account No. 58/47 together with our bill of costs No. 1179/47¹ debited therein showing a balance due to Mr. Jinnah of Rs. 141-3-0, a cheque for which amount we enclose in your favour. We shall appreciate your kindly making the necessary adjustment with Mr. Jinnah.

In the special circumstances we shall be pleased to make no charge for the work done and the enclosed bill merely gives details of disbursements.

Yours faithfully,
ORR, DIGNAM & CO.

M. A. H. Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Harington Street,
Calcutta

¹See F. 309/343-7, QAP. Not printed.

149

Peshoton Sorabji Dubash to M. A. Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah

F. 1108/128 & 141

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION
OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH SOCIETIES,
VILLA ESPERANTA,
7 KATRAK PARSEE COLONY,
KARACHI,
5 August 1947

His Excellency Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Governor-General designate of Pakistan,
Government House, Karachi,
and Miss Fatima Jinnah

May it please Your Excellency and dear Madam,

May I take the liberty of sending this letter of welcome to Your Excellency and Miss Jinnah on behalf of this "Federation Internationale des Corps Savants de Recherches", my "International Day Movement", my family, my firm, Pestonjee Bhicajee established in Karachi even before Karachi Port Trust and my own self. The enclosed leaflet¹ about Messrs Pestonjee Bhicajee, i.e. my firm, will give some information.

I have taken the liberty of publishing "An Open letter to Your Excellency" in the *Daily Gazette* of 2-8-47 and [am] sending a cutting of that and also of my letter "Parsis in Pakistan" in the *D[aily] G[azette]* of the 24 July 1947. I hope my submissions will appeal to Your Excellency, and some, if not all, are taken by Your Excellency.

May I further request Your Excellency and Miss Jinnah kindly to let me have the honour of an interview. Miss M. Mudie had honoured me very much by visiting my humble home as I believe the first private home visited by her on coming to Karachi. Can I expect the same honour to my wife, my daughters and myself from you Miss Jinnah on any evening suitable to you, for which my whole family sends you a pressing invitation. I have had the honour of entertaining His Excellency the Iranian Ambassador to Afghanistan,² but I suppose it is too much to wish that His Excellency Mr. Jinnah can spare time to condescend to visit my humble home, really a humble home, where His Excellency can see the beauties in the stones of Sind that can draw out spontaneous worship of God.

A reprint from the *Iran League Quarterly*³ will put before you outlines of my discoveries and researches.

With best and genuine wishes for a very successful regime bringing happiness to all inhabitants of Sind, the Punjab and Bengal by Your Excellency,

I am,

Your Excellency's respectful subject,
PESHOTON SORABJI DUBASH

¹See F. 1108/133, QAP. Not printed.

²See F. 1108/130, *ibid.* Not printed.

³See F. 1108/134-8, *ibid.* Not printed.

150

Secretary, Friends of Indonesia to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/52

BAITULULOOM, USMANGANJ,
HYDERABAD DECCAN,
5 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi,
Celebration Indonesian Day¹ please send message.

SECRETARY, FRIENDS OF INDONESIA

¹The Indonesian National Day was celebrated on 17 August 1947.

151

Pir of Golra to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1076/293

RAWALPINDI,
5 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam, Delhi,

'*Ulama's* representation in Pakistan Constituent Assembly¹ very meagre and unrepresentative. If other '*Ulama* cannot be taken now a consultative committee of '*Ulama* representing all views should be appointed at once.

[PIR GHULAM MOHYUDDIN]

¹For list of members see Enclosure to No. 232, Vol. III, 675-7.

152

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14-GG/4

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
5 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to the draft communique which I sent to you

yesterday¹ on the subject of the discussions which have taken place between the Government of Pakistan and His Highness the Khan of Kalat,² I have today heard³ from the latter that he agrees with the communique, with the exception of one word in clause 2. He suggests that the words "agreements for leases" should be substituted for the word "treaties", as there are no treaties with respect to leased areas.

Would you be so good as to let me know whether you agree with this amendment, at the same time as you apprise me of any other comments that you may have.

Sincerely yours,
ISMAY

¹No. 120.

²Not traced. See No. 42 which refers to two meetings between Jinnah and Khan of Kalat prior to 30 July. Also see Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47*, Lahore, 1989, 92, which refers to a further meeting between them on 1 August.

³See Annex.

Annex to No. 152
Khan of Kalat to H. L. Ismay
IOR, R/3/1/166

CAMP HOTEL IMPERIAL,
NEW DELHI,
4 August 1947

My dear friend,

Thanks for your letter No.1446/57, of today's date.¹

With the exception of one word in clause 2, the draft communique is quite acceptable to me. The word "treaties" in the first line of that clause ought to be substituted by the words "agreements for leases". There are no treaties with respect to leased areas; they are "agreements for leases".

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

Lord Ismay, GCB, CH, DSO,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

¹See No. 120, note 3.

153

M. A. Jinnah to Maharajas of Bharatpur¹ and Alwar

Telegram,² F. 1004/4

5 August 1947

Am grieved hear harrowing accounts of treatment Meos³ they are without protection shelter. Their villages property being burnt down and they are at present refugees in Gurgaon. May I request you therefore give personal attention. Arrange for relief that is possible.⁴ Protection of minorities is the duty of every civilized Government and I am sure you will do your best. Create sense of security and confidence in you as ruler.

JINNAH

¹Shri Brijendra Singh.

²A handwritten addition "and Alwar" suggests that the telegram was also repeated to Shri Tejsinghji Dev, the Maharaja of Alwar.

³Rioting against Meo Muslims in Bharatpur and Alwar States flared up towards the end of July 1947. See F.43-GG/9. Not printed. Also see Appendix III.9 and No. 372, TP, XII, 571 which give a situation report on Alwar disturbances.

⁴A sum of Rs. 10,000 was contributed to Mewat Fund. See F. 156/285. Not printed.

154

M. A. Jinnah to H. L. Ismay

F.14-GG/7

5 August 1947

Dear Lord Ismay,

I have received your two letters of 4th¹ and 5th August² and the Draft Communique³ you sent and I propose the following amendments:

Clause 1: after the words "sovereign State" add "as per treaties between the British Government and Kalat State".

Clause 2: after "treaties" add "and agreements".

Clause 3: at the end add the words "at Karachi".

Clause 5: after the words "discussion will take place between Pakistan and Kalat" add "at Karachi".

I am now sending you a fair draft in the light of these alterations.

With regard to Kalat's proposed amendment in clause 2 that "agreements for leases" should be substituted for "treaties", I suggest that

after "treaties" be inserted the following words: "and agreements of leases".

I am enclosing the fair copy⁴ for you so that you can conveniently see what my amendments are.

Yours sincerely,
[M. A. JINNAH]

General Lord Ismay,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

¹No. 120.

²No. 152.

³Enclosure to No. 120.

⁴Annex.

Annex to No. 154

IOR, R/3/1/166

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

As a result of a meeting held between a delegation from Kalat and officials of the Pakistan States Department, presided over by the Crown Representative, and of a series of meetings between the Crown Representative, His Highness the Khan of Kalat, and Mr. Jinnah, the following is the situation:

1. The Government of Pakistan recognises Kalat's status as an independent sovereign State as per treaties between the British Government and Kalat State; this status is different from that of Indian States.
2. Legal opinion will be sought as to whether or not treaties and agreements of leases made between the British Government and Kalat will be inherited by the Pakistan Government.
3. When this opinion has been received, further meetings will take place between representatives of Pakistan and the Khan of Kalat at Karachi.
4. Meanwhile a Standstill Agreement has been made between Pakistan and Kalat.
5. Discussions will take place between Pakistan and Kalat at Karachi at an early date with a view to reaching decisions on Defence, External Affairs and Communications.

155

Begum Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/13-4

BEGUM BAZAR, HYDERABAD, D[ECCA]N,
5 August 1947

*Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam ,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

At the very outset, I tender my apology in addressing this communication to you so long after the announcement of the vivisection of the Indian sub-continent into Pakistan and Hindustan. This was done with a deliberate intention apprehending that my humble letter might be lost in the heaps of the correspondence you have received from prominent persons all over the world.

The goal of Pakistan, I need hardly mention, dreamt by the late Allama Iqbal, crystallised by your strenuous efforts for the last seven years, and despite the severe antagonistic attitude of Hindu India, by the grace of *Allah*, you succeeded in securing a homeland for the 10 [*sic* for 100] million Muslims without shedding a drop of blood. Accept my heartfelt congratulations on this epoch-making triumph which will be recorded by history in bold letters. To add to this, the news that you have been designated Governor-General of Pakistan has come to the Muslims as an ecstasy.

On such an occasion, I am naturally reminded of the late Quaid-i-Millat¹ who, if alive, would have proved your right-hand man in chalking and working out various plans and schemes for the future of Pakistan.

May God send His help and strength to you in making Pakistan an Islamic State in the truest sense of the term.

I am fully confident that Hyderabad problem is receiving your due attention.

Yours sincerely,
BEGUM BAHADUR YAR JUNG

¹Bahadur Yar Jung died in 1944.

156

Abdul Aziz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 163/45-6

KAPURTHALA,
5 August 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

Before I open [*sic*] my letter I beg to introduce myself as an Hony. Magistrate and Military *Musahib* to His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala. Needless to go into details that I hail from a soldiers' family whose members have rendered conspicuous military services both to the British Government and the Kapurthala Government dating back to the darkest days of the mutiny in 1857.

I beg to offer my most respectful but [*sic* for and] sincerest felicitations on the brilliant success achieved by you for the holy cause of Islam. You have stuck to the noble mission which the Almighty God and His Prophet had entrusted you with like a firm rock, and there had been no better selection than you to be entrusted with this arduous and noble cause, for which you sacrificed all your resources even by putting your precious life always into danger. The time is not far when your strenuous efforts will bear fruit and we should be proud to have a personality of your versatile talents and ability at our back, because in you rests entirely the fate of Islam. It is a matter of great pride for us all, which we can boast of that you could not be overcome by any power of the day to play into others' hands. It is on account of your firm idea that you have won the approbation of one and all in this world.

I also beg to offer my respectful congratulations on your selection for the most responsible position as Governor-General of Pakistan which you are going to assume shortly, and which is unique of its kind. It is earnestly hoped that under your kind auspices Islam will prosper day by day.

I sincerely pray that Almighty God, in His mercy may bless you with a long long life full of health and happiness to guide our destinies at this critical juncture.

In the end, I voluntarily place my humble services at your disposal for utilisation in whatever capacity you deem necessary befitting my

military rank of a Captain, in civilian, political or a military sphere of life.

With expressions of profoundest devotion,

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency's most humble well-wisher,
ABDUL AZIZ KHAN
Captain

157

D. B. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram,¹ F. 560/49-50

5 August 1947

Subdivisions with Basirhat, Badurea and Sarupnagar *thanas* are our legitimate claim forming one Pakisthan [*sic* for Pakistan] unit with the neighbouring [*sic*]. In comparision with other commercial richest port towns like Bombay, Madras, Delhi, falling under Hindoosthan [*sic* for Hindustan] Calcutta with her Muslim majority areas and only commercially communicable railway station of East Bengal Sealdah Station, must be awarded to Pakistan as no Hindoosthan areas intervening. Even if some portion of Muslim majority District of Murshidabad be included in Hindoosthan, the entire Khulna District² must be taken under Pakistan having Hoogly River and Bhagirathi the only possible natural boundary between Hindoosthan and Pakisthan.

DR. D. B. KHAN
Sec[retar]y,
Satkhira Subdivisional Muslim League

¹Preceding para(s) not traced.

²Also see Enclosure to No. 83, Vol. III, 209-23, and No. 216, *ibid.*, 601-31.

158

Hedayatullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/51

EXPRESS

CALCUTTA,
5 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam, Delhi,

Muslim minority *bustees* in Beliaghata area Calcutta being attacked

by Sikh military and local Hindu miscreants with bombs rifles sten guns. Houses sprayed with bullets and burnt. All these being done to force the Muslims to vacate the area and to strike terror in their heart. Police taking no action against Hindu miscreants instead raiding Muslim houses and arrest innocent Muslims. Chief Minister West Bengal approached but failed to give protection. Muslims left no option but annihilation or evacuation of the area. Appeal in the name of humanity to save Muslim women and children from extinction.

HEDAYATULLAH KHAN
Secretary,
Muslim League, Ward 28

159

K. H. Khurshid to Mohammad Azim

F. 757/182

10 AURANGZEB ROAD,
 NEW DELHI,
5 August 1947

My dear Mr. Azim,

As per arrangement made I have to submit the bill of expenses incurred in connection with the posting of two Kalat Guards at Mr. Jinnah's residence. There is only one item which I am giving below and I hope you will make the payment before you leave Delhi:

Paid to Havaladar Durrani Khan
 on account of his salary and that of
 his comrade for the month of June 1947

@ of Rs. 50 p.m.

Rs. 100
 (Rupees one hundred only)

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
 K. H. KHURSHID

Mr. Mohammad Azim,
 Imperial Hotel,
 New Delhi

160

*Acting President, Muslim Conference, Rampur State,
to M. A. Jinnah*

Telegram, F. 560/57

5 August 1947

Governor-General, Pakistan,

Nine times firing. Thirteen men and two girls killed. Men about 150 injured. British Jat Regiment arrived from Bareilly shooting Muslims mercilessly. On 48-hour curfew from today. Pray save Muslim lives.

ACTING PRESIDENT,
MUSLIM CONFERENCE, RAMPUR STATE

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I. H. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 416/6-7

DELHI,

5 August 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A European friend who has wide contacts and is highly placed told me a couple of days ago that a number of Sikh leaders were anxious to come to some agreement with Pakistan as they had realized that they could not enjoy the same advantages in India; but he told me that false pride stood in their way, not permitting them to approach you directly on this question. Their demands are:

- i. that there should be constituted a province of the areas in the Punjab where the Sikhs have definite interests;
- ii. that the constitution of this province should be different from the constitution which may be devised for the Muslim majority provinces in two respects:
 - a. the central subjects should be confined to defence, external affairs and communications;
 - b. The constitution of the Sikh province should be inalterable except by an act of the provincial legislature itself; any amendment being made not by a simple majority but by a proportion of votes to be fixed by the Constituent Assembly in such a way

as to ensure that Sikh opinion will be effective;
iii. the Sikh percentage in the Army may also be fixed.

As the award of the Boundary Commission is likely to be published shortly, these Sikh leaders are anxious that you may kindly invite them to a discussion as soon as it is convenient to you.

If your decision is in favour of seeing these gentlemen, please inform me so that I may ask my informant to convey the message to them so that they may directly get in touch with you.

With respectable regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
I. H. QURESHI
Member,
Pakistan Constituent Assembly

PS. The message from the Sikhs has been repeated this morning, hence I am sending this letter by special messenger.

I. H. QURESHI

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Begum Sadaqat to M. A. Jinnah

F. [?]¹/20

GLEN URQUHART,²
SIMLA, S.W.,
5 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been out of health since the last week of July when I had an attack of diarrhoea. I am trying to come down the hill before the 14th to celebrate the Pakistan Day in some part of the Pakistan Dominion.

Pray accept my sincerest congratulations on your appointment as the Governor-General of Pakistan. I wish you and your sister all peace and prosperity in the future, with no sad interludes!

Yours sincerely,
BEGUM SADAQAT

¹File number not traced.

²The letterhead shows Baharistan, Karnal (Punjab), as address and a Coat of Arms with Begum Muhammad Sadaqat Ali Khan, Karnal, in Urdu inscribed within a crescent.

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Note by the Viceroy

F. 720/1-3

[? 5 August 1947]

ITEM 14

*Proposed dates on which the Union Jack
will be flown on public holidays¹*

In accordance with the agreement which I have reached verbally with Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah that the Union Jack should be hoisted² with the Dominion Flag on about a dozen occasions in the year in India and Pakistan,³ I attach a proposed list. It is suggested that warships should dress ship overall on these dates also.

1st January	Army Day (India)
1st April	Air Force Day (India)
25th April ⁴	Anzac Day ⁵
24th May	Empire Day ⁶
12th June (may be varied)	King's Official Birthday
14th June	United Nations Flag Day
4th August	Queen's Birthday
15th August	Independence Day
7th November	Navy Day (India)
11th November (may be varied)	Remembrance Day for both World Wars

Optional on other Dominion days, particularly those who have High Commissioners in Delhi.

¹This document was sent to Jinnah on 5 August 1947.

²Mountbatten had earlier suggested hoisting of the Union Jack alongside the Dominion flag on "all special occasions". See Appendix V. 3, Vol. III, item 2, 931-2. Later on he was to supply to Jinnah and other participants in the Partition Council a list of those dates. See Appendix VI. 3, *ibid.*, para 27, 952.

³Underlined in the original.

^{4,5,6}Deleted in the original by Jinnah. His reservations in this regard related to Anzac Day commemorating "a victory over Turks, a Muslim nation whom Pakistan naturally does not want to embarrass in any way", and to the Empire Day being "an unfortunate expression" which had to be changed to Commonwealth Day. See Appendix VI. 2, para 29.

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*Dr. Yos to M. A. Jinnah**Telegram, F. 760/257 & 269*

HOSHIARPUR CITY,
5 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, New Delhi

Submitted to Your Excellency that rioting and large-scale killing of Muslims in Hoshiarpur Town and villages progressing since last week of July [19]47. Local administration purely non-Muslim appear one-sided and highly prejudicial [*sic*]. Muslims awfully harassed, their localities indiscriminately molested by the Hindu Police and Military pickets. Whole Hindu and Sikh localities not so restricted rather encouraged to murderous action and throwing of bombs. Local and provincial authorities including I.G., D.I.G. Police telegraphically requested to take immediate action. On contrary [*sic*] condition growing worse and deteriorating. Besides victims not properly treated by entire non-Muslim local civil hospital staff. Great panic prevails among Muslims. Kindly intervene and give [words missing] apprehended complete effacement [*sic*].

DR. YOS
*On behalf of aggrieved
Muslims of Hoshiarpur*

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*M. Y. Akbary to M. A. Jinnah**F. 76-GG/1*

AKBARY GARAGE,
MANAITAND,
DHANBAD,
6 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Some days back, I had sent some suggestions in connexion with the Pakistan flag, and also I had offered 20 number of trucks to be sent to Karachi to facilitate the work. The trucks had been offered free of all

cost and any obligation on the part of the League or anybody, and I am sorry to note that I could not get any reply. And I suspect that the letters have not reached Quaid-i-Azam.

Will you please be kind enough to let me know whether my offer and suggestion have been reached to [sic] Mr. M. A. Jinnah.¹

I know, I am giving you unnecessary trouble, but I trust that you will be kind in giving me that information I require.

With many thanks,

Yours sincerely,
M. Y. AKBARY
Trucks & Cars Dealer

¹For Jinnah's reply, see No. 230.

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Bengal Burmese Buddhist Association to M. A. Jinnah

F. 928/20

P. O. TALTALI, DIST. BAKARGANJ,
EAST BENGAL,
6 August 1947

THE HUMBLE MEMORIAL OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF 20,000
BENGAL BURMESE INHABITANTS OF BACKERGANJ [BAKARGANJ]
AREA IN EAST BENGAL

We beg to submit that our forefathers about 150 years ago, cleared the jungles and made the Backerganj suburban area fit for cultivation and habitation. We have enjoyed unhampered, all the economic, social and religious rights [such as] enjoyed by our neighbours: Muslims, Hindus and others. In view of the fact that His Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General designate of Pakistan and the President of the Muslim League, held out assurances of equal treatment of minority communities in Pakistan and the safeguarding of their interests, and it being pointed out that in seeking full development of Pakistan, men and resources of all communities would be essentially necessary, we, the small community of Burmese inhabitants inhabiting this area, beg that we are recognized as such and to have not [only] a share in the building up of the social, economic, administrative and political life of Eastern Pakistan, but be given the opportunity and representation so due to us in the various local, public, provincial and

national bodies.

2. We further beg that inasmuch as we [are] by origin distinctive in our culture and mode of living, our national entity be recognised, preserved and maintained in the Constitution of Pakistan.

3. Inasmuch as we are residents of Pakistan and our national entity remains unimpaired, we beg that an agreement might be negotiated between the representatives of the Govt. of Pakistan and the Govt. of Burma whereby our cultural ties with Burma are by no means severed as has been hitherto the case and we will have free access and communication primarily with Burma.

4. We further beg that the economic interests of the community be especially considered and legislation instituted so that not only are the representations as above pleaded for conceded [*sic*] but that terms be incorporated in the laws and regulations of the Dominion of Pakistan in conformity with and proportionate to the population that is now a part and parcel of the Pakistan nation as a whole.

5. We beg, therefore, that provision be made, as above mentioned, to represent our interests in all local, rural, urban and provincial bodies and thus two or three seats, be reserved for us in the Provincial Legislature of the Eastern Pakistan Assembly.

6. We beg that special provisions may also be incorporated in the constitution to safeguard our trade and industry for the advancement of our education and for just inclusion in public service.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

*Head of the Representatives,
Bengal Burmese Buddhist Association*

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M. C. Davar¹ to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/83-6

CONNAUGHT PLACE,
NEW DELHI,
6 August 1947

Beloved Self [*sic*],

You are leaving for your cherished land to which you have given

[the] name [of] "Pakistan," tomorrow, as is announced in the press.²

Before you leave, the divine servant reminds you of his letter³ in which the divine servant informed you that Nehru and you were destined to become leaders of Asia. So that part of the letter comes true by His grace.

Jinnah Sahib! You both reached where you both were destined [to]. But the difference is [that] you made a little hurry and in hurry your followers did what humanity had never witnessed before.

Pakistan is no doubt established but its foundations are laid with extremely impure material. How far it gives you consolation, future would relate.

Well-wisher of humanity, humble servant of God and devotee of Islam and religion, as the divine servant is, would wish well of whole humanity. But as a friend of Musalmans and a humble devotee and disciple [*sic*] of Islam, the servant of God feels his duty to advise you as follows:

1. Before you enter Karachi offer prayers before God and beg for His Mercy for all the sins committed by your followers in achieving the piece of mortal [*sic*] land.
2. World is for few days. End of man is any time. Wordly wealth—all will remain here. Nothing would go with anyone except virtues.
3. Immediately after taking over charge of your State, order stoppage of bloodshed in the land. Take stern measures to quell riots. Do not spare a single rioter. Follow Nehru's lead which he gave you in Bihar. The land which remains under rift and riots gets ruined. Pakistan can only come into being if peace is established.
4. According to the golden teachings of Islam, minorities are your *zimmis*. Protection of their lives, honour, property is a foremost duty of a Muslim. If you are unable to do that then, as a Musalman, pay the full value of their properties and give them protection up to the borders of Hindustan.
5. Compensate riot victims up to the last penny. The loss which innocent people have suffered, if compensated, would create a great confidence in the sufferers and they would bless you.
6. Do not take unblessed controls and rations to your land. Rations and controls are responsible for black market, black deeds and bribes. Man's mind has become too black due to these unblessed controls, rations and bribes; and riots are result of

these. Keep your people free from these sins.

7. Immediately after assuming charge invite the leaders of the Sikh community and do all you can to come to an honorable settlement with them. A civil war wastes all wealth of the nation. Sikhs are [a] very lovable people and a little generosity and affection shown to them would bring them near you. Punjabi Hindus too, you would find, if treated properly, justly and fairly, would always help you in constructive works and progress of the State.
8. Pathan question too is very important and can only be solved with love [rather] than hatred. Invite Khan Brothers and have a free, frank and fair talk with them. Unrest at the border would exhaust all your resources. Dr. Khan Sahib is one of the sincerest men of our time. Sincerity and serenity will bring him near you.
9. Principle of division was wrong and accepted by you both, and now you both should prepare yourselves for further divisions and accept its results. As the seed will naturally grow and give you all its fruits. Pathanistan and Khalistan may be considered myths today but one day these would be realities as principle has been set by your good self. Palestine's division will be a certainty and so would be at many places. If you wish further divisions the only solution left is a common centre. A common centre would automatically solve Pathanistan and Khalistan questions. Also it would bring solidarity internally, and also would save you from economic difficulties.
10. Remain with India as a true brother. Shun all outside help. Internally you may remain two but externally you should be one powerful unit. Divided you would keep Asia under foreign subjugation. Asia can only be freed if Indian Governments become one and merge in one "United States of India" or "United States of Pak-Hind".
11. Keep common imports and exports. This would save you both from barriers and hindrances in communication and passport difficulties.
12. Invite Congressmen, Akalis, Nationalists, and request them to join hands with you in forming a People's Party or a Republican Party, and ask Leaguers in Hindustan to dissolve League organisations in Hindustan and join hands with their Government and people. Similar advice, the divine servant, is tendering to Congress to dissolve their organizations in Pakistan to

allow the people to become loyal subjects of the State.

13. Islam has taught the world socialism. Socialisation of the whole wealth of the nation and country be your motto.

14. Remove inequality and govern the State with divine socialising [sic], with equality, fraternity and freedom for all.

With kindest regards,

Thy own self [sic],
DR. M. C. DAVAR
The Servant of God

¹On the letterhead, the words God, Om, Allah were printed.

²Jinnah left New Delhi for Karachi on 7 August 1947. See the *Pakistan Times*, 8 August 1947

³Not traced.

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R. Narayan Deo to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/100-1

RAJKANIKA, ORISSA,
6 August 1947

My dear Jinnah,

It has given me very great pleasure to read the announcement of your exalted office as the Governor-General of Pakistan. You have achieved what at one time was considered to be an impossibility.

I offer you my heartiest congratulations and best wishes for your achievement and success.

I look back with pride to our association in both the Imperial Council and the Central Assembly, especially when you and I, along with 17 others, submitted a memorandum suggesting certain constitutional changes for the administration of India.

The constitutional aspect of changes and improvements made so far are really wonderful—certainly great credit is due to you for these amazing developments.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. NARAYAN DEO
Raja Bahadur of Kanika

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Howard Donovan to Abdur Rab Nishtar
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 955/31

NEW DELHI, INDIA,
6 August 1947

Dear Sardar Nishtar,

I wish to refer to your conversations with Mr. Weil¹ on August 1 and 2 regarding the requisitioning by the Sind Government of the Standard Vacuum Oil Company bungalow at No. 5 Gizri Road, Karachi. The Embassy appreciates your telephoning Mr. Faruqui.

The Embassy has, however, now received a letter from the American Consul at Karachi in which it is stated that Mr. Markley, the Standard Vacuum Oil Company Manager, has informed the Consulate that the house offered him at 10 Mary Road is in bad repair and unsuitable for his company's purposes. In this connection it seems to me that if the Collector at Karachi regards the house at 10 Mary Road as a desirable bungalow, considerable inconvenience might be avoided if Mr. F.N.E. Dinshaw,² who I understand is expected to take over the house now occupied by the Standard Vacuum Manager, could take the house at 10 Mary Road.

While I am aware of the views expressed to Mr. Weil—to the effect that it would be inappropriate for an official of the central government to make suggestions to the provincial authorities—I am still somewhat puzzled by the fact that Mr. Markley states he has been advised by the provincial authorities that any appeal he may wish to make must be taken to the central government authorities. I am glad to note, however, that Mr. Markley has been granted an extension until August 10, and I trust that between now and then a solution may be found which will be satisfactory to all concerned.

Very truly yours,
HOWARD DONOVAN
Counsellor of [U.S.] Embassy

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar,
Minister of Communications,
Pakistan Provisional Government,
Karachi

¹T. Ehot Weil, Second Secretary, American Embassy, New Delhi.

²A noted businessman of Karachi.

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Abdulkhalik Fakruddin to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram¹, F. 560/59

MEDAN, [SUMATRA,]
[DUTCH EAST INDIES],

6 August 1947

His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Delhi

Respects to self as Governor-General Pakistan. Heartiest congratulations towards valuable efforts Pakistan organisation from Muslim Convention, Hereat [*sic*]. Please wire Abdulkhalik Fakruddin 3 Tepekongstraat, Medan informing national song sung during flag hoisting celebrations to arrive here prior fifteenth August. Although physically away from everlasting Pakistan limits, my heart and soul [are] by your side.

ABDULKHALIK FAKRUDDIN

¹It was a reply-paid telegram.

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M. A. Jinnah to Howard Donovan

F. 112/5

6 August 1947

Dear Mr. Donovan,

I am in receipt of your letter of 26 July 1947,¹ and I thank you for it. We shall be ready to meet you in every way in making arrangements about your Embassy at Karachi, the Capital of Pakistan.

Similarly we are prepared on our side to make arrangements to send our Ambassador² to your great nation and country.

I am extremely sorry I was not able to see Mr. Lewis³ when he was in Delhi as I was absolutely full up with very urgent and important matters that I had to attend to. But I am looking forward to meeting

him at Karachi and then we shall be able to put through the arrangements.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Counsellor,
American Embassy,
New Delhi

¹No. 7.

²The likelihood of M.A.H. Isphani being appointed Pakistan Ambassador to the United States was mentioned in a political memorandum enclosed to despatch No. 1717 by Charles Thompson, American Consul in Calcutta to George Marshall, Secretary of State on 30 July 1947. See U.S. National Archives No. 845.00/7-3047. Not printed.

³Charles Lewis, Charge d'Affaires.

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Abdur Rahman Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 852/24-5

BAHG-E-WAFA,
MARIN ROAD, ALIGARH,
6 August 1947

My most beloved Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

A few days back I read in the *Dawn* that your personal flag is to be deep blue in colour with a crown.

I hope that you will not mind my daring to suggest to replace the crown by the rising sun.

My late father Moh[amma]d Abdus Sattar Kheiri had the strongest belief that the rising sun had been used as an emblem by our forefathers, and might be seen in some old monuments. I think that this emblem is also somewhere at the roof of the *Jamia' Masjid*, Delhi.

I hope that you will give some consideration to my humble suggestion.

Your most obedient follower,
ABDUR RAHMAN KHEIRI

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*Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah**F. 2/260**6 August 1947*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry not to have been able to give you an answer about Sir Archibald Rowlands.¹ It would appear he is lost somewhere on tour in Germany.

Even if his answer is yes, it seems impossible that he could reach Dacca by the 15th August. I am sure you will agree that it is essential that there should be a Governor² installed on the 15th, not only for the transfer of power ceremonies, but to get your Government off to a good start.

The provisional Government of India have recognized this necessity in the case of the United Provinces, where the inability of Mr. Roy³ to arrive from the U.K. for a month, has caused them to yield to my advice and appoint Mrs. Naidu⁴ temporarily until his arrival.

I am now writing to urge you to make a temporary appointment as Governor of East Bengal, and suggest that Lieut-General Douglas Gracey, in view of his great experience as an administrator in French Indo-China, should receive the temporary appointment.

Although General Messervy will miss him, I am sure that Pakistan can spare the services of a Chief of Staff more easily than a Governor.

This will in no way prejudice Rowlands, or any other high-level Governor you choose, from relieving Gracey as soon as he is available.

Yours sincerely,

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Supply, U.K. Originally, Jinnah had asked for Rowlands to serve as Financial Adviser of Pakistan. See 158, Vol. III, 411 and No. 140, *TP*, XII, 198-9. Subsequently, Jinnah sought Mountbatten's assistance towards Rowlands appointment as Governor of East Bengal. Prime Minister Attlee did not agree to the proposed appointment but allowed Rowlands to take up the post of Financial Adviser for a short period from August to December 1947. See No. 291, note 3, *TP*, XII, 425.

²Frederick Bourne, Governor of CP & Berar, consented to take over as Governor of East Bengal. See No. 357, note 3, *TP*, XII, 555-6.

³Not traced.

⁴Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of UP, 15 August 1947-1 March 1949.

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Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 2/262-3

6 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

My Military Secretary¹ has been in touch with your Private Secretary² concerning the form which the celebrations in Karachi on 14th August should take. I understand from my Military Secretary that your Private Secretary has proposed that, in the Constituent Assembly, the President should occupy the seat of honour rather than the Governor-General.³

I am sure that there must be some misunderstanding since it is the invariable practice throughout the Commonwealth that, whenever a Governor-General visits any part of the territory in which he represents the King, his precedence is supreme. I must therefore go so far as to say that the proposal put forward by your Private Secretary would, if implemented, amount to discourtesy to the King, and establish an unfortunate precedent.

I must make it absolutely clear that I am not writing this letter on a personal basis. My only object is to safeguard the position of the Governor-General as a representative of the King.

I would be grateful if you could confirm that your Private Secretary has been acting under a misapprehension.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹Colonel Douglas Currie.

²K. H. Khurshid.

³In the seating arrangement as finalised the Viceroy was "given a seat on the right of the President" and there was no one else on the dais. See F. 17-GG/1-2 & 23. Not printed.

175

Gopesh Kumar Ojha to Loomba, Dalmia Cement Ltd., Karachi

F. 85/7

6[August 1947]

Dear Sir,

I am directed by Shriman Sethji to enclose¹h[erewith] stamp papers

(9 sheets of the value of Rs. 4,500) [delivery] by a special messenger to the Government House, whe[reas] stamp papers (blank) along with the other enclosures [and] letter will be delivered to the Private Secretary to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib, with the request that the [draft sale] deed sent by him to Shriman Ramakrishna Dalmiaji may be typed on the stamp paper and be signed by H. E. and duly [endor]sed.

H. E. Quaid-i-Azam would also execute a Power of Attorney [as] per enclosure in favour of some person whom he might cho[ose for] the purpose to come and to register the sale deed at Del[hi]. This Power of Attorney will be executed on Pakistan sta[mp paper] and registered at Karachi. It would also be attested by [the] High Commissioner of India in Pakistan and the Power of [Attorney] holder would then come to Delhi with the sale deed signed [by] H. E. Quaid-i-Azam and register the sale deed on behal[f] [of the] H. E. at Delhi.

The sale deed would be executed in favour of Seth R[amakrishna] Dalmia, son of Seth Harjimal Dalmia residing at 9 Mansingh [Road], New Delhi.²

Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,
GOPESH KUMAR
Secretary to Seth R. Dalmia

Mr. Loomba,
Dalmia Cement Ltd.,
Karachi

Copy to the Private Secretary to H. E. the Quaid-i-Azam. [The] original agreement for sale was that the Quaid-i-Azam wo[uld] execute the sale deed in favour of Seth J. Dalmia or his [nomi]nee and therefore the name of Seth Ramakrishna Dalmia migh[t] kindly be put as Vendee.

¹Enclosures not traced.

²The right edge of the page is partly torn. The missing text has been editorially reconstructed and shown within square brackets.

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*I. H. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah**F. 416/8*

FACULTY OF ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI,
NEW DELHI,
6 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In continuation of my letter which I sent yesterday per special messenger,¹ I beg to state that Mr. Baldev Singh is willing to come to an arrangement with Pakistan on the basis of what I wrote yesterday. I understand that he thinks that the Sikh Province should consist of the area between the Ravi and the Sutlej and that the Sikh proportion in the army may be fixed. If you think that such an arrangement will be advantageous to us by keeping the Sikhs in Pakistan, I would suggest that you authorise someone to see him on your behalf and come to a suitable understanding. I have not seen Mr. Baldev Singh and I have received this information from an English friend.

As the matter is of great urgency I am sending this letter per special messenger. I would deem it a great honour if you kindly give me sometime when I can see you in this connection, if you think that this will serve some useful purpose and if you can spare a few minutes.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
I. H. QURESHI

¹No. 161.

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*M. A. H. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 309/340*

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
7 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing the original letter and statement of accounts¹

submitted to me by Messrs Orr Dignam & Co. I am also enclosing my reply² to them. Further, please find enclosed a cheque for Rs. 141-3-0 in your favour, as I have received a cheque for the like amount from Messrs Orr Dignam & Co., in settlement of the advance made by you.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
M. A. H. ISPAHANI

¹Not traced.

²Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 177

M. A. H. Ispahani to Messrs Orr Dignam & Co., Calcutta

F. 309/341

7 August 1947

M. A. JINNAH, ESQ. V[ERSU]S A. K. FAZLUL HUQ, ESQ.

Dear Sirs,

I thank you for your letter No. C11133 of August 5¹ enclosing your bill of costs No. 1179/47 and your cheque for Rs. 141-3-0 in my favour.

I appreciate the contents of your last paragraph and thank you once again for the attention you have given to the matter now settled.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. H. ISPAHANI

Messrs Orr Dignam & Co.,
101/1 Clive Street,
Calcutta

¹Not traced.

178

A. A. Yousuf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/29

FORT JAMESON, N. RHODESIA,
7 August 1947

Dear Sir,

We the undersigned most humbly, kindly and respectfully beg to lay the following few lines for your kind and favourable consideration.

First and essential thing to be mentioned in my petition is that I am overflowing with boundless joy to hear the happy tiding[s] of achieving the goal of Pakistan. May God grant you long life.

Now I am coming to the most important and essential point that we are the subject[s] staying in Hindustan which is ruled over by Congress.

We are merchants trading to [*sic* for with] the foreign country named N. Rhodesia, Fort Jameson. We want to have two plots in business area at Karachi, capital of Pakistan, as we are desirous of flourishing [*sic*] business; so please kindly grant my application and oblige.

We hope to receive the most favourable and sympathetic reply.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
A. A. YOUSUF
for A. A. Yousuf & Co.

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George Abell to S. H. Raza¹

Telegram, F. 10-GG/1

MOST IMMEDIATE
[No.]3276-S

NEW DELHI,
8 August 1947, received 10.30 p.m.

Please enquire immediately from Mr. Jinnah whether form of oaths to Governor-General,² Governors and Ministers conveyed to him through [M. B.] Ahmad are acceptable to him. If not please telegraph most immediate his suggestions. These have to be sent to His Majesty's Government by Sunday [10 August] at the latest for inclusion in Commissions.

{GEORGE ABELL}
P[rivate] S[ecretary to the] V[iceroy]

¹Secretary to Governor, Sind.

²Not traced.

Annex to No. 179
Note by M. B. Ahmad

F. 10-GG/2

SECRET

28 July 1947

In consultation with Mr. Justice [S. M.] Shareef and Sir George Spence, I have prepared the following drafts of oath for His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan:

I, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, do solemnly affirm true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Pakistan Dominion as may be, by law, framed and established.

And that as Governor-General of Pakistan I will well and truly serve our Sovereign His Majesty King George VI, his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Pakistan with Great Britain and for adherence to and membership of the Group of Nations falling in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

OR

I, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, do solemnly affirm true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Pakistan as may be,¹ by law, framed and² established, and that I will well be faithful to H. M. King George VI,³ and truly serve our Sovereign, his heirs and successors⁴ in the office of Governor-General of Pakistan.⁵

Sir George Spence is of opinion that the Viceroy should feel interested in the form of oath and may like to discuss it with Quaid-i-Azam. Sir George Spence has accordingly written to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy in this connection.

For information to Hon[ourable] Finance Member.⁶

Quaid-i-Azam might like to see.

M. B. AHMAD
Secretary,
Pakistan Constituent Assembly
& Reforms

¹The words "may be" deleted in the original.

²The words "framed and" deleted in the original.

³The words "and truly serve our Sovereign King George VI" replaced with the words "be faithful to H. M. King George VI" in the original.

⁴Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

⁵The word "Governor" is written in the margin, in the original.

⁶Liaquat Ali Khan.

*Enclosure 1 to Annex to No. 179**F. 10-GG/3*

DRAFTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH FORMS OF OATH FOR THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF DOMINIONS—AUSTRALIA, CANADA AND SOUTH AFRICA

I. OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

I, ...,do solemnly affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George VI, his heirs and successors according to law.

II. OATH OF OFFICE

I, ...,do solemnly affirm that I will well and truly serve our sovereign, King George VI, in the office of Governor-General of Pakistan and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of Pakistan without fear or favour, affection or ill-will.

*Enclosure 2 to Annex to No. 179**F. 10-GG/4*

FORM OF OATH IN THE CONSTITUTION OF IRISH FREE STATE 1922

I,...,do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V, his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Note 1: Deleted by the Constitution (Removal of Oath) Bill, 1932. No oath was prescribed after this.

Note 2: Sir George Spence suggested that this may not be a very suitable form of oath but he said that he had personally no objection whatever to such a form being adopted.

He, however, preferred that the matter be decided between Quaid-i-Azam and the Viceroy personally as early as possible in order that the adaptation of the Government of India Act, 1935, to Pakistan may be printed.

180

Mirza Muzaffar Beg to M. A. Jinnah

F. 57-GG/28-9
[Original in Urdu]

Allaho Akbar. Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim. Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim

[God is Great. In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. We praise Allah and invoke His blessings for the noble Prophet (PBUH)]

TARIQABAD, LYALLPUR,¹

8 August [19] 47

Mokarramo Mo'azzam Hazrat [Honoured, respected and venerable]
Quaid-i-Azam, Daam Altafhu [Whom God may bless for ever]
Assalaamo... [Peace be upon you and the mercy of God and His blessings]
Mizaj Sharif [How do you do?]

Accept congratulations on the creation of Pakistan.

May God bless this State and provide it with the opportunity to flourish and prosper under your guidance, and enable us to present the true picture of Islam. *Aameen!*

The design of Indian flag reflects the inner thoughts of the Hindus. King Ashoka's Pillar is the symbol of Hindu civilisation. But the design of Pakistan's flag has still not been prepared. The name of God should be given prominence along with the crescent, star and colours representing the minorities. The non-inclusion of the name of God on the flag might amount to an act of ungratefulness on our part as He blessed us with this State. Crescent and star are the emblems of Turks but the Islamic flags have always carried the words *Allaho Akbar*.

Besides crescent and star, if Allah is to be imprinted right in the centre of the circle in bold letters; rays of the sun to be shown at its circumference, signifying the diffusing glory of Allah; it would affirm that Allah is the pivot of the universe and every nation derives its strength from God. India elevates King Ashoka's wheel, we glorify the name of Allah. Whereas the emblem of the kingdom of India is a worthless wheel of a bygone ruler, we founded the State of Pakistan in the name of Allah. You, being the leader of the nation, should attend to this matter urgently. Our flag is to be displayed on houses, shops, offices, government buildings, etc. You, by placing the name of Allah on the flag, would surely make His name fly high on innumerable heights. Almighty Allah would reward you for this service. *Aameen.*

I am leaving for Karachi to participate in the Independence Day celebrations. *Insha Allahul Aziz* [the Omnipotent God willing].

Wassalaam,

MIRZA MUZAFFAR BEG SATEH
Gold Medalist
Muslim Missionary,
Fiji Islands (near America)

¹Now Faisalabad.

181

Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, to M. A. Jinnah¹

Telagram, F. 17-GG/2

NEW YORK,
8 August 1947

Nehru and Mountbatten unable participate broadcast 8/15 [15 August]. Happy offer you full thirteen minute talk. Will appreciate your advising us [*sic* for as] soon as possible time 8/13 [13 August] convenient for you to speak will be recorded in London and relayed to New York for broadcast 8/15 [15 August]. Delighted we are to have honour presenting your speech.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

¹Also see No. 27 and No. 103.

182

George D' Castellias to M. A. Jinnah

F. 57-GG/37

15 TATE LANE CROSS,
K NO. 5 STREET, BANGALORE,
8 August 1947

RE[GARDING] PAKISTAN STANDARD

Sir,

I have the honour to place before you a design of the above¹ which

in all respects is the same as the present design but for a white triangle in place of the white strip. This has much occult significance and I think it is worthy of your consideration and adoption.

The triangle represents religion, art and science which are the three most important means of human education, and they are trinity in unity. Further it represents the three great religions, viz. Islam, Hindu[ism] and Christian[ity], in perfect unity under one but one only Godhead [sic]. White is synthetic, containing all colours within itself, as God contains within Himself all things in the solar system.

The white triangle looming up from a dark green background represents the purity of all the assurances which Pakistan offers its subjects irrespective of caste, colour, creed, majority or minority for all who are under its fold.

As time is limited I trust you will give this your urgent attention.

I have the honour to remain,

Yours obediently,
GEORGE D' CASTELLAS

¹See illustration at the end of Volume.

183

Miss M. Fraser to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/224-5

SYLVERTON ANNEX, 5 UGGAR ROAD,
DEHRA DOON,
8 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Congratulations for [sic for on] achieving so much in so short a period! You are a genius, a great leader, and a fine politician, and we do admire you for it. But, have you or the other leaders of our country stopped to think about the fate of young girls of all communities living in India? What will happen to the freedom, security and safety of respectable girls employed as teachers, stenographers, nurses, etc. (single or married)?

It is true that India's freedom is at her doorstep—so near that at times it is unbelievable—but what will this freedom mean for us? Has it ever occurred to you?

It means our lives are jeopardised by uncalled-for assaults,

abductions, insults and degradations by the innumerable and incorrigible wolves, parading around in sheep's clothing (pardon my frankness), men with depraved minds, low morals and one aim in life. For them, freedom will mean—women through sheer bravado, perhaps cussedness if nothing else.

You know very well of the many such hush-hush incidents that have occurred in the riot-stricken areas all over India. Young girls have been dragged away from respectable homes and safety, for purposes not worth mentioning. We young girls of all communities and creeds look up to you leaders for a guarantee for our welfare, safety and freedom, at any time or place in the two dominions.

On behalf of many of my sisters and contemporaries, I use my pen as my sword to fight for what we have gained after struggling for years—our freedom, equality and respect!

We request you and the other leaders jointly to stand up for us—because if the “wolves” carry out their threats as to what they intend doing after the 15th August—then I, as an Indian girl (though the name may belie the fact) can only end up by saying, “We would prefer the British slavery with its security a thousand times to the new India's slavery to immorality; and that your fight for our country's freedom has been in vain”.

With our good wishes and kind regards,

Yours truly,
MISS M. FRASER

184

Brijmohan Lakshminarayan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 84/30

36 STOCK EXCHANGE BUILDING,
APOLLO STREET, FORT,
BOMBAY,
8 August 1947

Re: Dividend on 35 shares of the Simplex Mills Co. Ltd., bearing Nos. 11559-66, 9654, 9660, 6999-7003, 5426, 1461-64, 841-50, 13206-10

Dear Sir,

I beg to draw your honour's kind attention that on the 12th of March 1947, I had written you a letter¹ requesting you to remit me a cheque for Rs. 315 being the dividend ending 31-3-46 for thirty five

shares of the Simplex Mills Co. Ltd., standing in your name at the time when the dividend was declared. The Nos. of the said shares were 11559-66, 9654, 9660, 6999-7003, 5426, 1461-64, 841-50, 13206-10. The said shares were delivered through International Bank of India Ltd., Bombay, but I am sorry to say that I received no reply from you uptil now. As you were the last holder of the said shares I request your good self to send me the dividend of the said shares amounting to Rs. 315 ending 31-3-46, as the said shares were absolutely my property at the time when the dividend was declared.

Herewith I enclose a copy of the certificate of proof from the Union Bank of India Ltd.,² for your perusal as a positive proof that I was the holder of the said shares and that they were absolutely my property at the time when the dividend was declared.

I trust that your honour will be good enough to send me the cheque for Rs.315 dividend on the said 35 shares of the Simplex Mills Co. Ltd.

Yours faithfully,
BRIJMOHAN LAKSHMINARAYAN
Share & Stock Broker

¹Appendix I. 17, Vol.II, 730-1.

²Enclosure to Appendix I. 17, *ibid.*, 731. Also see F. 84/31, QAP. Not printed

185

S. V. McCoy to Director, Food & Civil Supplies,¹ Karachi

F. 1113/60

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
8 August 1947

No. 49-P

Dear Sir,

I urgently require 220 lbs of sugar for the Governor-General (designate) Household. I should be grateful if you would instruct the Sugar Syndicate to issue the required quantity of sugar by this evening to enable this House to meet its initial requirements.

It is believed that there will be many functions held at Government House and entertaining on large scale given, for which I have appointed Messrs. P.F. Pereira as contractors. Our first two functions will be held on 13th and 15th August, and I should be grateful if you would issue a permit in the name of Messrs. Pereira to obtain two

maunds of sugar from Sugar Syndicate.

Yours faithfully,
S. V. McCOY,
Major,

Comptroller, Governor-General (designate) Household

The Director,
Food and Civil Supplies,
Karachi

¹R. R. Pearce.

186

R. R. Pearce to S. V. McCoy

F. 1113/62

GOVERNMENT OF SIND,
DEPARTMENT OF FOOD & CIVIL SUPPLIES, KARACHI,
8 August 1947

Dear Major McCoy,

I am issuing a permit for one bag [of] sugar as required. Generally speaking I request that your demands will be kept as low as possible since supplies are very short, and subject to increased demands due to the arrival of the Pakistan Government. All your staff can, of course, get their ordinary ration and will not need to be supplied from this special allocation.

M/S. Pereira already receive a monthly supply specially for such functions as yours, and therefore will not require extra sugar.

Yours sincerely,
R. R. PEARCE

Major S.V. McCoy,
Comptroller, Governor-General (designate) Household,
Government House,
Karachi

187

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 61-GG/1

8 August 1947

[Dear Mr. Jinnah,]

I attach a copy of the letter¹ which I have received from Admiral Palliser, suggesting that he should pay an official call on you, probably during the first week of January 1948.

2. You told me at the Partition Council meeting, this morning,² that you would welcome this visit, and I have informed Admiral Palliser accordingly.

3. Perhaps you would let me know, so that I can inform Admiral Palliser, which is the most convenient period for his visit. You will note that he has made three suggestions in the letter.

[MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA]

¹Enclosure.

²Mountbatten's letter was signed on 6 August but despatched two days later. For Partition Council proceedings see F. 48-GG/11-8. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 187

R.F.E. Palliser to Louis Mountbatten

F. 61-GG/2

NAVAL HEADQUARTERS,
TRINCOMALEE, CEYLON,
28 July 1947

Your Excellency,

At some time at the end of 1947 and in the New Year of 1948, I shall have occasion to visit the ports of Western India, and Pakistan, on my way hence to the Persian Gulf for a routine visit there.

By that time the Dominion of Pakistan will be in being, and I should be much pleased if the occasion of my visit to Karachi, probably in the first week of January 1948, could also be that of my first official call on His Excellency the Governor-General of the Dominion of Pakistan.

I should be very grateful if this suggestion could be put before Mr. Jinnah, who, I have no doubt, will have been informed by you that it is my intention to pay a similar call on Your Excellency as Governor-General of the Dominion of India.

If more convenient to Mr. Jinnah, I could pay my official call [on] him on way back to Ceylon from the Persian Gulf, at some time at the end of January, or beginning of February 1948, but as to this I am entirely in his hands.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's obedient servant,
R.F.E. PALLISER
Admiral

188

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 14-GG/8

[No.] 1446/57

8 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am most exercised that no agreement has yet been reached about the terms of the Pakistan-Kalat communique, and I very much hope that you will be able to accept the suggestions contained in the attached letter by General Ismay.¹ I myself entirely agree with them and consider that your position would be fully safe-guarded. Further, I am so certain that His Highness will agree that, subject to your concurrence, I will publish the communique without further reference to him.

It will be most embarrassing for everyone if this point is not settled quickly and I am therefore sending this by safe hand of pilot. If your secretary could telegraph or telephone your concurrence a good deal of time would be saved.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 188
H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F.14-GG/9-10

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
8 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On the 5th August¹ you were kind enough to send me a revised draft communique on the subject of relations between Pakistan and Kalat, and I sent a copy of your draft to His Highness the Khan.

I now attach a copy of his reply,² from which you will see that he finds difficulty in accepting your amendments to clauses 1 and 2 of the original draft.

Accordingly, so far as clause 1 is concerned, would you consider the following re-draft, which accurately records the position which was agreed to by both parties at the meeting on 19th July,³ which was presided over by His Excellency, and at which the Pakistan States Department was represented by Mr. Rab Nishtar and Mr. Akhtar Hussain:

1. The Government of Pakistan recognises Kalat as an independent sovereign State in treaty relations with the British Government, with a status different from that of Indian States.

So far as clause 2 is concerned, may I suggest that it would be as well to limit legal opinion to the specific question at issue, i.e. the position of the leased areas as from August 15th. If you accept this suggestion, clause 2 would read as follows:

2. Legal opinion will be sought as to whether or not agreements of leases between the British Government and Kalat will be inherited by the Pakistan Government.

His Highness the Khan has already left Delhi, but I believe that he would agree to the two clauses as re-drafted above, provided, of course, that you yourself feel able to accept them.

It is obviously of the first importance to get this matter settled at once since, if no standstill agreement is reached the consequences might be most embarrassing to everybody.

There is a further point. Assuming that a standstill agreement is reached, on the above basis, it will be necessary for action to be taken which will ensure the continuance of laws at present in force in the leased areas. I have, therefore, drafted a notification which will, I think, achieve what is wanted, without prejudice to subsequent

negotiations between Pakistan and Kalat.

I attach a copy of this draft notification¹ and would be glad to know whether you would be prepared to have it issued on 15th August.

I am extremely sorry to trouble you direct with this matter when you must be under tremendous pressure of work, but in view of the urgency, I have no alternative.

I have sent a copy of this letter to His Highness the Khan of Kalat, so that he may know what is afoot.

Sincerely yours,
ISMAY

¹No. 154.

²Annexure I.

³Appendix VII.13, Vol. III, 982-6.

⁴Annexure II.

*Annexure I to Enclosure to No. 188
Khan of Kalat to H. L. Ismay*

F. 14-GG/11

6 August 1947

I thank you for your letter No. 1446/57 of yesterday's date.¹

2. I have been somewhat surprised to see Mr. Jinnah's comments on the draft communique. The addition of the words "as per treaties between the British Government and Kalat State" to my mind is unnecessary and factually wrong. It will be seen that Kalat State was an Independent Sovereign State before it entered into treaty relationship with the British Government and this fact is fully recognised in the Treaty of 1876² itself. As far as I can say (and it is on that basis that the discussions took place between the Pakistan representatives and ourselves on two days before His Excellency) there are only two outstanding questions between Pakistan and Kalat State. These are, firstly, the future of the Leased Areas and, secondly, discussions that will be necessary between the two States with a view to reaching decisions on Defence, External Affairs and Communications. The first item is governed not by any treaty but by the various *agreements for leases*³ that were executed by the Khan in favour of the British Government on *certain conditions*. The second item will have to be the *subject matter of a new treaty* that has to be concluded between Pakistan and Kalat State.

3. Thus my existing Treaty with the British Government has little to do with Pakistan, and the future relations of Kalat State with Pakistan will solely be governed by a separate Treaty.

4. I, therefore, earnestly request, and strongly hope that Mr. Jinnah will agree, that there should be no mention of treaties in the communique at all, and that the words added by Mr. Jinnah in clause 1 as mentioned above, as well as the word "Treaties" in clause 2, should be deleted altogether.

¹Ismay transmitted No.1547 to Khan of Kalat. See *JOR*, R/3/1/166.

²Enclosure 4 to No.155, Vol. I, Part I, item 3, 301-3.

³Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

Annexure II to Enclosure to No. 188

F.14-GG/12

NOTIFICATION TO BE ISSUED ON 15TH AUGUST 1947 BY THE
HEAD OF THE BALUCHISTAN ADMINISTRATION

In virtue of an agreement reached between the Governor-General of Pakistan and the Khan of Kalat, it is hereby directed that all laws and enactments which on the fourteenth day of August 1947 were in force in the areas in Baluchistan leased by the Khan of Kalat to the British Government shall for the time being continue in force.

189

N. C. Nag to M. A. Jinnah

F. 57-GG/35

NALANDA ART SERVICE,
31 MANGOR LANE,
CALCUTTA,
8 August 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith three suggestions for Pakistan Dominion Flag, drawn by the above concern.¹

These have been drawn on a new basis, as such, we hope this will stand as one of the best national flags in the world owing to its dignified design and display of white and green colour.

We may send designs of coins and postal stamps for Pakistan if asked for.

[If] the Flag is approved of, we hope your honour will give publicity of the designer.

Hoping to receive an acknowledgment,

I remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

N. C. NAG

Proprietor, Nalanda Art Service

¹See illustrations at the end of Volume.

190

Miss J. Osman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/132

92 GOBLE ROAD,
DURBAN,
8 August 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In response to your appeal for funds for Pakistan,¹ my society has up to now collected a sum of one thousand rupees (Rs. 1000) [from] amongst the local Muslim women and a bank draft for this sum in your favour drawn on the Netherlands Trading Co., Bombay, is enclosed herewith. We trust you will acknowledge [the] same in due course, and from time to time, as further sums are available [the] same will be forwarded to you.

We take this opportunity of congratulating you on your achieving the freedom of the Indian Muslims. We thank Almighty *Allah* for having given us a leader of your standing and for infusing in you the Islamic spirit, determination and steadfastness which brought the ship of Pakistan to port. We, the Muslim women of South Africa, salute you and pray may *Allah* bless you and guide you and may you live long to rule over the destiny of Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad! Pakistan Zindabad!

Cordially yours,

MISS J. OSMAN

Secretary,

Mehfil-e-Khawateen-e-Islam

¹See No. 128, Vol. II, 297-9.

191

Jung Bahadur Singh to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 65-GG/143

GEORGETOWN,
8 August 1947

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi

Indians British Guiana solicit message on occasion Dominion status
Aug[ust] 15.

JUNG BAHADUR SINGH
Indian Association

192

D. R. Smith to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/281-3

THE BANK OF MONTREAL, (HEAD OFFICE),
MONTREAL, CANADA,
8 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to congratulate you on your appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan and to wish Your Excellency and Pakistan all success, peace and prosperity.

You will perhaps remember the last time we met, it was at Ziarat in Baluchistan when Miss Jinnah and you were the guests of Sir Aubrey and Lady Metcalfe. I met you at dinner the evening you arrived and after dinner we had a very long talk. I was then Political Agent, Sibi, which appointment I held for five years before I was posted to Iran in 1943. My last appointment before proceeding on home leave this year was Consul-General at Meshed.

I should like Your Excellency to know that I have informed those above me at Delhi that I am ready to serve Pakistan if my services should be required. Apart from four years in Indian States in Rajputana, Central and Western India, my service since I was appointed to the Indian Political Service in 1923 has been mostly in Baluchistan (8 years), Iran and Kashmir.

I am at present on home leave in Canada trying to get to know my

relations again. I naturally find that people and things have changed since my last home leave, nearly ten years ago.

I should like Your Excellency to know that if I can be of any assistance I should be more than delighted to serve Pakistan either in Pakistan or in connection with representation abroad. I know this country well, where I lived and was educated before I was commissioned in the army in 1915 and I also know the U.S.A. I am now in fifty-first year and my service in India commenced in 1917.

Kindly give my kindest regards to Miss Jinnah and again all good wishes to Your Excellency and Pakistan.

Yours very sincerely,
D. R. SMITH
Indian Political Service

PS. The above address will find me up to October 18th on which date I sail from Montreal for England. My address in England will be c/o Grindlay's Bank Ltd., 54 Parliament Street, London S.W.1.

193

Ruler of Swat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 6-GG/47

D.O.NO. 690

SAIDU SHARIF,
SWAT STATE, N.W.F.P.,
8 August 1947

Your Excellency Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing this to explain that Swat occupies a very strategic position as would be apparent from the study of the map of the N.W. Frontier. This would be in the interests of Pakistan itself to maintain it as a strong bastion. Swat is itself rather perturbed over the future. Its loyalty to the completion of Pakistan has been constant and enthusiastic but the same cannot be said of the neighbouring States or of the people of adjoining districts. Swat is cent per cent Muslim League. I understand that the battalion at Malakand is about to be moved, this might caste [sic] difficulties for Swat and therefore I seek your valuable help, for your kind sanction for supply on payment of the following arms and ammunitions:

1. 100 Bren guns with one million rounds of ammunition.

2. 100 Tommy guns with one million rounds of ammunition.
3. 3,000 rifles .303 army pattern with two million rounds of ammunition.
4. 30 three-inch mortars with one thousand shells per mortar.

This would enable Swat to protect its frontiers and if required to come to the help of Pakistan. I assure you that this strength would be the strength of Pakistan itself and would be always at its disposal. I therefore hope that you would very kindly sanction these from the Government Arsenal on payment.

With all best wishes,

Your sincere friend,
[ABDUL WADOOD GUL SHAHZADA]

194

Mahomedali Talpur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 8-GG/1-2

URGENT/CONFIDENTIAL

22 CURZON ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
8 August 1947

Your Excellency,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to offer my hearty congratulations to you on the achievement of Pakistan and your proposed appointment as its first Governor-General. May God grant you long life and good health to guide the destiny of the Indian Muslims. I would like to see the day when Your Excellency gives a lead to the Muslims of the world.

2. The State of Khairpur is a part of Pakistan. Its Ruler¹ who was not of a sound mind has been deposed² by H.E. the Crown Representative on the 19th July 1947, and his young and minor son, Prince Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur, has been installed on the 24th July 1947.

3. The Political Department has made mess of the affairs of Khairpur. The Secretary to the Resident³ for the Punjab States was promised a job in the State and he has therefore been made a tool by the *Sahibzadas* who want to exploit the State. There is great danger to the life of the minor Ruler as the question of vested interests and the *Gadi* of Khairpur is involved. I have sent a representation⁴ to His Excellency the Crown Representative but I doubt whether the interested parties will

allow it to reach him. The sympathies of the Political Dep[ar]t[men]t lie in the other direction for reasons which I cannot fully submit in this letter.

4. Your Excellency has more than once declared your policy so far as the Indian States are concerned. My enemies and their supporters⁵ want to take advantage of the situation. They want that the matter should not be reviewed until 15th August 1947, and after the Paramountcy lapses, Your Excellency will not interfere in the internal affairs of Khairpur. I have now no other alternative but to appeal to Your Excellency kindly to get the unjust orders of the Political Department reversed. I make this appeal in the name of Islam and humanity. Your Excellency alone can save the life of the minor Ruler of Khairpur and save the Khairpur State from being exploited by a gang of selfish persons.

5. I had written⁶ to Your Excellency's Private Secretary for an interview in Delhi but I think it could not be granted on account of numerous engagements and pressure of work.

6. A copy of my representation which I have sent to H.E. the Crown Representative is submitted herewith for favour of Your Excellency's perusal. Their Highness[es] the Rulers of Bhopal and Dholpur are fully acquainted with the affairs of Khairpur and the justice of my cause but unfortunately both of them are in hot water now on account of [sic] reasons which must be within Your Excellency's knowledge.

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
MAHOMEDALI TALPUR
Heir-Presumptive of Khairpur

¹Mir Faiz Muhammad Khan Talpur.

²See No.189, Vol.III, 479-80.

³Geoffrey Williams, Resident, Punjab States.

⁴Enclosure.

⁵Underlined in the original.

⁶Not traced.

*Enclosure to No. 194
Mahomedali Talpur to Louis Mountbatten*

F. 8-GG/3-10

22 CURZON ROAD, NEW DELHI,
6 August 1947

URGENT

May it please Your Excellency,

Most humbly and respectfully I beg to submit the following matters

for favour of Your Excellency's kind and sympathetic consideration and favourable orders.

2. At the outset I humbly crave for Your Excellency's kind indulgence and beg to be excused for the liberty which I am taking in submitting this petition to Your Excellency. As will appear from the chronicle of events leading up to the present state of affairs, my point of view has neither been understood nor has it been favourably received by those who were shaping the destiny of Khairpur State. I can fully realize Your Excellency's preoccupation and the magnitude of the heavy responsibilities of your exalted office, particularly at a time when our country is passing through a most critical time in its history. With the impending lapse of Paramountcy, it is therefore imperative that I should submit these matters for decision before Your Excellency as Representative of the Crown. As a strong believer in the high standards of British justice and fair play, I am convinced that Your Excellency will impart justice and uphold these noble traditions.

3. Before I submit other matters I beg of Your Excellency kindly to go through the genealogical tree of the Ruling Family of Khairpur, which is submitted herewith,¹ so that the relationship of the various *Sahibzadas* (Members of the Ruling family) are the most important factor which has got great bearing on this case, regarding their nearness in degree to the Ruler and to the direct line of succession, may be understood and determined. From its perusal it will appear to Your Excellency that I am the first cousin of the ex-Ruler Mir Faiz Mohammad Khan Talpur, who has recently been deposed and the uncle of His Highness George Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur who has been installed on the *Gadi* of Khairpur on the 24th July 1947. I am sorry that I was not in Khairpur to witness the happy event of his succession but I have sent the following telegram to him:

While respectfully extending my warm and sincere felicitations to your Highness on this auspicious day of your installation on the *Gadi* of Khairpur, I solemnly pledge my loyalty and support to Your Highness. May God protect you from all evils and grant your Highness long life and happiness

4. The other four *Sahibzadas*, viz. Mir Ali Dinno Khan, Mir Ghulam Hasan Khan, Mir Khan Mohammad Khan and Mir Ghulam Hussain Khan, are distant relations of the Ruler. They have formed an alliance against me because I refused to be a party to their schemes. They profess and pretend sympathy with His Highness but in point of fact they have their own axes to grind. For them the Ruler is a chief pawn in their game, a game of intrigues and hatred and a race for power and

revenge. None of them has the real interest of the Ruler or the State at heart but they are playing a game to exploit the State and its resources to further their own interests. The process has already started and I wonder what will be the state of affairs after 15th August 1947. Two days after the appointment of Mir Ghulam Hussain as President of the Council of Regency, Khan Bahadur Syed Ijaz Ali, O.B.E., who was in Khairpur State since March 1937, resigned and left Khairpur. Khan Bahadur Abdul Qayyum Ahmad Khan, M.B.E., a retired officer of the Indian Police who was in the State as Inspector General of Police, also left the State. Mirza Sajid Husain, Political Secretary, who was Private Secretary to my uncle His Highness late Mir Ali Nawaz Khan Talpur and had been in the State Service since 1916, is also leaving the State. Obviously all these officers did not find the changed conditions congenial and their further stay in Khairpur possible. Mir Ghulam Hussain has started with the appointment of his own elder son as Council Secretary on Rs. 500 p.m. The charge of the Inspector General of Police is now held by his nephew Mir Ahmad Ali Khan whose record of service has been most unsatisfactory. I understand that it is under consideration to appoint Mir Ghulam Hasan Khan as Guardian to His Highness on Rs. 2,000 p.m. with other allowances. This is only the beginning and one cannot predict what will happen after 15th August 1947. The four *Sahibzadas* seem to have formed a vicious circle to exploit the State. The interests of the Ruler and the State cannot be safe in their hands. I am afraid if Your Excellency is not pleased to review the orders which have virtually given the State as a sort of free gift to these *Sahibzadas*, all the good work done to the State by the Political Department since it came under its administration will be undone and the reserve of more than a crore of rupees will be misused and mispent by these selfish *Sahibzadas*.

5. In view of what has been submitted above, I request Your Excellency kindly to review the orders which have been published in an extra-ordinary *Gazette of Khairpur*, a copy of which is submitted herewith.² These orders have been passed only on one-sided representation and no notice has been taken of my various representations which have been totally ignored and disregarded. The issues at stake are such that no question of prestige of those who have got these orders passed should weigh with Your Excellency. Even at this late stage, Your Excellency should kindly impart justice and redress the wrong which has been done not only to me but also to the minor Prince whose interest should be amply safeguarded. Some of the objections which I have got with regard to these orders, are as follows:

a. There is no effective safeguard for the safety of the life and person of the minor Prince.

b. The State is a sacred trust of the young ruler and should not be handed over to a gang of selfish persons who have not the least experience of administration.

c. The election of the President by the votes of the *Sahibzadas* is directly calculated to harm me and my interest in it is quite clear from the beginning that the four *Sahibzadas* have formed an alliance against me. The Constitution has been framed for a period of four years and obviously the four *Sahibzadas* will elect any one from amongst themselves until the Constitution lapses.

d. Each *Sahibzada* is to hold office for one year only and none of them will be able to do any good work even if they had the capacity to do it.

e. These orders give "Parity" to all the *Sahibzadas* irrespective of their seniority and juniority and regardless of their being a near or a distant relation of the Ruler. Some of the *Sahibzadas* are of a low birth. For instance Mir Ghulam Hasan Khan and Mir Ghulam Hussain Khan are the sons of Mir Ahmad Ali Khan who was born of a *Prastar*, i.e. a mistress and a low class woman. It was because of his low birth that Mir Ahmad Ali Khan was not recognised as Heir-Apparent by the British Government in preference to my grandfather the late His Highness Sir Imam Bux Khan Talpur, although the former was the elder one. This historical fact is proved by the report of Sir Evan James, the Commissioner of Sind, which he had sent to H.E. the Governor of Bombay. If the British Government used to give consideration to such things in those old days, why should it not take notice now. Your Excellency has got royal and noble blood in you and can therefore appreciate my point of view more than a common man.

f. There has been old enmity between the descendants of my grandfather, H. H. Sir Imam Bux Khan Talpur, and the descendants of Mir Ahmad Ali Khan and his sons, viz. Mir Ghulam Hasan Khan and Mir Ghulam Hussain Khan, cannot therefore be the well-wishers of H.H. George Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur who is the great-grandson of Sir Imam Bux Khan Talpur.

g. According to the Talpur custom the eldest member of the family is treated as the head of the family. This custom is also observed in Khairpur and each *Sahibzada* is the head of his respective family. It is therefore entirely wrong and unjust that Mir Ghulam Hasan Khan and Mir Ghulam Hussain Khan, who are both brothers and sons of Mir Ahmad Ali Khan, should be appointed as members of the Council of Regency.

Neither my brother nor the brothers of Mir Khan Mohammad Khan have been appointed. I fail to understand as to why this preferential treatment should be meted out to a comparatively junior branch and to the persons of low birth. The younger of the two brothers, i.e. Mir Ghulam Hussain Khan, may, therefore, be kindly removed.

6. I also beg to draw Your Excellency's kind attention to the injustice which has been done in the matter of Succession Act. Chaudhri Nimatullah, the eminent lawyer and a retired Chief Judge of the Oudh High Court, had prepared and drafted a Succession Act embodying the principles of the Mohammadan Law and taking into consideration the history of successions in the State. It was recommended by the President of the Council of Administration, Khairpur State. Unfortunately it has not been adopted. The fact of the matter is that the other *Sahibzadas* want to deprive me of my rightful position and create confusion. With the accession of His Highness George Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur to the *Gadi* of Khairpur, I become the Heir-Presumptive so long as he gets a son and an heir [*sic*]. On the one hand, they say that I cannot be the friend of His Highness because I will be benefitted if, God forbid, anything happens to him. On the other hand, they want to keep my position undefined. One can easily see through their game. Their game is to remove the young Prince from their path and then create confusion after him. Their ambitions are for the *Gadi* of Khairpur. It is therefore very dangerous and risky to give the young Ruler in their charge. There have been several cases of poisoning in the Khairpur Ruling Family. The younger son of my uncle, His late Highness Mir Ali Nawaz Khan Talpur, was poisoned at Sukkur. This incident was reported to the Government by my uncle. With all the emphasis that I can command, I therefore beg to strike a note of warning about the safety of my nephew, the young Ruler of Khairpur. I do not want to take the heavy responsibility of looking after him. If the other *Sahibzadas* show any keenness to keep the young Ruler in their charge, one will easily draw the only obvious conclusion that they have got some evil designs. The safety of the Ruler is my foremost and primary consideration and the administration of the State is a secondary matter. Those who are acquainted with the history of Indian States know it too well that horrible things have happened when the *Gadi* was at stake. Servants can be bribed and incidents can be created. I therefore submit that Your Excellency may be pleased to entrust any of the following Rulers with the responsibility of keeping the young Ruler in their charge:

a. His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal State

b. His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Rampur State

c. His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Dholpur State

All of them have very old and close ties with the Khairpur House and they have had most cordial and friendly relations with the grandfather of the young Prince. Their Highnesses the Rulers of Rampur and Dholpur, with whom I have had a talk on this subject, are quite willing to undertake this responsibility. I feel sure that His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal will also be too pleased to agree to it. The illustrious House of Bhopal has come to the aid of Khairpur in the past and it will not refuse now.

7. With regard to the administration of the State, I beg to submit that in the first instance it is my exclusive right to be appointed as Regent during the minority of the young Ruler. If for some reason or other Your Excellency does not see your way to agree to this proposal, in that case I would request that an outside man with requisite qualifications and experience may kindly be appointed as Administrator. I suggest the name of Khan Bahadur Mirza Mumtaz Hasan Qazilbash who is serving with the British Legation at Kabul. As he is a Shia, there will be no room for the *Sahibzadas* to raise any objection. They were opposed to Khan Bahadur Syed Ijaz Ali, O.B.E., in spite of his good administration, because he was a Sunni.

8. The appointment of any capable man as Vice-President to serve under those *Sahibzadas* who have not got any experience of administration will not at all serve any useful purpose. As a subordinate he will not go against their wishes as he will at all times remember that his services can be terminated at the sweet will of the *Sahibzadas*. According to the Constitution, I have also been given a chance of being elected as President but I am prepared to waive my right in the wider interests of the State. If the other *Sahibzadas* have also got good of the State at heart as they pretend, they should not hesitate to accept this proposal. I trust Your Excellency would have been convinced of my good intentions and sincerity which is underlying my humble petition.

9. With Your Excellency's kind permission, I would like to submit that with the impending lapse of Paramountcy the Rulers will attain sovereign status and become masters of their destinies. The sovereignty is to revert to the Rulers and not to their subjects or their relatives. In view of the fact that the Ruler of our State is a minor, it is necessary that his State should be held in trust until he attains the age of majority. It would be most unfair to the young Prince to hand over his State to unreliable and selfish people whose evil designs are as

clear as daylight.

10. I beg to confirm having sent the following telegram to Your Excellency on the 2nd instant:

Pray order Khairpur State authorities through Punstates,³ Lahore, to defer taking important decisions and effecting drastic changes in administration pending decision of my memorial which will be submitted to Your Excellency very shortly. Meanwhile sanction to Major Harrington Hawes⁴ appointment in our small State on Rupees four thousand seven hundred per mensem may kindly be withheld.

I cannot agree to the appointment of Major Harrington Hawes for two reasons. The first reason is that our small State can hardly afford to pay very high salaries to its officers. The second reason which I have to submit with the utmost reluctance [is that] he has been very helpful and sympathetic to the other *Sahibzadas* from the beginning. According to my information they had promised to keep him in the State after 15th August 1947. Their offer to him is the fulfilment of their part of the agreement now that all the demands of the four *Sahibzadas* have been conceded *in toto*. If at all the appointment of a European officer is considered necessary or desirable in Khairpur, I have not the least objection. Your Excellency is most welcome to appoint any European officer of your own choice provided he has had no dealing with the State and its recent affairs.

In the conclusion, I once more beg to be excused for this lengthy representation and pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to do justice and decide things on their merits. Praying for Your Excellency's long life and happiness,

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
SAHIBZADA MIR MAHOMEDALI KHAN TALPUR

¹Not traced.

²Annexure.

³Resident, Punjab States.

⁴Not traced.

Annexure to Enclosure to No.194

F. 8-GG/11-2

14 July 1947

THE KHAIRPUR STATE GAZETTE, EXTRAORDINARY ISSUE

The following Act passed by the Khairpur *Darbar* is hereby published for general information.

THE KHAIRPUR STATE REGENCY ACT OF 1947, ACT NO. IX OF 1947

Whereas it is expedient to provide for a Board of Regency during the inability of His Highness the Mir Sahib Bahadur, Ruler of Khairpur State, for any reason, to exercise the powers of the Ruler it is hereby enacted as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as the Khairpur State Regency Act No. IX of 1947.

2. It extends to the whole of the Khairpur State and it shall come into force on the 10th July, 1947, and continue until the Ruler is able to exercise the powers of the Ruler.

3. For so long as this Act is in force there shall be a Board of Regency consisting of the following principal *Sahibzadas*:

1. Sahibzada Mir Muh[amma]dali Khan Talpur
2. Sahibzada Mir Ghulam Hasan Khan Talpur
3. Sahibzada Mir Ali Dinno Khan Talpur
4. Sahibzada Haji Mir Ghulam Hussain Khan Talpur
5. Sahibzada Haji Mir Khan Muh[amma]d Khan Talpur

In case of the demise of any of the above-mentioned *Sahibzadas* his eldest male descendant in the male line of descent shall take his place provided he has attained the age of 21 years.

4. The express approval of the *Darbar* contemplated by section 11 of the Khairpur State Government Act, 1947, shall not be accorded in regard to clause (a) and (e) of that section without previous consultation with the Board of Regency.

5. The Chairman of the Board of Regency shall be the President of the Council for the purpose of both clauses (2) and (3) of section 3 of the Khairpur State Government Act.

6. The Board of Regency shall be the legal guardian of the Ruler.

7. In case of the Ruler becoming permanently incapable of exercising the powers of the Ruler a joint meeting of the Board of Regency and the *Darbar* shall decide the action to be taken. The meeting shall be presided over by the Chairman of the Board of Regency who will have only one vote to be exercised in case of equality of votes. The meeting shall not be adjourned without the majority of members present voting for it.

RULES OF BUSINESS

1. There shall be a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be elected by rotation and shall hold office for a period of 12 months. In the absence of the Chairman the Vice-Chairman shall preside.

2. The decisions of the Board of Regency including a decision to

adjourn shall be recorded by a simple majority vote. In case of a tie, the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

3. The Chairman and in his absence the Vice-Chairman shall have power to summon the Board of Regency as and when required, to fix places and times for their sitting and to employ such staff as may be necessary for the recording and communication of their decisions to the *Darbar*.

IJAZ ALI
President,
Council of Administration,
Khairpur State

NOTIFICATION NO. J-36 DATED 12. 7. 47

In pursuance of the provisions of the Khairpur State Regency Act, [No.] IX of 1947, the Khairpur *Darbar* after having held the first election to the offices of Chairman and Vice-Chairman on the 10th July 1947 are pleased to notify that Sahibzada Haji Mir Ghulam Husain Khan Talpur has been elected Chairman and Sahibzada Mir Ali Dinno Khan Talpur has been elected Vice-Chairman[n].

IJAZ ALI
President,
Council of Administration,
Khairpur State

NOTIFICATION NO. J-37

The following Act passed¹ by the Khairpur *Darbar* is hereby published for general information.

IJAZ ALI
President,
Council of Administration,
Khairpur State

¹Not traced.

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Note by E. St. J. Birnie

F. 17-GG/25

G[OVERNMENT] H[OUSE, KARACHI,]
9 August 1947

In accordance with your general approval given in Delhi as to the form of ceremonies to be held on the 13 and 14 and 15 August, orders

have now been issued by the military authorities to conform with the attached programme.¹

Detailed administrative instructions for each ceremony will now be prepared.

You may wish, Sir, to keep this copy for ready reference.

[E. ST. J. BIRNIE]

Colonel,

Military Secretary to Governor-General designate

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 195

F. 17-GG/26-7

CEREMONIES IN KARACHI DURING 13-15 AUGUST 1947

13 AUGUST

- | | |
|------------|--|
| 5.30 p.m. | His Excellency the Viceroy and party arrive at Mauripur airfield (private arrival) |
| 8.30 p.m. | Dinner party at Government House |
| 10.00 p.m. | Reception at Government House |

14 AUGUST

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 8.45 a.m.
(approx.) | President of the Constituent Assembly leaves Gov[ernment] House for the Constituent Assembly |
| 9.00 a.m. | Their Excellencies leave Government House |
| 9.05 a.m. | Their Excellencies arrive Constituent Assembly
Guard of Honour and Royal Salute ceremonies
Viceroy enters Constituent Assembly
Procedure of Constituent Assembly ceremony will be issued by the Secretary, Pakistan Constituent Assembly |
| 9.10 a.m. | Address by Viceroy—who includes message from the King in his speech |
| 9.25 a.m. | Reply by President of the Constituent Assembly |
| 9.45 a.m. | State drive starts along a route lined by the Services
Details of cars taking part in the State Drive will be issued in due course
Route for State Drive is as follows:
Starting point: Constituent Assembly—Court Road—right Frere Road—left Cowie Road—Preedy Road—right Bunder Road—right Garden Road—Elphinstone Street—right Havelock Road |

and then main gate Government House
 11.10 a.m. Their Excellencies leave Government House, Karachi, for Mauripur airfield

11.30 a.m. Their Excellencies leave Mauripur airfield for Delhi

15 AUGUST

INAUGURATION CEREMONY

9.00 a.m. Guests ready [*sic*] assembled on the terrace of Gov[ernmen]t House

9.15 a.m. Swearing-in ceremony

9.30 a.m. His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam takes up his position at the head of the steps

Pakistan and Governor-General's personal flags are unfurled

Royal Salute

31 Guns

His Excellency inspects Guard of Honour and proceeds into the Government House

11.15 a.m. Guests leave Government House

EVENING CEREMONY

6.00 p.m. His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah leave in State for the open space just south of Government House

6.05 p.m. Arrive Parade Ground

Met by H. E. the Governor of Sind and the Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan

Troops in hollow square consisting of three Guards of Honour, RIN, Army and RIAF

Pipe Band

Pakistan Dominion flag at the mast-head furled

Royal Salute

His Excellency the Governor-General inspects the Guard and returns facing the Flag Staff

Pakistan Dominion Flag is unfurled

Royal Salute

Pipe Band plays

31 guns

Troops march past

Air Force fly past

6.45 p.m.
10.00 p.m.

Return in State to Government House
Reception at Government House

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Mehtar of Chitral to M. A. Jinnah

F. 5-GG/3

CHITRAL STATE,
9 August 1947

My dear friend,

My representative Qazi Moh[amma]d Wazir Khan has arrived back in Chitral. He told me how kind you had been to grant him a long interview. I write this letter to express my grateful thanks for your sympathetic attitude towards affairs of Chitral State.

I have written to you,¹ a few days ago, a lengthy letter regarding some problems of Chitral, which I hope you have received. I am looking forward to meeting you at the earliest opportunity.

With best wishes and sincere regards,

Your most sincere friend,
MOH[AMMA]D MUZAFFARUL MULK
[*Mehtar of Chitral*]

¹No. 96.

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U. N. Ghosh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 57-GG/23-4

92 BALLYGUNGE PLACE,
CALCUTTA-19,
9 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Yet another congratulation with apologies. It comes from a fellow citizen of India and an admirer who believes in your patriotic mission of establishing in this ancient country—our motherland, a sovereign

nation of many Sovereign States [*sic*], based upon the principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity.

The flags adopted by the Union of India or proposed to be adopted by Pakistan, if I may be allowed to speak out, do not meet with the ideals that I looked forward to, to be expressed in them. All the same, as the Prov[incial] Commissioner, Bengal Boys Scouts Association, the scouts in both parts of Bengal have been instructed to hoist and salute, on the Independence Day, the flag of the Dominion where the Boy Scouts Local As[sociation] may be situated.

I feel that the spirit of a perfect union of heart[s] of the two Dominions would have been better expressed had the green part in the tri-colour flag of Indian Union had the crescent and star in white, and the white part of Pakistan flag had the blue wheel. The adoption of this simple suggestion may yet be considered.

With prayers for the fulfilment of your mission, for your long life and prosperity of India,

I remain,
Sir,
Yours truly,
U. N. GHOSH

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*HQ Lahore Sub Area, Lahore Cantt., to Lands, Hirings &
Disposals, Lahore Area
(Copy to S. Wajid Ali)*

F. 910/356

LAHORE CANTONMENT,
9 August 1947

SUBJECT : DEREGISTRATION OF BUNGALOW NO. 53 LAHORE CANTT.,¹
OWNED BY MR. M. A. JINNAH

1. Please meet and come to some agreement by arbitration as to fittings etc.

2. If no agreement can be arrived at, to see if Mr. Jinnah will accept different type of E.I. fittings as the original type is not available.

3. All repairs to be complete or an agreement to be reached by 31 Aug. [19]47.

[R. A. HARRIS]
Colonel,
I/c Adm[inistration]

¹For previous correspondence, see Appendix I.67, 75, 80, 84, 88 and 91, Vol. II, 770-1, 776-7, 781, 783-4, 786, and 788, respectively.

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Maharaja of Indore to M. A. Jinnah

F. 3-GG/1

PERSONAL

MANIK BAGH PALACE,
INDORE,
9 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was extremely delighted to meet you and to have a frank talk with you on the 6th evening. I am following this up with this personal letter. I should be very grateful if you could very kindly arrange to send me immediately with my messenger, if possible, a copy of such terms, if any, as may have been offered or may be under contemplation by Pakistan for States which, by reason of their geographical contiguity, may or would wish to accede to the Dominion of Pakistan. I am making this urgent request for the reason that the information I ask would be of help in our present negotiations with the Dominion of India¹ regarding accession to it and comparison with the terms which are contemplated in their case.² I am sure that the Nawab Ruler of Bhopal would be equally interested in the Pakistan terms.

I close with my congratulations on your appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan.³

Yours very sincerely,
YESHWANT RAO HOLKAR

¹The Maharaja had earlier informed Nehru of his wanting to "see Pakistan's terms for an instrument of accession" before entering the Constituent Assembly. See No. 356, TP, XII, 554-5.

²Also see Annex.

³Written in hand.

Annex to No. 199
Henry Grady to George Marshall
Telegram, U. S. National Archives, 845. 00/8-747

[Extract]

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 638

[AMERICAN EMBASSY,] NEW DELHI,
7 August 1947

Bhopal and Indore had stormy interview with Viceroy August 4 and Indore says Viceroy told them they must sign instrument of accession.¹ Indore told Donovan last night just prior his departure from Delhi that he would not sign instrument of accession. He had just concluded interview with Jinnah which Indore admitted had not led to anything definite. However, Jinnah has taken much more conciliatory attitude toward States than has Congress.

Jinnah would like to build up a bloc of States with pro-Pakistan leanings in central India using Indore and Bhopal as a nucleus. I doubt that he will be successful in his effort but Jinnah is undoubtedly treating the States with great caution and courtesy.

Indore said Patel had told him he must join or "we shall starve you out".

Recent disturbances in Rampur State² which resulted in Government of India sending troops to restore order will be used, according to V. K. Menon,³ Patel's private secretary, as example to other Indian States. Rampur had signed instrument of accession but Muslim elements within the State were opposed. *Dawn* of August 7 had editorial bitterly criticizing Patel for sending troops into Rampur. Menon says none of the States rulers can stand up against their subjects and that when trouble breaks out Government of India will send troops only if the State in question will agree to sign instrument of accession, or in case it has already signed, to fall in line with Congress policy.

GRADY

¹During the interview the Maharaja of Indore had expressed resentment at the Viceroy's tone. See No. 335, *TP*, XII, 505-9. Also see Appendix VII. 3.

²The despatch of troops by the Viceroy into Rampur in "this sordid story" was "entirely endorsed" by Vallabhbhai Patel. See No. 385, *TP*, XII, paras 4-6, 591-2.

³High Commissioner for India in the UK from 15 August 1947.

200

M. A. Jinnah to H. L. Ismay

F. 14-GG/13

9 August 1947

Dear Lord Ismay,

I have just received your letter dated 8th of August¹ delivered to me by hand here, and thank you for it.

Clauses (1) and (2) as finally amended and proposed by you are as follows:

Clause 1 : "The Government of Pakistan recognises Kalat as an independent sovereign State in treaty relations with the British Government, with a status different from that of Indian States."

Clause 2 : "Legal opinion will be sought as to whether or not agreements of leases between the British Government and Kalat will be inherited by the Pakistan Government."

I accept them.

I also agree with the draft notification² and you may issue it on the 15th of August 1947.

Thanking you for the trouble that you have taken, and hoping that you are well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

General Lord Ismay,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

¹Enclosure to No. 188.

²Annexure II to Enclosure to No. 188.

201

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 14-GG/14

9 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 8th of August¹ along with a letter of Lord Ismay.²

I have accepted the draft agreement between Pakistan and Kalat, and you may now issue the communique accordingly.

I am also writing to Lord Ismay³ informing him that I have accepted his suggestions with regard to clauses 1 and 2. The remaining clauses will stand as amended by me to which I find that there is no objection because they merely specify the place—"at Karachi".

Also I agree with Lord Ismay that he should issue a notification on the 15th of August as drafted by him⁴ which runs as follows:

In virtue of an agreement reached between the Governor-General of Pakistan and the Khan of Kalat, it is hereby directed that all laws and enactments which on the fourteenth day of August 1947 were in force in the areas in Baluchistan leased by the Khan of Kalat to the British Government shall for the time being continue in force.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 188.

²Enclosure to No. 188.

³No. 200.

⁴Annexure II to Enclosure to No. 188.

Annex to No. 201

Press Communique on Situation between Pakistan and Kalat State

F. 14-GG/3

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
11 August 1947

As a result of a meeting held between a delegation from Kalat and officials of the Pakistan States Department, presided over by the Crown Representative, and of a series of meetings between the Crown Representative, His Highness the Khan of Kalat, and Mr. Jinnah, the following is the situation:

1. The Government of Pakistan recognises Kalat as an independent sovereign State in treaty relations with the British Government; with a status different from that of Indian States.

2. Legal opinion will be sought as to whether or not agreements of leases between the British Government and Kalat will be inherited by the Pakistan Government.

3. When this opinion has been received, further meetings will take place between representatives of Pakistan and the Khan of Kalat at Karachi.

4. Meanwhile a Standstill Agreement has been made between Pakistan and Kalat.

5. Discussions will take place between Pakistan and Kalat at Karachi at an early date with a view to reaching decisions on Defence, External Affairs and Communications.

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M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 10-GG/5

9 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have received your communications regarding the oath¹ and the vesting of property.

I am enclosing herewith² the form of the oath which, I hope, will be acceptable to you.

As regards the vesting of the land, Mr. Cooke³ has taken down a formula which I also hope will be acceptable to you.

With reference to public debt, Mr. Cooke has agreed to report to you my views. My view is that the public debt should be a joint responsibility until other provision is made by agreement. The question of other provision should be taken up at the next meeting of the Partition Council to be held on August the 20th.

As regards the Governors' oath and the Ministers' oath, they are enclosed herewith⁴ separately.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 179.

²Enclosure 1.

³Samuel Burgess Cooke, Constitutional Adviser to Mountbatten.

⁴Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 202

F. 10-GG/6

I, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, do solemnly affirm true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Pakistan as by law established, and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George the Sixth, his heirs and successors in the office of Governor-General of Pakistan.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 202**F. 10-GG/7*FORM OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AND OFFICE
GOVERNORS

I, ..., do solemnly affirm that in the office of ...I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Sixth, his heirs and successors and to the Constitution of Pakistan as by law established, and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of Pakistan without fear or favour, affection or ill will.

MINISTERS (CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL)

I, ...,do solemnly affirm that in the office of...I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Pakistan as by law established, and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of Pakistan without fear or favour, affection or ill will.

FORM OF OATH OF SECRECY

I, ...,do solemnly affirm that I will not directly or indirectly communicate or reveal to any person or persons any matter which may be brought under my consideration, or shall become known to me in the discharge of my duties of office, except as may be required for the due discharge of those duties.

*Enclosure 3 to No. 202**F. 10-GG/8*

[VESTING OF THE LAND]

1. All land which immediately before the appointed day is vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Governor-General in Council shall on that day:

- a. in the case of land situated in India, or in the tribal areas on the borders of India, be under the control of the Dominion of India, and
- b. in the case of land situated in Pakistan or in the tribal areas on the borders of Pakistan, be under the control of Dominion of Pakistan.

Note: The like provision would be applied to goods, coins, bank notes, and currency notes.

2. The powers of control over property conferred upon each of the Dominions by this order shall include all the powers of use, management and disposition incidental to ownership; but each Dominion shall exercise the said powers with due regard to the interests of both Dominions, and shall carry out the terms of any agreement or award under which the

property is to be transferred to the other Dominion.

3. Nothing in this order affects the powers of control over military plant, machinery, equipment and stores, conferred on the Joint Defence Council by the Joint Defence Council Order dated....

[The following remarks are recorded in ink]

Reported to H. E. In the Quaid-i-Azam's view the public debt should be a joint responsibility until other provision is made by agreement. The question of other provision should be taken up at the next meeting of the Partition Council to be held on August 20th.

203

Abdul Jalil Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 57-GG/25

[Original in Urdu]

OFFICE OF THE SAHIFA-I-AHL-I-HADIS,
SADAR BAZAR,
DELHI,
9 August 1947

Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Muslims and others have expressed their views about the Pakistan flag. It may not be out of place for a humble Muslim like me to make some suggestion about the design of the flag in the light of the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah*.

In my humble opinion, the Pakistan flag should be such as to be redolent of the sacred flag of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). I have already had the design of the Prophet's flag published in the *Naya Daur*, Delhi of 7/9 August, 1947, of which a copy is attached.¹

Further, while believing in *Firman-i-Ilahi* [God's commandment] that *Wa Sanazidul-Muhsinin* [We increase the reward of good doers], it would not matter if the idea of five stars probably representing five Provinces were given up. Instead of the crescent and stars, the sun might be shown at the centre of the flag and its rays diffused in order to symbolize the *raison d'être* of Pakistan.

ABDUL JALIL KHAN
Editor

¹Not printed.

204

Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 65-GG/142

450 COMMERCIAL ROAD,
STEPNEY [LONDON E-1],

9 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, [President], Muslim League, Karachi

Please instruct hoisting flag here 15th. Bless us with messages both for flag hoisting and grand dinner party on 18th. All replies regarding League Branches here if any should be sent through me.

ALI KHAN

President,

Great Britain Muslim League

205

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 54-GG/1

9 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not know what your plans are in connection with the Supreme Court of Pakistan, but knowing your views on British judges I thought you might like to have a British Chief Justice at all events to begin with.

The present Chief Justice of India, Sir Patrick Spens, is not available, since, as you know, you have agreed to his appointment as Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal. The best British judge in the opinion of those whom I have consulted is undoubtedly Sir Leonard Stone, the Chief Justice of Bombay. He came to dinner with me last night and I sounded him out as to whether he was proposing to leave Bombay, and if so whether he would be prepared to let me put his name forward for Pakistan.

He seemed very keen to help build up the Supreme Court of Pakistan in which he is very interested. I enclose a copy of a letter¹ which I have just received from him, from which you will see that he is prepared to consider an offer as your Chief Justice if you should want an Englishman.

Would you be so kind as to have a letter sent direct to Sir Leonard to Bombay saying whether you would wish to see him and to pursue this matter or not?

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

'Enclosure.

*Enclosure to No. 205
Leonard Stone to Louis Mountbatten*

F. 54-GG/2

PERSONAL

9 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

With regard to our conversation last night, I think everybody is agreed that it would be impossible for me to continue as Chief Justice of Bombay and, therefore, the question arises whether there is any other appointment in this country, where my services could be usefully employed.

A suggestion has been made that Mr. Jinnah might favourably consider having an English Chief Justice for the Supreme Court of Pakistan. If this were so and my services in that appointment would be welcomed by Mr. Jinnah and his Government I should certainly be prepared to consider such an offer.

Yours sincerely,
LEONARD STONE

206

Ayoob Mohomed Sungani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/133

KUMBAKONAM,
9 August 1947

*Pakistan Zindabad*¹

'Aali Janab,

Indeed, it is beyond description to praise your deeds to achieve our long cherished goal of Pakistan. It is not an exaggeration if we say that you stood all these days with unbounded courage and faced storms,

trials and tribulations to resist the danger of [sic for to] Islam.

As you are a guardian of Muslims, no doubt you have guarded our birth right, religion, etc.

During these hard and testing periods, we all stood side by side with you and [were] even prepared to sacrifice our lives for the liberation of our community from the British domination.

Though we are residing in India our sincerest co-operation is always there. In view of building [of] our Muslim nation, we are herewith sending a very small contribution of Rs. 179 wholeheart[ed]ly as a draft.

Require your blessings. Your leadership will ever remain green in our memory.

Yours obediently,
AYOOB MOHOMED SUNGANI,
for Kumbakonam Memons Cloth Dealers

¹Spelt as Jindabad in the original.

207

Balwant Rai Uppal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65-GG/1
[Original in Urdu]

SUDARSHAN QAUMI SHIFAKHANA,
MATTI, VIA RAJA JANG,
[DISTRICT] LAHORE,
9 August 1947

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

Jai Hind

On 15 August, when the British imperial rule in India comes to an end, you will assume the reins of Pakistan's affairs. I congratulate you on this auspicious day and sincerely wish that under your guidance, Pakistan may become a prosperous and developing country. I assure you that as a loyal citizen of Pakistan I would do my utmost for Pakistan's well-being and welfare.

We do hope you will safeguard the rights of the minorities. We are positive that like the Muslim majority, the minorities also will, under your leadership, live in peace and comfort.

On the occasion of 15th August celebrations, we need a message of

encouragement and reassurance for the minorities¹ from you.

Hindu-Sikh Minority Protection Board, Lahore, a representative body of Hindus/Sikhs, requests your special message² on the occasion.

We are celebrating Pakistan's independence on 15 August and your message is imperative for us. Please oblige us by sending your message by return post.

Truly yours,
BALWANT RAI UPPAL

Secretary,
Hindu-Sikh Minority Protection Board

¹For Jinnah's statement regarding minorities, see Appendix VIII. 2, Vol. III, 1002-3.

²On the occasion of Pakistan's independence, Jinnah addressed the nation on the radio but did not send any message to individuals or groups.

208

Muhammad Yousafuddin Khan Afridi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/319-20
[Original in Urdu]

SAIFABAD,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
9 August 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahamatullahi wa Barakatahu

Greetings to the Muslim nation in general, and to you in particular, on the celebration of the foundation of Pakistan.

It is the blessing of *Allah* that in the present chaotic and delicate times, when Muslims are being treated utterly dismissively, He not only endowed you with determination, vision, and political acumen but also with steadfastness and sagacity to achieve the goal. All this is the result of your sincerity, unwavering faith, unremitting struggle, and spirit of service to humanity. May we see the tree flourish which was watered with the sufferings of Indian Muslims under your leadership.

May the State, which you are founding, become a true Islamic State—free from the scourge of sectarianism. May men be able, individually and collectively, to observe God's commandments so that their economic, moral, and educational conditions may improve, and the Islamic order be established. In consequence, everyone gets

opportunities according to his abilities and capabilities.

May the Musalmans develop a sense of justice and a consciousness of duty, leading to the unity of humankind and, as a sequel, to the fostering of peace and security, love and affection, and fulfillment of the purpose of creation of man. May the objective of "O Prophet, propagate all that has been revealed to you" be fulfilled (that is, Islam in practice may reach all corners of the globe).

On this rare occasion of rejoicing (when the renaissance of Indian Muslims has begun, which has caused the tragedy in Bihar, led to brutal and wanton killings of Muslims in the different parts of India, and brought on all that the oppressors have perpetrated), this humble servant of the *Millat* has the honour of presenting to his esteemed, popular and beloved Quaid a short work of his, entitled *Syed-us-Shuhada (Fazeelat -i- Pakeeza)*. I would be honoured if it is accepted.

Lastly, as a humble servant of the nation, I pray to *Allah* that, for the sake of the holy Prophet (PBUH), He [may] bless you with a long life, bless your monumental services, enable you to take maximal part in the reconstruction of the Muslim nation as a whole, and bless the State of Pakistan.

Your well-wisher,
 MUHAMMAD YOUSAFUDDIN KHAN AFRIDI
Preacher and English Typist,
Department of Industries and Production,
Sultanat-i-Asifia

208A

A. Wahab Akhtar to F. Amin

F. 25-GG/10

OPP[OSITE] KHORI GARDEN,
 KARACHI,
 10 August 1947

Dear Mr. Amin,

Further to the talk I had with you, may I request you to inform Quaid-i-Azam that a Muslim Merchants Goodwill Trade Delegation of leading Memon Merchants from Bombay and Calcutta consisting of Mr. H. H. Ismail, Sir [Gul Mohamed] Adamjee, Mr. Hussain Kassam Dada and others is arriving in Karachi on the 11th instant.

The Delegation will be in Karachi from 11th to 16th instant. May I

request you to get us an appointment so that we could wait on Quaid-i-Azam, and also have a conference with Pakistan Central Government Ministers in order to achieve speedy results for action. As you promised, I hope you will explain the matter to Quaid-i-Azam.

We are meeting Mr. Hidayatullah and all Provincial Ministers on the 12th at 12 noon. Could you possibly get us a date round about that?

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Mr. Chundrigar.

I expect you will please treat this as urgent.

Yours very truly,
A. WAHAB AKHTAR
Secretary,

The Memon Merchants Welfare Society, Bombay

*Enclosure to No. 208A
A. Wahab Akhtar to I. I. Chundrigar*

F. 25-GG/ 11

OPP[OSITE] KHORI GARDEN,
KARACHI,
10 August 1947

The Hon'ble Mr. I. I. Chundrigar

Dear Sir,

Further to the talk I had with you on phone, I have to inform you that a Muslim Merchants Goodwill Trade Delegation consisting of the following members is arriving in Karachi on the 11th instant:

Messrs. H. H. Ismail, Haji Valimohamed Kassam Dada, Gul Mohamed Adamjee, Haji Dawood Mohamed Siddique, Dawood Kassam, Haji Tayeb, and Abdul Majid Karim.

The Delegation will be in Karachi till the 16th instant. May I request you to give us an appointment so that the Delegation could meet the Ministers of the Pakistan Central Government at a Conference, with a view to speedily evolving a working plan for the rapid industrialization of Pakistan.

We are meeting the Hon'ble Mr. Hidayatullah and all Provincial Ministers on the 12th at 12 noon. Could you please give us a date round about that?

It is hardly necessary for me to suggest that any practical move in the direction of industrialization will get high priority from you, in

spite of heavy work nowadays.

Thanking you and expecting an early reply,

Yours truly,
A. WAHAB AKHTAR
Secretary,

The Memon Merchants Welfare Society, Bombay

209

Chia-Luen Lo to M. A. Jinnah

F. 4-GG/1

THE CHINESE EMBASSY,
NEW DELHI,
10 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am directed by my Government to transmit to you a telegram¹ of congratulations from President Chiang, which I have pleasure in doing in advance, in the hope that you will find sufficient time to send a reply so that both messages may appear in newspapers in Pakistan and China on the 15th of August.

With my best wishes and regards,

Very sincerely yours,
CHIA-LUEN LO
[Ambassador]

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 209

F.4-GG/3

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
NEW DELHI,

COPY OF TELEGRAM OF CONGRATULATIONS

To His Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General of Pakistan

On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf I wish to offer you my warm congratulations on the creation of Pakistan and my sincere wishes for her future prosperity and success. I am confident

that with the loyal and whole-hearted support of your people your Government will usher in a new era of freedom and progress. Please accept my assurances of friendship and cooperation.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK
President,
The Republic of China

210

S. Izharul Huq Faroghi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/ 312

[Original in Urdu]

PARA THANA, DISTRICT MANBHUM,
BIHAR,
10 August 1947

Allaho Akbar

*Bahazoor-i-Aqdas A'la Hazrat Governor-General Mamlekat-i-Pakistan,
Daam Iqbalahu* [May luck shine on you for ever]

We the Muslims of Bihar greet and felicitate you on the attainment of Pakistan and on your appointment as Governor-General resulting from your selfless service and unremitting struggle. We pray for your long life and health and your sagacious leadership. In the hope that you will always keep in view the interest of us living in this far-flung area, the following submissions are made for your kind consideration.

You might be aware that in Manbhum District of Bihar, Hindus are in majority and hold top positions in the local administration.

They have been active against us for some time and are out to ruin us. They are affluent. We feel disappointed in the district authorities. They are hostile to us. For some time we had been despondent and groping in the dark. We did not have your sincere guidance to benefit from. In this environment of despair and pessimism, we had a god-send: your representative, Syed Abdul Ghafoor Shamsi, arrived to guide us.

He set up the Muslim League here with Islamic zeal and fervour and began to assist and encourage us unhesitatingly and remained active with a steely determination. Our President stood by us while

we were in the grip of a catastrophe and helpless people were being subjected to atrocities. During these calamitous days, he left no stone unturned to protect our honour and hold us together. Unfortunately, the administration of the district has been handed over by the Government to the *Panchayat* on which no Leaguer is represented and where Congress or pro-Congress elements call the shots. The whole *Panchayat* wants to reduce us to a miserable condition. We have been denied our full quota of civil supplies. Our womenfolk have been reduced to semi-nakedness because of not being supplied with cloth. Job opportunities and Government concessions have been denied to us and we find ourselves in a predicament. As ill luck would have it, our esteemed President, who shared our distress, has been summoned by you to West Pakistan.

Oh, the wishes that turned unto dust!

We humbly request you, in view of our unending miseries, to let Syed Abdul Ghafoor Shamsi remain, if possible, in Bihar or to be kind enough to assign another distinguished person of Manbhum District to help us.

We regret that we are unable, owing to the long distance of 1500 [sic] miles, to attend the celebrations. We, the forlorn and pillaged human beings, however, at this historic moment, send you the gift of scars of our grieving hearts and pangs of separation. We would feel honoured if it were accepted.

SYED IZHARUL HUQ FAROGHI
*Secretary, Thana Muslim League,
 On behalf of Muslims
 of Para Thana and Dist. Manbhum*

211

F. Amin to Mrs Eileen Bond

F. 16-GG/7

11 August 1947

Dear Madam,

With reference to your letter dated the 4th of August 1947¹ enclosing specifications of your property in Quetta, I am directed by the Quaid-i-Azam to request you to let me have a few photographs of your house from different angles, together with any official offer which you have received from the Government of India for this property so

that he may consider the question and, if necessary, take up the matter immediately.

Yours faithfully,

F. AMIN

PA to the Governor-General designate

Mrs. Eileen Bond,
Five Springs,
Race Course Spinney, Quetta

¹No. 113.

212

T. J. Bhojwani to K. H. Khurshid

F. 32-GG/1

MUNICIPAL CORPORATION,
KARACHI,
11 August 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that this Corporation have resolved to present a Civic Address of welcome to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General designate of Pakistan. The Corporation will be grateful if Quaid-i-Azam will consent to receive the address and fix the date and time that will suit him for the purpose.

A telegram was sent to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in this connection to his Delhi address as per copy enclosed.¹

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

T. J. BHOJWANI
M.A., J.P.,
Chief Officer

¹Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 212
Hakim Muhammad Ahson to M. A. Jinnah
Telegram, F. 32-GG/2

[KARACHI,]
 5 August 1947

Corporation resolved last evening present Civic Address of welcome to you on arrival in Karachi to be followed by Mayor's Reception. Shall feel grateful by your acceptance. Kindly wire date and time suitable for the purpose.¹

HAKIM MUHAMMAD AHSON
Mayor

¹On Jinnah's behalf F. Amin informed the Karachi Municipal Corporation that the Quaid had consented to receive the Civic Address on 25 August at 5 p.m. See F. 32-GG/3. Not printed. Also see the *Pakistan Times*, 27 August 1947.

213

Shah Nawaz Bhutto to M. A. Jinnah
F. 124(8)-GG/1-4

JUNAGADH,
 11 August 1947

Your Excellency,

After you were graciously pleased to grant me an interview¹ on July 16, I conveyed your advice to His Highness the Nawab Saheb Bahadur² to keep out under any circumstances till August 15. If per chance we allow our neck to be put under the guillotine, we shall be cut and finished. Your further assurance that you will not allow Junagadh to be starved out or tyrannized and that Veraval was not far from Karachi gave His Highness immense relief. He was extremely grateful to you and was very happy to receive such sympathetic and encouraging response.

We have stuck to your instructions in spite of all threats, pressure and demoralising propaganda to compel us to succumb to [the] machinations of the Congress High Command supported by the highest authorities, who control the destiny of States at the present moment.³ Your Excellency is fully aware that in the estimation of our non-Muslim people, Junagadh is considered the most sacred place after Kashi. Krishna was killed in

Junagadh. The destruction of Somnath Mandir by Mohamed[Mahmood] Gaznavi⁴ could never be forgotten or forgiven. And the Girnar, the sacred place with their temples, happens to be in Junagadh. Junagadh stands all alone surrounded by Hindu Rulers' territories and British India Congress provinces. We are of course connected by sea with Pakistan. If geographical position by land was fairly considered, Cutch, Jamnagar and other territories adjoining Junagadh should be considered connected with Pakistan as they once in past actually formed the part of Sind.

I wish I was able to be present at Karachi on that *great and auspicious day when your proud achievements could be witnessed with my own eyes. It would be a proud day for Islam all over the world to see the greatest and most powerful Muslim State set up by your effort, sacrifice and foresight.*⁵ To us the position here is full of apprehensions when Baroda threatens to claim Somnath. Jamnagar is encouraging particularly our petty Muslim States⁶ attached to Junagadh who in turn receive messages of encouragement and help from Hon'ble Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. Your Excellency will no doubt appreciate that this world is not free from fifth columnists and traitors. Our opponents want to play the same game and repeat the same tactics as were adopted by the East India Company. To create some trouble among vassals⁷ of Junagadh, to cause confusion in Muslim World, is their aim. Your Excellency may be aware His Highness and his Government have no territorial ambitions and their motives have been most honourable. All attached units have received most generous treatment at the hands of Junagadh. No States in Kathiawar and Gujerat can have such a record.

You will readily understand that at this critical moment when one has to be guarded against any emergencies it is impossible for me to leave His Highness and his Government even for a day. *I have thus to deprive myself of my heart's desire to be present at Karachi on the day of your installation as Governor-General.*⁸ We are deputing Tazimi Sardar Ismail Abrahani, Private Secretary to His Highness, with an authoritative letter from His Highness to seek an interview with Your Excellency. Mr. Abrahani is the most loyal and devoted servant of His Highness. It is but essential that immediately Your Excellency assumes charge of the exalted position of Governor-General of Pakistan on August 15 or latest on August 16, there should be [an] announcement⁹ that Junagadh has acceded to Pakistan [on] the three subjects (Defence, External Affairs and Communications) or any other course which you suggest best in the interest of the State. This, I hope, will stop all evil schemes of our adversaries. Though the Muslim population of Junagadh is

only 20% and non-Muslims form 80%,¹⁰ seven lakh Muslims of Kathiawar survive because of Junagadh. Junagadh is the premier State of Kathiawar and on it depend all the hopes of existence of our Muslim brethren around. The very survival of the Ruling dynasty will be at stake. The sacrifices and charities of the *Babis* of Junagadh are well known to Muslims of India whose support should not be wanting at the moment. So far internal trouble is concerned we shall be able to face it and maintain Law and Order, though unfortunately as I submitted to Your Excellency at Delhi,¹¹ we have not received the quota of arms to which we were entitled in peace time. This is not the time for me to accuse anyone of negligence. I assure you, should necessity arise, we will give a good account of ourselves. I consider that no sacrifice is great to preserve prestige, honour and rule of His Highness and protect Islam and Muslims of Kathiawar. But as I said before, we want protection against external trouble including economic pressure. We are already threatened with a customs cordon at Jetpur, a few miles off Junagadh, instead of the Viramgam line. Your help in time will solve all these problems.

Therefore, I beg of Your Excellency that in spite of your innumerable engagements to spare a little time to grant an interview¹² to our emissary and give him whatever advice and assurances you think best in the interest of all concerned.

With kindest regards and happy recollections of old,

I remain,

Your Excellency's most obediently,
 SHAH NAWAZ BHUTTO
Dewan, Junagadh State

¹See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-7*, Lahore, 1989, 84.

²Mahabat Khan.

³Sidelined in the original.

⁴Sultan Mahmood of Ghazna, sacked Shivlinga temple at Somnath, in 1024.

⁵See note 3 ante.

⁶Also see No. 68.

⁷See note 3 ante.

⁸On 15 August Junagadh State decided to accede to Pakistan and issued a press communique to that effect. See F. 124(8)-GG/13. Not printed.

¹⁰Also see Appendix VI. I, Vol. I, Part II, 143-44.

¹¹See note 1 ante.

¹²Also see No. 231.

214

Chia-Luen Lo to M. A. Jinnah

F. 4-GG/2

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
NEW DELHI,

11 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In accordance with instructions, I have the honour to inform you that my Government has agreed to the exchange of Ambassadors between Pakistan and China. This news may be released in both countries on the same date of August 15th.

I may add that there will be a separate Chinese Embassy with a separate Ambassador in Pakistan and that it has decidedly been the consistent plan of my Government to have this segregation, a fact which I am glad to bring to your attention.

An early reply by letter or telegram in confirmation of the above will be greatly appreciated.

With my best regards and wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
CHIA-LUEN LO
[Ambassador]

215

Sh. Enayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 76-GG/16
[Original in Urdu]

TAJ COMPANY LTD.,
RAILWAY ROAD,
LAHORE,
11 August 1947

Bismillah'ir Rahman ir Rahim

[In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful]

Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim

[We praise Him and salute His gracious beloved Messenger]

Most respected His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Respected Sir, *Salaam Masnoon* [salutation]

On behalf of the Taj Company, I venture to present you a copy of the holy *Qur'an*, published by the Company on the Independence Day. Financially, this may not cost much, but, to my mind, the world's most expensive and rare things cannot match its worth.

This is the last message from the Creator to His creation. Muslims are yearning to act in accordance with this divine law. Therefore, now that Pakistan [Constituent] Assembly is going to frame the constitution, I venture to present this copy to you in the hope that the fundamental law of the land will be framed in conformity with its injunctions. Not only does the overwhelming majority of the *Ummah* devoutly wish it; indeed, it is *agof* for it.

The copy of *Qur'an* presented to you has been printed by the Taj Company at its own press. The Company will deem it a favour if you communicate your independent views in a few words (about the quality of the printing and get-up).

Shahan Cheh ajab chun banawazand gadara. [It is not unusual for kings to patronise beggars].

Yours,
ENAYATULLAH
Managing Agent

216

B. I. Evans to M. A. Jinnah

F. 101-GG/1

QUEEN MARY COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,
MILE END ROAD, LONDON E.1,
11 August 1947

Dear Sir,

It is over twenty years ago now that I had the honour of meeting you¹ in India and I have from that time onwards had a long interest in the cultural relationships between India and this country and generally between the East and the West.

I have always felt that nothing could be done while the political issue remained so unsettled, but has not the time now come for us to try and build up some genuine contacts in the cultural field?

If you were of this view I should have great pleasure in outlining some specific proposals, though there may be some delay in my reply as I am proceeding to the United States and Canada to lecture.²

Yours sincerely,
B. IFOR EVANS
M. A., D.Litt.
Principal

¹Not traced.

²Acknowledgement sent on 11 October 1947. See No. F.101-GG/2. Not printed.

217

Simeon H. F. Goldstein to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1108/152

276 FIFTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK CITY,
11 August 1947

Sir,

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a brief article of mine,¹ which, I trust, may be of some value in the creation of a constitution for Pakistan.

It proposes a compromise between, on the one hand, the old European system of cabinet government, and on the other hand, the American system of an executive which is almost completely independent of the legislature.

I humbly believe that it contains the best features of both systems and I therefore commend it to your consideration.

Respectfully yours,
SIMEON H. F. GOLDSTEIN

¹Not traced.

218

M. A. Jinnah to Maharaja of Indore

F. 3-GG/2

11 August 1947

Your Highness,

I have received your letter of August 9th¹ today delivered to me by

Nawabzada Masood Quli Khan, and I thank you for your good wishes and congratulations.

As regards the position of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly *vis-a-vis* the States, we have today appointed a Committee to negotiate with those States who are desirous of joining the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. When we get the complete list of those who wish to negotiate the terms of accession to Pakistan Constituent Assembly or wish to enter into arrangements as independent sovereign States with regard to matters which may be to the advantage of both, it will be more conveniently considered and finally it may take a concrete form after consultations and exchange of views between the Negotiating Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and the States concerned. The matter certainly will be taken up without any unavoidable [*sic*] delay, and I do not think that any of the States should be hustled into giving a definite reply immediately on or before the 15th of August. In my opinion the various States must have sufficient time to carefully consider their respective positions before they go into one Constituent Assembly or the other, or remain independent and enter into such arrangements as may be beneficial to both.

I hope I have explained the situation sufficiently to enable you to adopt such course as you may be advised to do.

I know that even those who have declared their readiness to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly in some form or the other are not yet in a position to accept the terms of the Instrument of Accession put forward by the Hindustan Constituent Assembly.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 199.

219

Nawab of Junagadh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 124 (8)-GG/5

THE PALACE, JUNAGADH,
11 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Saheb,

At the outset, I most cordially reiterate my congratulations of [*sic* for on] the happiest and proudest day of your life as a maker of

Muslim nation and on your being the first Governor-General of the Pakistan Dominion, the biggest Muslim State in the world.

I convey to Your Excellency my most grateful thanks for the very encouraging message so kindly sent to me through my Dewan, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, who has had the honour of interviewing you at Delhi on the 16th July last at my instance.¹

On a very careful consideration, I may say, *I have decided to federate with the Pakistan Dominion and make declaration to that effect before the 15th August 1947.*² In view of this I send my Private Secretary, Mr. Ismail H. M. Abrahani, for negotiating and settling the terms of the Instrument of Accession with the Negotiating Committee of Pakistan³ or Representatives of Pakistan and bring its final draft to me for my acceptance.

In the meanwhile to fill up the void in the administrative field as a result of lapse of paramountcy, I authorize my Private Secretary, Mr. Ismail Abrahani, to discuss and settle the terms of the Standstill Agreement⁴ with the Pakistan Representatives and I further authorize him to sign it also on behalf of my State.

With very kind regards and prayers for your health, happiness and long life,

Yours sincerely,
MAHABAT KHAN
Nawab of Junagadh

¹See No. 213, note 1.

²Sidelined in the original.

³On 11 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan adopted a resolution authorising the President to set up Committees for the purpose of negotiating with the representatives of Indian States, Tribal Areas, Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.

⁴See Annex II to Appendix VII. 9.

220

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 46-GG/1-2

KARACHI,
11 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith sending a letter¹ which I have received just now from the Viceroy together with a copy of the telegram² which he had received from the Governor of N.W.F.P. You will be meeting Sir George Cunningham today or tomorrow. I would suggest your discussing the

whole matter with him thoroughly. I feel the Viceroy has let us down and has completely played into the hands of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

¹Enclosure 1.

²Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 220
Louis Mountbatten to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 46-GG/3

10 August 1947

Dear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,

You will remember that we discussed in Executive Council the problem of the North West Frontier Province Ministry, and my Pakistan colleagues advised me to direct the Governor to ask the Ministry to resign, and if it refused to dismiss it.¹ Secondly, if the first course was considered unconstitutional, I was advised to direct the Governor to go into section 93 so that the new Governor could appoint a new Ministry on the 15th August. I undertook to accept this advice provided I was assured that it would be constitutional for me to do so, about which I had grave doubts, and informed you I was referring the matter to the Secretary of State.

2. The Secretary of State has now sent me instructions that both of these courses of action would in the present circumstances be unconstitutional and it is, therefore, impossible for me to accept the advice tendered, since in this case I have to act in my discretion, which means taking the advice of the Secretary of State and not the Executive Council.

3. What action should be taken by Sir George Cunningham on or after the 15th August is a matter which I expect you or Mr. Jinnah will wish to discuss with him when he comes through Karachi.

4. I am sending this letter by the hand of Ian Scott,² who is joining the office of the U.K. High Commissioner, Pakistan. He will be in Karachi from the 11th August, and will be in touch with Birnie about the arrangements for my visit. If you should wish to ask him any questions he will be at your service.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

PS. I have just received a telegram from Lockhart. I enclose a

copy as you will want to have the latest view of the situation in the N.W.F.P.

¹See Appendix IV.3.

²Deputy Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Enclosure 2 to No. 220
Rob Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten¹

Cypher Telegram, F. 46-GG/4

SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE

9 August 1947

2910-S/No. CA 167

Addressed Viceroy repeated Secretary of State

I have had further consultation with Area Commander and Inspector-General of Police with reference to your recent telegrams.

They are both gravely perturbed at prospect of dismissal at this particular juncture and foresee very serious and widespread disturbances. Area Commander is emphatic that owing to partition of troops, movements of forces at his disposal are inadequate and some of doubtful temper.

Both consider that we shall be in better position in two months time when Cunningham will have had chance to exert his influence. We are going ahead with preparations to act at once but in the circumstances I feel compelled to recommend delay and that you should ask Jinnah to urge patience on League.

My information is that any League repercussions to temporary retention of present Ministry would be less dangerous.

Dissolution might still save situation.

¹Also see No. 392, TP, XII, 615-6.

221

Miss Enid Lakeman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1108/150-1

82 VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S. W. 1,
11 August 1947

Your Excellency,

The good wishes of every British democrat go to the two new

Dominions in this historic week. If in any way we can help towards making their future a great and happy one, we shall be proud to do so.

In this spirit the P[roportional] R[epresentation] Society has from time to time submitted certain memoranda to Indian leaders, and some of these were circulated to the members of the Constituent Assembly. We do not know to what extent the members of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan may have had the opportunity of seeing these, and I therefore take the liberty of sending you—

- a. a memorandum discussing various electoral systems from the point of view of India's special needs;¹
- b. a memorandum drawn up for Germany but of interest to you for its examples of the single transferable vote in actual practice;² and
- c. a few general leaflets.³

I may add a note on the special difficulties of a country with a high percentage of illiteracy. As you will see from the example of Malta, illiteracy is not an insuperable bar to the use of the single transferable vote, but we suggest that it might be advisable to consider an electoral system based on the unit which is so important in Indian life, namely the village. We have been much interested in accounts of elections carried out in the villages, and in a suggestion made by a former Inspector-General of the Indian Police, Mr. W. A. Gayer, in a letter to *The Times* on the 11th December, 1930, he proposes an electoral college made up of village representatives elected much [in the same way] as the headmen are now, and considers that the close personal contacts of village life would tend to promote a tolerant atmosphere in such elections. This method would not be inconsistent with the use of the single transferable vote: this could be applied throughout—and might be found easier to apply in the small unit of the village—or it might be used only for the electoral college to elect the Pakistan legislature, leaving the method of choosing the village representatives to the discretion of the villages themselves.

Should you desire any further information or guidance which is within our power to give, our resources are at your disposal.

Yours faithfully,
ENID LAKEMAN
Research Secretary,

The Proportional Representation Society

^{1,2&3}Not traced.

222

Paul Menezes to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65-GG/10

3 HORMUZD HOUSE,
PREEDY STREET,
KARACHI-3,
11 August 1947

Your Excellency,

I have much pleasure in sending you a copy of *Topical Review*¹ for the favour of a review and message to Christians generally and Goans in particular. Or you may send one after your own way [sic].

I really will not know how to thank you for such a favour. The Christians need and are waiting for such a call from one in your position, and I as editor take the responsibility.

Topical Review has had very favourable reviews in the *Anglo-Lusitano* of Bombay (19th July 1947) and the Catholic *New Leader* of Madras (27 July 1947). Consequently, I am in a position to apply for this boon.

I do not know how you will like the magazine. However, I may say that I take the responsibility for the majority of the views expressed therein, though not all. I hold independent views, but I am not in a position to ventilate such independence in my own paper, though I have voiced straight views in the Catholic *Calcutta Herald*, *New Leader*, Madras, and *Anglo-Lusitano* of Bombay.

I hope I will not be denied the boon I ask for, for which I can only remain most grateful.

Your faithful servant,
PAUL MENEZES

¹F. 65-GG/11-30. Not printed.

223

*Shan Hin to M. A. Jinnah*¹

F. 30-GG/332
[Original in Arabic]

IMAM TAIMUDDIN JAMIA MASJID,
378 YUAN ROAD,
SHANGHAI, CHINA,
11 August 1947

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE BENEFICENT, THE MERCIFUL

Peace and greetings be upon the commander of the faithful Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, *Allah's* mercy be on him in both the worlds. Congratulation on the blessed victory and greetings from a Muslim *Imam* in China as well as other Muslims and believers in China to all the Muslims in Pakistan and to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. May *Allah*, the Almighty, shower His blessing and mercy on them. We say long live Pakistan. *Pakistan Zindabad!*

"There is no god but *Allah* and Muhammad (peace be upon him) is the Messenger of *Allah*".

SHAN HIN
Imam

¹Reply sent by PS to Jinnah on 11 January 1948. See F. 30-GG/333. Not printed.

224

Shantilal L. Thar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 84/27

AGA KHAN BUILDING,
9 DALAL STREET, FORT,
BOMBAY,
11 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall thank you to please let me know where I should send 1000 Bengal Steel shares¹ duly transferred to your name.

I hope you must have got the Osmanshahi² and Azamjahi³ shares direct from the Company transferred to your name.

Thanking you and always assuring you of my best attention,

Yours sincerely,
SHANTILAL L. THAR
Share and Stock Broker

PS. I had discussed the proposition of Karachi Electric [Company] with Ispahani & Yousaf Haroon. The latter knows all about it and I believe when time permitting will apprise you of it.

¹See Appendix I. 44, Vol. II, 756.

²See Appendix I. 69, *ibid.*, 771-2.

³See Appendix I. 71, *ibid.*, 773.

225

George Abell¹ to Francis Mudie²

Telegram, F. 11-GG/1

CONFIDENTIAL

12 August 1947

Following for Mr. Jinnah

H.E. has heard from Lord Addison³ who says he is most grateful for your kind invitation to stay with you on his outward journey on the 17th/18th but regrets that the schedule for his outward journey will not now permit him to accept it. His arrangements now are that his aircraft arrives Karachi 2230 hours August 17th, departs 0130 18th. He hopes to visit Mr. Jinnah for a couple of days at the end of October.

¹Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

²Governor of Sind.

³Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs from 1945.

226

Hakim Mohammed Ahson to M.W. Abbasi

F. 29-GG/1

KARACHI,

12 August 1947

Dear Mr. Abbasi,

You will pardon me for addressing this in your personal name before we have actually been formerly [*sic* for formally] introduced to

one another, but since the matter is an urgent one, I thought it desirable to write to you directly.

As you are aware, the Corporation of the City of Karachi have decided to present a civic address of welcome to Quaid-i-Azam and I had sent a telegram¹ to that effect asking for a suitable time and date convenient to Quaid-i-Azam while he was still at Delhi. Ever since then, I have tried to get in touch on the telephone with the authorities at the Government House and I am told that the Quaid-i-Azam has actually desired a date to be fixed for this function after the 20th.

As very little time is left in between and as the matter is a very urgent and important one, may I request that you will be good enough to get the confirmation from Quaid-i-Azam and let me have the final date and time convenient to him.

I may in the end point out that this civic address is to be followed by my reception to Quaid-i-Azam and Miss F[atima] Jinnah in the capacity of the Mayor of Karachi. Accordingly I may request that the date and time² may be fixed keeping in view this reception also. It is desired to present the address of welcome in the Municipal Office while the Mayor's reception will be held at the Beaumont Lawn, Mahatma Gandhi Garden.

An early reply to this will be highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMED AHSON
Mayor of Karachi

M. W. Abbasi,
Secretary to Governor-General designate

¹No. 144.

²25 August 1947 at 6.30 p.m. was fixed for the event.

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib, Karachi

Kindly accept my humble and heartiest congratulations on your remarkable achievement of independence and freedom. Praying

Almighty grant you long life to make Pakistan great and its people happy. Exceedingly sorry unable come personally owing illness will avail myself honour waiting on you shortly.

Respectful regards,

WAJID

228

Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram , F.17/2-GG/3

NEW YORK,
12 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi

C[olumbia] B[roadcasting] S[ystem] London will advise you regarding time your broadcast 8/13¹ as they arranging pick up.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

¹13 August 1947.

229

Alim T. Gidvani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 24-GG/1

POST BOX NO. 545,
FRERE ROAD, KARACHI -1,
12 August 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With profound apologies for encroaching on your valuable time I [beg] leave to submit that the Karachi Municipal Club is organising a cosmopolitan dinner on the occasion of the coming 'Id. We shall all feel privileged if you kindly grace the occasion by your participation. The dinner is to be held on the 19th instant in the Khalikdina Hall.

The Municipal Club is constituted of councillors, ex-councillors and officers of the Karachi Municipal Corporation. I have the privilege to be its President for the year and in pursuance of the desire of its members I write this to solicit your participation.

On one previous occasion also, when 'Id and Dewali fell on identical

dates, the Club organised a dinner and it was availed of by most of the leading citizens who by participation gave expression to a feeling of goodwill between different communities. Today I feel the need of such a dinner far more than on previous occasion and I trust you will find time in spite of your numerous other engagements.

I shall feel grateful if you kindly convey this invitation to your illustrious sister who along with you shall be the principal guests of the evening.¹

With my sincere regards,

Yours,
ALIM T. GIDVANI,
President,
Karachi Municipal Club

¹A reply regretting acceptance of the invitation, was sent on 20 August. See No. F. 24-GG/2. Not printed.

230

M. A. Jinnah to M.Y. Akbary

F. 76-GG/2

[KARACHI,]
12 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your two letters, the last one dated the 6th August 1947,¹ and I regret the delay in replying owing to enormous pressure and rush which we are going through at present.

I should be very glad to attend to this matter after about a fortnight when I would like to know more particulars about your kind offer², for which I thank you.

Yours sincerely,
[M. A. JINNAH]

M.Y. Akbary,
Truck and Car Dealer,
Akbary Garage,
Manaitand,
Dhanbad

¹In his letter of 6 August, he had, *inter alia*, offered 20 trucks free of cost and obligation. See F. 76 GG/1. Not printed.

²A note is recorded by F. Amin on office copy of this document to the effect that particulars of the vehicles offered etc. might be obtained.

231

*M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Junagadh**F. 124(8)-GG/7**12 August 1947*

Your Highness,

Thank you for your letter dated the 11th of August.¹ I am grateful to you for your congratulations and good wishes for Pakistan and myself as the Governor-General.

I am glad that Your Highness has decided to federate with Pakistan and make declaration to that effect before the 15th of August 1947.

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly has now appointed a Negotiating Committee² and I would suggest that you may make your declaration and announce that you have joined the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. After the 15th you can send your representatives for negotiating and settling the terms of Instrument of Accession with the Negotiating Committee of Pakistan, and also at the same time to discuss and settle the terms of the Standstill Agreement³ with the representatives of Pakistan.

Thanking you again for your good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[M. A. JINNAH]

¹No. 219.

²See *ibid.*, note 3.

³See *ibid.*, note 4.

232

*M. A. Jinnah to Columbia Broadcasting System, New York**Telegram, F. 17/2-GG/2**12 August 1947*

Sioussat, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York. Your telegram fifth¹ eighth² August fifteen time 8/13³ will suit me provided you can make arrangements at Karachi.

[M. A.] JINNAH⁴

¹No. 115

²No. 181.

³13 August 1947.

⁴The telegram was signed on behalf of Jinnah by Farrukh Amin, Personal Assistant to Governor-General designate of Pakistan.

233

M. A. Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Bhutto

F. 124(8)-GG/6

12 August 1947

Dear Sir Shah Nawaz,

I have received your letter of the 11th of August¹ and I thank you for it.

I have discussed with your representative, Mr. Ismail H.M. Abrahani, and I have noted all that you have said.

I have also written² to His Highness in reply to his letter of the 11th of August,³ and what you have said will receive my earnest attention.

Yours sincerely,

[M. A. JINNAH]

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto,
Dewan, Junagadh State

¹No. 213.

²No. 231.

³No. 219.

234

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 4-GG/4

12 August 1947

My dear Liaquat,

I am enclosing herewith two communications from the Ambassador of the Republic of China¹ in New Delhi together with a copy of a telegram² of congratulations from the President of the Republic of China, for you to deal with them.

The telegram of congratulations may be released and my reply of cordial thanks to President Chiang for his good wishes and my reply agreeing to the exchange of Ambassadors between Pakistan and China. My signature can be obtained and the letter despatched to the Ambassador of the Republic of China at New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

¹No. 209.

²Enclosure to *ibid.*

235

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 10-GG/9

[No.] 1446/69

12 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Cooke¹ has reported to me the result of your conversations with him and with Mohamad Ali² and has given me your letter³ in which you stated briefly your view.

2. The India Government have accepted the revised formula about the assets,⁴ which is satisfactory.

3. As regards liabilities, I send you a copy⁵ of a letter I have received from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel which shows that the terms for the repayment of the amount due from Pakistan to India would not be onerous.

4. This matter is of such importance that I have decided to report it to the Secretary of State for his decision whether I should issue an order on the lines contemplated, or leave the matter open. I have also sent Mr. Cooke home by air to explain the general attitude of both parties so that the case may be fully presented to the Secretary of State.⁶

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹See note 3 to No. 202.

²See note 2 to Enclosure to No. 235.

³No. 202.

⁴Mountbatten informed Listowel that both Cooke and Mohamad Ali had "drafted a revised formula which merely vests the control repeat control in the Dominion where the assets are, and defines control as including all the incidentals of ownership. This is a face saving device which both sides now accept". See No. 422, TP, XII, para 2, 651.

⁵Enclosure.

⁶See Nos. 422 and 447, TP, XII, 651-2 and 688, respectively.

Enclosure to No. 235
Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten

F. 10-GG/10

NEW DELHI,
11 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Since I wrote to you on Wednesday last¹ I understand that there have

been further conversations between Messrs. Mohamad Ali,² H. M. Patel,³ V. P. Menon⁴ and Cooke,⁵ on the proposal that the Dominion of India should take over full responsibility for the present National Debt. Apparently the Pakistan spokesmen apprehend that if the liability which will fall to their share is converted into an inter-Governmental debt, then India as a creditor country would have an unfair advantage. I am quite convinced that this apprehension is ill-founded.

2. It might be of some assistance to you in considering this matter further and coming to a decision if I set out here, briefly, the lines on which India would propose that it should be dealt with. Assuming that Pakistan's share of the National Debt is converted into a loan from India to Pakistan, the loan would be repayable in 50 annual equated payments, which would commence three or four years after the 15th August, 1947. The capital amount of the loan would be settled by agreement or arbitration. For the purpose of working out the equated payments, interest would be charged at a figure as nearly as possible equal to what India herself would be paying on the various public loans involved.

3. You will agree, however, that these financial arrangements are technical matters which will have to be carefully examined and worked out in detail by the technical experts. Moreover, they are of such great importance that they will have to be considered formally by the full Cabinet. But I think it is unlikely that the Cabinet would not generally endorse the scheme I have roughly outlined above.

4. I was told that the question of allocation of the cash balances to Pakistan was also raised in this connection. My own view has always been that this is a separate and unconnected issue. We have already agreed as a matter of settlement in the Partition Council that 20 crores may be allocated to Pakistan at once, and the view of the Indian side is that this decision takes account of all the factors and should not require revision. It is, however, open to revision by the Arbitration Tribunal, who will be at liberty to make any award they consider just and reasonable. If Pakistan, however, would like us to reconsider the matter before it is referred to the Arbitration Tribunal, we shall be prepared to do so.

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHBHAI PATEL

¹On 6 August 1947 Patel wrote to Mountbatten giving details of the Partition Council's meeting of that date discussing the issue of National Debt. See No. 354, TP, XII, 549-50.

²Cabinet Secretary, Provisional Government of Pakistan.

³Cabinet Secretary, Government of India.

⁴Reforms Commissioner to the Government of India.

⁵Constitutional Adviser to Mountbatten.

236

Muslim Society, Bulawayo, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 57-GG/43

BOX 608 BULAWAYO, [SOUTH RHODESIA,]

12 August 1947

Mohammad Ali Jinnah c/o Pakistan Office Karachi

Congratulations on achieving Pakistan. Please advise colour and design [of] Pakistan Flag.¹ Very urgent reply Box 608 Bulawyo.

MUSLIM SOCIETY

¹In an undated telegram, Farrukh Amin, on behalf of Governor-General designate replied "....Colour design Pakistan Flag. Star and Crescent green back ground three-fourth, white one-fourth at the pole end." See F. 57-GG/44. Not printed.

237

S. Osman to M.A. Jinnah

F. 34-GG/1

DECCAN STUDIOS,

KINGSWAY, SECUNDERABAD,

12 August 1947

Honoured Quaid-i-Azam,

I, the humble citizen of Hyderabad, Deccan, beg most respectfully for your permission with generosity to take the privilege in presenting herewith your gracious portrait, artistically finished by me (holding *Quran-i-Majeed*), as a warm greeting on the glorious moment of our lives.

My humble confidence with request is, your honour will kindly accept this token and return only the unmounted copy with your generous and noble autograph for our everlasting memories.¹

My humble prayer to Almighty God will always be to bless you and preserve you with the same courage, strength and wisdom for the up-bringing of Pakistan.

Pakistan Zindabad

A faithful Muslim,

S. OSMAN

¹Unmounted copy bearing Jinnah's autograph sent back on 15 August. See F. 34-GG/2. Not printed.

238

*Nawab of Amb to M. A. Jinnah**F. 7-GG/6-7*

SHERGARH (AMB STATE),
P. O. OGHI, HAZARA DIST.,
NWFP,
13 August [19]47

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In my previous letter of 3rd August 1947,¹ I feel that the following sentence in line 16 of page 2 does not convey very clearly the cause of old enmity:

He [Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif] is friendly with the Wali of Swat and, therefore, the Nawab of Dir and his subjects who have very old scores to clear with the freshly risen Wali of Swat etc.

The Pir of Manki's friendship with the Wali of Swat is no new friendship but is based on Mullah of Manki's forefathers being disciples of the Akhund Sahib of Swat from whom the present Wali of Swat is descended. The Nawab of Dir's, and the other Yusafzai subjects of the Nawab of Dir's, enmity with the present Wali of Swat is not very old and dates back to about 25 years when with the help of the Political Authorities concerned, the *Wali* was creating and consolidating the present Swat State and in so doing overran and seized the Yusafzai tribes on the right bank of the Swat River claimed by the Nawab of Dir and his forefathers. When the Nawab of Dir's father mobilized his forces and tribes to invade the tracts concerned, the Government stepped in and ordered the Nawab of Dir not to do so as the policy of [*sic* for at] the time was to boost the Wali of Swat even at the expense of other neighbouring tribes and chiefs who were ostensibly [*sic* for ostensibly] friendly with and loyal to the Government. So the clearing of old scores really comes to dispute over territory which is considered to have been usurped by the Wali of Swat with the help of the restraining hand of the British Government. Such claims are bound to be raised when fresh agreements are concluded between the Pakistan Government, the Frontier States, and the neighbouring tribes concerned.

Printed copies in Pushto and in Urdu of the translation of your important announcement of the 31st July² are now being circulated in the province and in the Frontier Tribes. A copy in Urdu³ is enclosed for

your perusal. Many ignorant people consider it only a statement and an appeal from a respected leader and do not take it as an official statement or an order which must be obeyed willy-nilly and many ignorant quarters are still inclined to think there will be no British or any other strong power to restrain them from acts of aggression in pursuance of old claims and enmities. I wish some official colour had been added to these copies. For my part I have been adding that this was a statement of policy by the Governor-General designate of Pakistan who would assume full control with effect from the 15th of August.

It seems necessary that some programme was made for the discussion and conclusion of future agreements with the Frontier States and with the large number of tribes in the tribal belt. Peshawar would perhaps be the best venue for such discussions and conferences. The tribal representation will have to be much larger and the population basis standard as applied to British India will have to be very much relaxed. The rule of one representative per million of population will give only three representatives to the whole of the tribal belt and one representative to all of the Frontier States. For obvious reasons it will be impossible to work this. You have already hit the nail on the head when you announced that the Pakistan Government will be prepared to negotiate with each State individually.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M[UHAMMAD] FARID

¹No. 95.

²Appendix VIII. 4.

³See F. 7-GG/8. Not printed.

239

F. Amin to A. W. Akhtar

F. 25-GG/13

[KARACHI,]
13 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter dated 10 August 1947.¹

I am directed by the Quaid-i-Azam to say that he is very glad to know that a delegation of leading Memon merchants from Bombay

and Calcutta is seeing the Prime Minister² and all Provincial Ministers of the Sind Government.

He has further directed me to say that they should now see the Member-in-Charge of Industries in the Central Pakistan Government,³ if they so desire, for it is now their primary business to attend to these matters.

The Quaid-i-Azam has got no time at present to meet such delegations, for a couple of weeks at least, owing to great pressure of work.

Yours faithfully,

F. AMIN

[PA to Governor-General designate]

A. Wahab Akhtar, Esq.,
C/o Haji Shakoor Haji Jamal Noormohammed,
Opposite Khori Garden,
Karachi

¹No. 208A.

²Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.

³I. I. Chundrigar.

240

F. Amin to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 124(8)-GG/8

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
13 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Quaid-i-Azam to forward herewith copies of letters from His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh¹ and Dewan, Junagadh State,² and his replies³ thereto for your information.

Yours faithfully,

F. AMIN

PA to the Quaid-i-Azam

¹No. 219.

²No. 213.

³Nos. 231 & 233.

241

Mir Atta Mohammad & Others¹ to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 14-GG/15

NUSHKI,

13 August [1947]

Kalat is on animity [*sic* for enmity] with Kharan since long and wants to receive Kharan State. We do not want anyone [*sic* for anyone's] slavery. Nawab Habibullah is the Nawab of Kharan State. Kharan is cent per cent Muslim State. We will sacrifice every thing for its freedom.

[MIR ATTA MOHAMMAD & OTHERS]

¹The telegram mentioned a total of forty-two senders. See F. 14-GG/15-7. Not printed.

242

M. R. Busheri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/279

DORCHESTER BUILDING,
FIRST FLOOR, QUEENS ROAD,
BOMBAY,
13 August 1947

Your Excellency,

It is with a glad heart full of thankfulness to God Almighty for His guidance and benevolence that I, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, request you to accept our most humble and sincere greetings on the eve of the birth of the latest and most important Islamic nation of the world. May this new nation be the forerunner of the revival of Islam to its past glory!

I have been a keen student of your movement since its inception, and have followed it closely through its various phases. Allow me, Your Excellency, to state that your loyalty, devotion, and zeal to this sacred cause have always been a source of inspiration and a tower of strength not only to the Muslims of India but to the whole Islamic world, who now look upon you as their leader and emancipator from the yoke of foreign domination.

We fervently pray to God that He may spare you many more years so that you may carry higher and yet higher the torch of Islam and bring to fruition the task that Providence has set before you.

Our hearts cry out with one voice —*Pakistan Zindabad.*

M. R. BUSHERI

President,

Bombay Iranian Chamber of Commerce

243

Estate Officer, New Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 85/22

RAISINA ROAD,

NEW DELHI,

13 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi

Papers reported sale of Ten Aurangzeb Road to Seth Dalmia. As Government of India extremely short of residential accommodation Seth Dalmia was moved to place house at our disposal. Seth Dalmia denies purchase or possession of house. Would be extremely grateful if you kindly place the house at our disposal.

Estate Officer

244

N. D. Gupta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/308-9

242/A VIVEKANANDA ROAD, CALCUTTA-6,

13 August 1947

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, Pakistan Constituent Assembly
Honourable and Revered Sir,

The day of independence should be a day of ovation and I, a humble Hindu of Bengal, deem it my first and foremost duty to offer my hearty devotion and ovation to you who is next to none in the fight for

freedom. Though a presumption on my part to dare approach a man of your rank and position, I cannot hold my indomitable inspiration. This is nothing but the spontaneous outburst of sincere feelings for your great personality.

I do admire your diplomacy, politics and sense of strict principle. I am really happy that your great self has won the cherished ideal. God bless you and grant you a long and peaceful life. If I have the least touch of honesty in me, I am confident my prayer cannot go in vain.

If I have got the smallest sense of psychology, I am fully sure that there is a very soft and sincere corner in your heart which, though it remains as if dormant in public eyes, will do immense good to the people of India irrespective of caste and creed.

With hearty thanks and sincere reverence,

Yours truly,
NAREN DAS GUPTA

245

Yousaf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 41-GG/1

HAROON CHAMBERS,
786 NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
13 August 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The Muslim Chamber of Commerce has resolved to respectfully request you to accept the welcome address on the assumption of the high office as the first Governor-General of Pakistan. It is the premier Muslim Chamber in the whole of Pakistan and we feel sure that we will be called upon to play a leading part in building up the economic life of our country. We are, therefore, confident that we shall receive every encouragement from [your] respected self.

We shall be deeply obliged if you will kindly communicate to us, the date when it will be possible for you to honour our [Chamber] by accepting our welcome address.

Yours most obediently,
YOUSAF HAROON
President,
Muslim Chamber of Commerce

246

M. A. Jinnah to Beverley Nichols

Telegram, F. 1-GG/6

13 August 1947

Many thanks your good wishes. Truth and righteous cause have triumphed. Pakistan has come in your own words as bang on the map not only of India but of the world. Deeply grateful for your advocacy of our cause which was nothing but truth. Would like very much your coming India. Best wishes.

[M. A.] JINNAH¹

Beverley Nichols,
Merry Hall,
Ashted, Surrey

¹The telegram was signed on behalf of Jinnah by Farrukh Amin, Personal Assistant to Governor-General designate of Pakistan.

247

Draft of M. A. Jinnah's Speech at State Banquet¹ in Viceroy's Honour

F. 1020/132-3

13 August 1947

Your Excellency, Your Highness, and ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing a toast of [*sic*] His Majesty the King.

This is one of the most momentous and unique occasions. Today we are on the eve of complete transfer of power to the peoples of India, and there will emerge and [be] established two independent sovereign dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan on the appointed day, the 15th of August 1947. This decision of His Majesty's Government will mark the fulfillment of the great ideal which was set forth by the formation of Commonwealth with the avowed object to make all nations and countries which formed part of the British Empire, self-governing and independent states, free from the domination of any other nation. Since the assumption of the reign of the Government of India by Queen Victoria, a great and good Queen, by the proclamation² and the very Act³ that was enacted for the assumption of power and authority of the British Crown and Parliament, it was made clear that it will be the deep concern and definite objective of the British nation to lead

India ultimately to the goal of its becoming a self-governing and independent State. In the pursuit of that policy since the days of Macaulay⁴ there never was any question about the principle, but there remained always the question of how and when. In that process during the reign of four generations of the British Crown there were controversies and differences of opinion as to the pace for realization of freedom and independence. There have been many acts of commission and omission, but at the same time we cannot help recognizing that the British genius and those Britishers who ruled India for over a century did so to the best of their judgement and have left the marks in many spheres of life and, especially, the judicial system, which has been the greatest bulwark and safeguard for the rights and liberties of the people.

Today it falls to the lot of King George the Sixth the good fortune of fulfilling the promise and the noble mission with which his great-grandmother assumed the reign of this sub-continent nearly a century ago. The reign of King George the Sixth will go down in history by the performance of this Act voluntarily of transferring power and handing over the Government of India which was rightly characterized as the brightest jewel in the British Empire, and by establishing two sovereign Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan. Such voluntary and absolute transfer of power and rule by one nation over others is unknown in the whole history of the world. It is the translation and the realization of the great ideal of Commonwealth which now has been effected and hence both Pakistan and Hindustan have remained members of Commonwealth which shows how truly we appreciate the high and noble ideal by which the Commonwealth has been and will be guided in the future.

Here I would like to say, Your Excellency Lord Mountbatten, how much we appreciate your having carried out wholeheartedly the policy and the principle that was laid down by the Plan of 3rd June⁵ and the Indian Independence Act⁶ which was passed by the British Parliament and received the assent of His Majesty the King on the 10th [*sic* for 18th] of July with grace, dignity and great ability. You are the last Viceroy of India, but Pakistan and Hindustan will always remember you, and your name will remain cherished not only in the history of these two Dominions but will find a place in the history of the world, as one who performed his task and duties magnificently.

Before I conclude let me mark our sense of deep appreciation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his Majesty's Government and the British Parliament, and, above all, the British nation who enthusiastically and wholeheartedly helped and supported the policy enunciated

by His Majesty's Government that the people of India should be free, and that the only solution of India's constitutional problem was to divide it into Pakistan and Hindustan.

This task has now been accomplished. There lies in front of us a new chapter and it will be our endeavour to create and maintain goodwill and friendship with Britain and our neighboring Dominion—Hindustan—along with other sister nations so that we all together may make our greatest contribution for the peace and prosperity of the world. And now, ladies and gentlemen, I propose the health of His Majesty King George the Sixth.

¹The banquet was held at Government House, Karachi, on 13 August 1947. For the speech delivered by Jinnah see *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements, 1947-48*, Islamabad, 48-50.

²⁶³"An Act for the Better Government of India", passed in 1858, declared that "India shall be governed by and in the name of the Queen" and vested in the Queen "all the territories and powers of the [East India] Company". The assumption by the Crown of the Government of India was announced by Canning, the first Viceroy, who read the Queen's Proclamation at a *Durbar* held at Allahabad on 1 November 1858.

³Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-59); English historian, essayist, statesman; drafted the Indian Penal Code, which became law in 1860, as early as 1834; advocated the introduction of English education in India.

⁴No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

⁵No. 164, TP, XII, 233-49.

248

Mir Nazar Khan & Others¹ to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 14-GG/18-9

NUSHKI,

13 August 1947

We the inhabitants of Jahawan [Jhalawan] *Niabat* of Kharan State are ready to sacrifice anything for Pakistan as an independent State. We hope that Pakistan would admit our independence. Nawab Kharan is the Nawab of the State. We do not want the slavery of anyone else.

[MIR NAZAR KHAN & OTHERS]

¹The telegram mentioned a total of thirty-eight senders. See No. F.14-GG/19-20. Not printed.

249

Farhat Zohra Qureshi to PS to M. A. Jinnah¹

F. 832/94
[Original in Urdu]

GURGAON,
13 August 1947

Pakistan Zindabad

My dear Sir,
Salutations,

I am making so bold as to write to you because I am hopeful of your sympathies. I am a great admirer and an extremely sincere devotee of the honourable Quaid-i-Azam, and have had the privilege of meeting him once. I also had the privilege of meeting Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, the last time on 30 July 1947. I was extremely interested in getting an autograph of the respected Quaid-i-Azam, but on the first occasion I did not carry the autograph album with me and on the next occasion the Quaid was too busy to spare even a single moment. But I remained ever so anxious for the fulfilment of my desire. Hence on 2 August 1947, I despatched my autograph [album] to Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah along with a letter. But I am still waiting for an acknowledgement, and, of course, I am yet to hear about or receive the requested autograph. I fervently hope that you, as a Muslim, would not disappoint me and would let me know the outcome of my request after meeting Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah. I fully realize that you, too are an important person, but unfortunately I have little knowledge of the English language and am, therefore, hopeful that [ignoring this shortcoming of mine] you would definitely help me. Respected Sir, please do not disappoint me. I shall be looking forward to hearing from you. I hope you would excuse this temerity on my part.

Sincerely,
FARHAT ZOHRA QURESHI
General Secretary,
Women's Muslim League

¹The letter does not name the addressee but it may be presumed that it was sent to Jinnah's Private Secretary.

250

Secretary of State to Chief Secretary, Government of Sind, Karachi
Telegram , PRO DO 142/398

NO. 10563

[INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,]

IMMEDIATE/EN CLAIR

13 August 1947

Commissions for Governor-General and Governor will be signed at Court of Balmoral on 14th August. You will be informed by telegram when this has been done.

Following extract from Commission for Governor-General shows method of address.

*Begins.*¹ To our right trusty and well beloved Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law. Greeting.

We do by this our Sign Manual appoint you the said Mohammad Ali Jinnah to be during our pleasure our Governor-General of Pakistan. *Ends.* Please inform provisional Government of Pakistan.

Following extract from Commission for Governor shows method of address. *Begins.* To our trusty and well-beloved Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Esquire, Bachelor-of-Laws. Greeting.

We do by this our Commission under our Sign Manual appoint you the said Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to be during our pleasure our Governor of Sind. *Ends.*

¹Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

251

A. W. Akhtar to F. Amin

F. 25-GG/12

CENTRAL HOTEL, KARACHI,

14 August 1947

RE [GARDING] MUSLIM MERCHANTS GOODWILL TRADE
 DELEGATION

Dear Mr. Amin,

Further to my letter dated August 10,¹ I have to request you to inform Quaid-i-Azam, when he is free, that our Society has been formed under the auspices of the Memon Chamber of Commerce and the

Memon Merchants Association, Bombay, organizations in which Quaid-i-Azam has always evinced considerable interest from year [sic].

The members of our delegation are leading merchants from Bombay and Calcutta. Copies of our aims and objects have already been sent to the High Command; and I might add [that] our sole objective is to promote the economic, social, educational and cultural uplift of Muslims in particular and Pakistan in general.

We are out to speedily chalk out a practical plan of investment for the rapid industrialization of Pakistan. Therefore, we are anxious to see him in order to explain our position and seek clarification on important issues.

I shall be here for some time more and am authorised to speak on their behalf, even if the delegation departs. Would these holidays suit Quaid-i-Azam, I wonder?

Your very truly,
A. WAHAB AKHTAR
Secretary,

Merchants Welfare Society, Bombay

PS. We are changing over from "Memon Merchants etc." to "Muslim Merchants Welfare Society" and intend expanding our organization on a very wide scale to accommodate all Muslims.

'No. 208 A.

252

Columbia Broadcasting System, London, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 17/2-GG/4-5

LONDON,
14 August 1947

Mr. Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan, Government House, Karachi
Indian Post office advises us they unable clear lines from Karachi to Poona or Delhi for your Broadcasting. Therefore would you contact British Broadcasting Company offices New Delhi who will arrange facilities. We are hoping to take your speech eighteen hundred G[reenwich] M[ean] T[ime] Thursday but in view of difficulties encountered we have advised BBC New Delhi we can take speech earliest

possible after eighteen hundred.

Many thanks your [illegible],

ALLAN JACKSON, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING

253

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

F. 46-GG/5-6

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
PESHAWAR, N.W.F.P.,

14 August 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have had few free moments since I left Karachi, and this letter is in the first place to thank you and Miss Jinnah for your very charming hospitality to myself and my wife.

We arrived here at 11.30 yesterday and Lockhart left at 3; but we had time to discuss all the matters of major importance.

I shall have wired to you before you get this letter about the ministerial position. I saw Khan Sahib¹ last evening but he seemed to me to have certain mental reservations on some of the assurances he gave me and I have asked him to come and see me again tomorrow after the ceremonies. I will wire to you tomorrow afternoon.

Abdul Qaiyum,² with whom I had a long and very interesting talk this morning, does not think there is anything terribly serious in the Congress Party's bark over this matter, and he seems to me to know what he is talking about. I hope that by this time next week we shall be in smooth water.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE CUNNINGHAM

¹Chief Minister, NWFP.

²Leader, ML Party, NWFP Assembly.

254

Habib Bank, Delhi, to K. H. Khurshid

F. 685/459

HABIB BANK LIMITED,
SADAR BAZAR, DELHI,
14 August 1947

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant.¹ As we have got no branch at Kashmir, the cheque was sent by us for collection to Imperial Bank of India. The advice of its realization has been received by us today and the amount of the cheque less commission charged by Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 499-8-6) credited to your account today.

With kind regards,

I. A. GILANI
[Officer-in-Charge]

Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

¹Not traced.

255

Henry Holland to M. A. Jinnah

F. 26-GG/1-2

PERSONAL

C.M.S. HOSPITAL,
QUETTA,
14 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to offer Your Excellency my warmest congratulations on your becoming Governor-General of Pakistan. Ever since I heard you speak when you first came to Quetta,¹ I was quite certain that you and the Muslim League would realize your ambition and that Pakistan would become not an ideal but a reality and now it is a *fait accompli* and no one can doubt for a moment that you are the obvious choice for Pakistan's first Governor-General. I am looking forward to going to Karachi and there calling on you and Miss Jinnah. You are indeed fortunate in having one as your hostess, who combines grace, dignity,

and charm in her delightful and outstanding personality. Please convey to her as well my hearty congratulations.

Yours sincerely,
HENRY HOLLAND

[PS.] Lady Holland joins me in congratulating you and Miss Jinnah.

¹Probably refers to Jinnah's visit to Quetta in June-July 1943.

256

Maharaja of Indore to M. A. Jinnah

F. 3-GG/4-5

CONFIDENTIAL

MANIKBAGH PALACE, INDORE,
14 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your kind letter¹ of the 11th August. I appreciate the promptness with which you replied to my letter. This is in [*sic*] variance with the States Department officials of the Dominion of India. I quite understand the situation as explained by you in your letter and wish you and Pakistan all success in future. I wish to convey in this letter my having signed the final draft Instrument of Accession² to the Dominion of India plus I have signified my assent to the revised Standstill Agreement today the 14th of August. I am cooperating in all these matters with His Highness of Bhopal who, I have just learned, is also signing the documents mentioned above.

I trust you will, in no way, misunderstand my motives for accession to the Dominion of India and that, infact, you will appreciate them. This, in no way, means my hostility towards the Dominion of Pakistan; in fact I extend my hand of friendship towards you. A better choice I cannot think of than you, Mr. Jinnah, as the Governor-General of the Dominion of Pakistan. I wish to have friendly relations with all concerned including Pakistan.

Could you suggest an agreement, which would be entirely confidential, on common matters of mutual benefit to Pakistan and the State of Indore?

India is a vast sub-continent and though it has been divided, I presume that matters such as defence, and foreign relations will continue to be on a mutual and friendly basis between the two Dominions

of India and Pakistan? I would be grateful if you would clarify this point and others mentioned above in a private letter to me, as soon as possible, which will not be for publication but will remain entirely secret and confidential between us.

Please accept again my heartiest congratulations on the Governor-General[ship] of Pakistan having been offered and accepted by you. With kindest regards and every best wish.

Yours very sincerely,
YESHWANT RAO HOLKAR

PS. I am sending this through H. H. Bhopal who has better channels of access to you.

¹No. 218

²Appendix VII. 9.

257

M. A. Jinnah's reply to Viceroy's address¹ to Pakistan Constituent Assembly

F. 1020/129-31

14 August 1947

Your Excellency, I thank His Majesty the King on behalf of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and myself for his gracious message. I know great responsibilities lie ahead, and I naturally reciprocate his sentiments and we are grateful for his assurance of sympathy and support, and I hope that you will communicate to His Majesty our assurance of goodwill and friendship for the British nation and himself as the Crown Head of the British Government.

I thank you for your expressions of goodwill and good wishes for the future of Pakistan. It will be our constant endeavor to work for the welfare and well-being of all the communities in Pakistan, and I hope that everyone would be inspired by the idea of public service, and they will be imbued with the spirit of co-operation and will excel in their political and civic virtues which go to make a great nation and help to advance its greatness.

I once more thank you and Lady Mountbatten for your kindness and good wishes. Yes, we are parting as friends and sincerely hope that we shall remain friends.

I wish to emphasize that we appreciate the spirit in which those in the Government service at present and in the Armed Forces and others

have so willingly and ungrudgingly volunteered themselves provisionally to serve Pakistan. As servants of Pakistan we shall make them happy and they will be treated equally with our nationals. The tolerance and goodwill that great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet [PBUH] not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Islam, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practiced.

Finally I thank you for your good wishes for Pakistan and I assure you that we shall not be wanting in friendly spirit with our neighbors and with all nations of the world.

¹See Annex.

Annex to No. 257

LORD MOUNTBATTEN ADDRESSES CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Tributes to Quaid-i-Azam¹

[14 August 1947]

KARACHI, Aug. 14: Amidst unprecedented scenes of splendour and colour in this festive capital city of the new dominion, the Viceroy Lord Louis Mountbatten, addressed this morning the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, a dominion, fifth largest in the world, with 70 million inhabitants on the eve of its attaining complete freedom fourteen hours hence.

With numerous jewelled war decorations and orders glittering under the flashlights Lord Louis Mountbatten who was in his Admiral's uniform delivered his historic speech lasting 15 minutes in a dignified and measured tone to the full House, with galleries packed, with high personages, diplomats, world pressmen and prominent citizens.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the Constituent Assembly, led the Viceroy on his arrival to the throne [sic] placed along with his Presidential chair. His Excellency Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief of India, Honorable Pamela Mountbatten and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan occupied the front row in the distinguished gallery, while Lady Mountbatten and Miss Fatima Jinnah sat together in the next row near the Viceregal throne.

The following is the text of the address delivered by His Excellency

Lord Mountbatten to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly:

Mr. President and Members of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan:

"I have a message from His Majesty the King to deliver to you today. This is His Majesty's message: "I send you my greetings and warmest wishes on this great occasion when the new Dominion of Pakistan is about to take its place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In thus achieving your independence by agreement, you have set an example to all freedom-loving people throughout the world.

"I know that I can speak for all sections of opinion within the British Commonwealth when I say that their support will not fail you in upholding democratic principles. I am confident that the statesmanship and the spirit of co-operation which have led to the historic developments you are now celebrating will be the best guarantee of your future happiness and prosperity. Great responsibilities lie ahead of you and of your leaders. May the blessings of the Almighty sustain you in all your future tasks. Be assured always of my sympathy and support as I watch your continuing efforts to advance the cause of humanity.

VICEROY'S ADDRESS

"I am speaking to you today as your Viceroy, tomorrow the Government of the new Dominion of Pakistan will rest in your hands and I shall be the constitutional head of your neighbour, the Dominion of India. The leaders of both Governments, however, have invited me to be the independent Chairman of the Joint Defence Council. It is an honour which I shall strive to merit.

"Tomorrow two new sovereign States will take their place in the Commonwealth; not young nations but the heirs of old and proud civilisations; fully independent States whose leaders are statesmen, already known and respected throughout the world, whose poets and philosophers, scientists and warriors have made their imperishable contribution to the service of mankind; not immature Governments or weak, but fit to carry their great share of responsibility for the peace and progress of the world.

"The birth of Pakistan is an event in history. We, who are part of history, and are helping to make it, are not well placed even if we wished to moralise on the event to look back and survey the sequence of the past that led to it. History seems sometimes to move with the infinite slowness of a glacier, and sometimes to rush forward in a torrent. Just now, in this part of the world our united efforts have melted the ice and moved some impediments in it.

TRIBUTE TO QUAID-I-AZAM

"As here I would like to express my tribute to Mr. Jinnah. Our close personal contact, and the mutual trust and understanding that have grown out of it, are, I feel, the best of omens for future good relations. He has my sincere good wishes as your new Governor-General.

"Moral courage is the truest attribute of greatness and the men who have allowed the paramount need for agreement and a peaceful solution to take precedence over the hopes and claims they so strongly held and keenly felt, have shown moral courage in a high degree. I wish to acknowledge too the help of others, of the men who advised and assisted the process of negotiation, of the men who kept the machinery of administration running under great difficulties, of the men who have worked day and night to solve the innumerable problems of partition, all this has been achieved with toil and sweat. I wish I could say also without tears and blood, but terrible crimes have been committed. It is justifiable to reflect, however, that far more terrible things might have happened if the majority had not proved worthy of the high endeavour of their leaders or had not listened to that great appeal which Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi together made and which the respective future Governments reiterated in a statement made by the Partition Council.

"May I remind you of the terms of that statement the two Governments declared that it is their intention to safeguard the legitimate interests of all citizens, irrespective of religion, caste or sex. In the exercise of their normal civics rights all citizens will be regarded as equal and both Governments will assure to all people, within their territories, the exercise of liberties such as freedom of speech, the right to form associations, the right to worship in their own way and the protection of their language and culture.

"Both Governments further undertake that there shall be no discrimination against those who before August 15 have been political opponents.

"The honouring of these words will mean nothing less than a charter of liberty for a fifth of the human race.

LAHORE DEVASTATION NOT SO GREAT²

"Some days ago I went to Lahore. From the reports I have received I expected to witness a scene of unparalleled devastation. Those of you, who have not visited Lahore, will be relieved to hear that the destruction is far less than I expected. It amounts to not more than 18 houses per thousand of the whole Municipal area.

"I do not say this in extenuation of the madness which caused even so much wanton damage. Rather I wish to pay my tribute, and ask you to do the same, to those who have saved Lahore from complete ruin, to the police and fire services, to the soldiers and the civil administration, and to all public spirited citizens, who have resisted or prevented the powers of destruction.

"Also to the many who helped to tend and heal the tragic victims where these outrages have occurred. The ideal of public service which inspired these men and women, the spirit of co-operation and compromise which inspired your leaders, these are political and civic virtues that make a nation great, and preserve it in greatness. I pray that you may practice them always.

"Now the time has come to bid you farewell on behalf of His Majesty's government and the King, on behalf of my country, and on behalf of myself, also on behalf of my wife whose thoughts and prayers will be so much with the women in Pakistan.

"This is a parting between friends who have learnt to honour and respect one another even in disagreement. It is not an absolute parting. I rejoice to think it is not an end of comradeship. Many of my countrymen for generations have been born in this country, many lived their lives here and many have died here. Some will remain for trade and commerce and others in Government service and in the armed forces who count it an honour that they have been invited to serve you.

"During the centuries that British and Indians have known one another, the British mode of life, customs, speech and thought have been profoundly influenced by those of India, more profoundly than has often been realised. May I remind you that at the time when the East India Company received its Charter nearly four centuries ago, your great Emperor Akbar was on the throne, whose reign was marked by perhaps as great a degree of political and religious tolerance as has been known before or since. It was an example by which I honestly believe generations of our public men and administrators have been influenced. Akbar's tradition has not always been consistently followed by British or Indians but I pray, for the world's sake that we will hold fast in the years to come, to the principles that this great Ruler taught us.

"May Pakistan prosper always. May her citizens be blessed with health and happiness. May learning and arts of peace flourish in her boundaries and may she continue in friendship with her neighbours and with all the nations of the world."

His Excellency was loudly cheered when he resumed his seat at the conclusion of the address.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 15 August 1947.

²For riots in Lahore see Appendix III.

258

D. M. Malik to M. A. Jinnah

F.52-GG/1-2

KARACHI,

[14 August 1947]

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I have come to report to you about the pitiable condition of lakhs of Mewatis¹ who are faced with a problem of either to agree to conversion or to be prepared for complete elimination. In brief, their case is as under:

- a. In Gurgaon District about 150 villages are burnt and over a lakh of persons are rendered homeless.
- b. In Bharatpur state, over 160 villages have been burnt and about 1,25,000 persons fled to Ferozepur Jhirka Tehsil in Gourgaoon District.
- c. In Alwar State, over 400 villages are said to have been burnt and about 1,00,000 persons migrated into [sic] Ferozepur Jirga and Delhi. There are about 15000/18,000 persons in Delhi and it is a very big problem to arrange relief camps for all of them.
- d. This systematic elimination is being carried on with a view to crush this strongest Muslim pocket with [sic for in] Eastern Punjab.

The object of my visit is to seek your guidance and instructions as to the steps to be taken under these circumstances.

1. In case your instructions are that they must go back to their homes, ways and means will have to be found to tackle this problem with the States and the Government of the Union of India.
2. In case they have to migrate to some Muslim States, arrangements will have to be made with the said States for giving shelter to these unfortunate people.

Our main problems, therefore, are:

1. Funds to feed these people.

2. To arrange rehabilitation or migration of these people.

At the special request of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib, I agreed to accept chairmanship of the ad hoc Committee, Delhi Provincial League, and I would [*sic* for was] told that these are temporary arrangements for a few weeks.

During the past five months I gave my entire time for rendering every possible assistance to these people. I honestly believe that I have not been able to do anything substantial. My original plans were to close down my business in Hindustan and to start some industries in Pakistan. I believe I can be of some service to the Musalmans if I confine my activities in [*sic*] these lines in which I have spent my whole life.

I am, therefore, desirous that this important work may kindly be entrusted to a strong committee. The members on this committee may be appointed from the Punjab, U.P. and Delhi. They may be asked to stay in Delhi or in Mewat until these problems are satisfactorily solved. You were good enough to authorise me² to come to Karachi after 13th inst[ant] to represent this case personally.

I shall feel grateful for granting me an early interview to discuss these problems. I am desirous of returning to Delhi as early as possible. In anticipation of an early interview I have booked my return passage for the 16th.

Kindly favour me with an early reply.

With respects,

Sincerely yours,
D. M. MALIK

¹See No. 153.

²Not traced.

259

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53-GG/1

NEW DELHI,
14 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah

On bidding you farewell at the end of my period of Viceroyalty, I should like to take this opportunity to thank you for the patience,

courtesy and consideration you have shown to me in all our many discussions and negotiations.

I feel that the successful outcome of the negotiations was in a large part due to the real spirit of trust and understanding which grew up between us.

Although from tomorrow I shall be only concerned with the Dominion of India, I shall never forget that for the last five months I have been responsible as much for the territories which now form Pakistan as for the rest of India. I certainly wish you and Pakistan every possible success.

My wife and I are sending with this letter two photographs for you and Miss Jinnah, as a small souvenir of our brief but eventful association.

Your Sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

260

Mrs Vera Khushal Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1108/142-3

PESHAWAR,
14 August 1947

Respected Sir,

I am a widow; my husband was murdered two years ago. I am being persecuted by the enemies of my husband who are anxious to ruin my children and get hold of our property.

My daughters are grown up but my two sons are minors and need further education. The eldest who is sixteen has been persuaded by enemies to stop his studies and stay in the village. But there is an imminent danger there for him.

He has been admitted in B. C. School, Simla. If you could wire him to come to you and then send him to study.

I trust you could do this. I do not beg for any charity. I shall pay for the expenses. But I want a moral help. I am totally helpless. I trust you.

I beg to remain,
Yours obediently,
MRS. VERA KHUSHAL KHAN

[PS.] The name of my son is A. Rishat Khan
S/o The late Khushal Khan of Baziket,
P. O. Gujrat, Distt. Mardan.
Telegraphic address: Rustam Rishad Khan Baziket P. S. Rustam.

261

Valiullah Husaini to M. A. Jinnah

F.65-GG(Part II)/33-4

CHISHTI CHAMAN,
HYDERABAD DECCAN,
[Undated] August 1947

Your Excellency,

The first note of independent Pakistan Dominion will be struck on August 15th for which Your Excellency's inflexible sternness and immovable [*sic*] determination is solely responsible. With one stroke three needs have been met.

To nations as to men second chances rarely come but such has been the moulding of Indias' destinies through Divine dispensation that Hyderabad, on August 15th regains independence under its hereditary monarchy.

To solemnize this memorable occasion, the citizens of Hyderabad and Berar are holding celebrations on Tuesday the 19th of August under the auspices of the Hyderabad Religious Leader's Association.

The popular appreciation of your mighty character and skilled statesmanship is so great that Hyderabad seeks the same inspiration and above all the same warmth of sympathy which Your Excellency is so ready to give to all in need.

May I there[fore] on behalf of the citizens of Hyderabad, humbly request Your Excellency to honour them with a message of good cheer and a few words of encouragement on the inauguration of this new era.

We trust that Your Excellency, amidst your heavy preoccupations will condescend to grant this prayer.

May Heaven assist Your Excellency and strengthen you for that

high office and difficult task which Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has assigned to you. With profound respect and best wishes,

I am Your Excellency's very respectfully,

VALIULLAH HUSAINI

for General Secretary, Majlis-i-Istaqbalia

Jashn-i-Azadi, Asifia Kingdom

APPENDIX I

PARTITION COUNCIL AND PROVISIONAL JOINT DEFENCE
COUNCIL DOCUMENTS

A number of documents relating to the Partition Council proceedings available in the QAP, for the period from 1 to 25 July 1947, were included in Volume III of *Jinnah Papers*. A number of other documents on subjects like telegraphs, mint, survey maps, etc., were excluded but listed and their references duly provided.

Documents dealing with the Partition Council and the Provisional Joint Defence Council, because of their enormous bulk and repetitive nature, have not been included in the Volume. However, these have been listed chronologically in this Appendix and identified with reference to QAP files and those of GG series available in the National Archives of Pakistan.

I.1

AGENDAS OF THE PARTITION COUNCIL AND PROVISIONAL JOINT
DEFENCE COUNCIL MEETINGS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN INCLUDED

No.	Description	July 1947	Summary
1	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 127/532-612)	28	Forwards agenda for the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 29 July.
2	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 723/180-191)	28	Forwards agenda for the Provisional Joint Defence Council meeting scheduled for 29 July.
3	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 127/613-72)	30	Forwards agenda for the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 31 July.
4	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 723/192-7)	30	Forwards agenda for the Joint Defence Council meeting scheduled for 31 July.
<i>August 1947</i>			
5	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 723/198-206)	1	Forwards agenda for the Provisional Joint Defence Council meeting scheduled for 2 August.
6	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 723/15-167)	1	Forwards agenda for the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 2 August.
7	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 723/207-22)	2	Forwards agenda for the Provisional Joint Defence Council meeting scheduled for 4 August.

8	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/1-64 & F. 729/1-223)	2	Forwards agenda for the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 4 August.
9	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/65-115)	2	Forwards copies of three reports for inclusion in the agenda of the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 5 August.
10	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/116-20)	3	Refers to item 8 and forwards Steering Committee's comments for consideration in the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 4 August.
11	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/121-6)	3	Refers to item 7 and forwards papers on reorganisation of Military Finance and Military Accounts Department.
12	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 723/223-31)	4	Forwards agenda for the Provisional Joint Defence Council meeting scheduled for 5 August.
13	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/139-220)	4	Refers to item 9 and forwards agenda for the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 5 August along with Steering Committee's comments.
14	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/221-93)	4	Forwards agenda for the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 6 August.
15	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/294-7)	5	In supersession of item 14 forwards additional agenda for the Partition Council meeting scheduled for 6 August along with relevant papers.
16	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 723/1-14)	5	Forwards agenda for the Provisional Joint Defence Council meeting scheduled for 6 August.

I. 2

Note by the Viceroy's Staff

F. 127/673

SECRET

[July 1947]¹

PLAN OF ACTION IN THE EVENT OF POSSIBLE CLASHES OR DISTURBANCES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE BOUNDARIES BETWEEN THE TWO DOMINIONS

With reference to decision (3)² of Case No. PC/47/6/47 of the Partition Council Meeting held on Thursday, 17th July.

2. The zones in which troops would have to operate have been discussed between the Viceroy's Staff and the Commander-in-Chief, and by the Viceroy with the Governor of the Punjab, General Messervy

and the Punjab Partition Committee.

3. All are agreed in recommending, for the approval of the Partition Council,³ that the following districts⁴ be included:

SIALKOT	AMRITSAR
GUJRANWALA	GURDASPUR
SHEIKHUPURA	HOSHIARPUR
LYALLPUR	JULLUNDUR
MONTGOMERY	FEROZEPUR
LAHORE	

4. The Punjab Partition Committee were in favour of the scheme for joint command.

5. It is further recommended that the new arrangements should come into force on 1st August.

¹This note was circulated to the members of the Partition Committee on 22 July. See No. 184, TP, XII, note 2, 273.

²Enclosure to No. 195, Vol. III, 506.

³See Enclosure to No. 235, *ibid.*, Case No. PC/74/8/47, 690.

⁴Tick-marks against Lahore, Amritsar, and Ferozepore Districts were made in the original. Lahore et seq. were also sidelined.

I. 3

DOCUMENTS ON PARTITION COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN INCLUDED

No.	Description	July 1947	Summary
1	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 127/518-21)	28	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 24 July. (Case Nos. PC/83-6/9/47)
2	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 127/522-5)	28	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 26 July. (Case Nos. PC/88-94/10/47)
<i>August 1947</i>			
3	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 127/522-5)	1	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 29 July. (Case Nos. PC/95-100/11/47)
4	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/133-8)	4	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 31 July. (Case Nos. PC/101-5/12/47)
5	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/298-302)	5	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 2 August. (Case Nos. PC/106-12/13/47)
6	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 48-GG/1-3)	7	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 4 August. (Case Nos. PC/113-5/14/47)

7	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 48-GG/4-18)	12	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 5 and 6 August. (Case Nos. PC/116-25/15/47)
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Annex to Appendix I. 3
H. M. Patel to M. A. Jinnah

F. 127/521
[Extract]

[26 July 1947]

Case No. PC/87/9/47

INCLUSION OF LUDHIANA IN THE DRAFT STATEMENT AND THE
LIST OF DISTRICTS TO BE PLACED UNDER THE C-IN-C'S
OPERATIONAL CONTROL¹

His Excellency said that all parties concerned had agreed that Ludhiana should be included in paragraph 5 of the draft statement² proposed to be issued by the Partition Council and in the list of Districts³ to be placed under the operational control of the Commander-in-Chief. The Muslim Officer who would be attached to the Joint Commander in an advisory capacity would be Colonel Ayub Khan⁴ and not Brigadier Tiwana⁵ who had first been nominated to that post.

¹See Enclosure to No. 235, Vol. III, Case No. PC/74/8/47, 690.

²See *ibid.*, Case No. PC/81/8/47, 691-2. Also see Annex to No. VI. 4, Vol. III, 960-2.

³See Appendix I.2.

⁴Later Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan.

⁵Brigadier Muhammad Munir Khan Tiwana.

I. 4

DOCUMENTS ON PROVISIONAL JOINT DEFENCE COUNCIL
PROCEEDINGS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN INCLUDED

No.	Description	July 1947	Summary
1	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 127/526-31)	28	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 26 July. (Case Nos. JDC/1-7/1/47)
		August 1947	
2	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 723/168-75)	1	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 29 July. (Case Nos. JDC/8-18/2/47)
3	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 127/127-32)	4	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 31 July. (Case Nos. JDC/19-22/3/47)

4	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 3/303-7)	5	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 2 August. (Case Nos. JDC/23-8/4/47)
5	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 49-GG/1-4)	7	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 4 August. (Case Nos. JDC/29-38/5/47)
6	H. M. Patel to Jinnah Circular & Enclosures (F. 49-GG/5-8 & 9-15)	12	Circulates approved proceedings of the meeting held on 5 and 6 August. (Case Nos. JDC/39-42/6/47 and JDC/43-7/7/47)

I. 5

DRAFT STATEMENT BY PARTITION COUNCIL

F. 728/6-7

[August 1947]

At their meeting on Wednesday, 6th August,¹ the Partition Council considered the problem of refugees.

As is well known, a large number of Muslims and non-Muslims have migrated from their homes in consequence of communal disturbances. Most of the Muslim refugees are from Bihar and Eastern Bengal;² and most of the non-Muslims from Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province and Western Punjab.

Apart from those who have actually migrated, there is a considerable number of people in all these areas who have been rendered destitute, and are living in camps organized by Provincial Governments and charitable organizations.

The Members of the Partition Council, representing the future Governments of India and Pakistan, have decided to take the following action with a view to arresting further exodus of refugees and to encouraging the return of those who have already left.

1. The two Governments have decided to retain the refugee camps for Muslims in India and for non-Muslims in Pakistan, and themselves to undertake responsibility for the purpose of both administration and finance.

2. Arrangements will be made to enable officers of the two Governments to visit the affected areas and the refugees in the two Dominions, and to discuss from time to time with local officers, matters relating to any problem of relief and rehabilitation that may be involved.³

3. In view of the fact that no arrangements have so far been made for the management of refugees' property, and because, so long as the local population and the majority community in villages and towns maintain a hostile attitude, the refugees will be unable to return and

look after their property, the two Governments have decided to appoint managers, at a suitable level, for the administration of refugees' property in the various areas.

4. They have further decided that Provincial Governments should be asked to set up machinery where this has not already been done, for the assessment of damage to both moveable and immovable property of the minorities; and for the⁴ grant of relief or compensation to those who have suffered.

5. The two Governments have also decided on the following steps, designed to restore confidence among the minorities:

- a. Speedy investigation of cases and prosecution of offenders.
- b. Realization of collective fines imposed.⁵
- c. Village officials, e.g. *Zaildars*, *Safaid Poshis*, *Lambardars* and local officials such as *Tehsildars* and Sub-Inspectors of Police will be made personally responsible for the safety and protection of minorities resident in their respective areas.
- d. Every effort will be made to persuade shopkeepers, traders, professional people such as lawyers, doctors, etc., to "stay put".

6. Rehabilitation measures will be initiated by the two Governments so as to encourage the return of refugees and evacuees to their respective homes.

¹Also see F. 48-GG/17-8, Case No. PC/149/16/47. Not printed.

²Amended to "Eastern Punjab" in the final version. See Appendix III. 20. Also see Annex I to No. 385, *TP*, XII, 604-5.

³Amended to "involved" probably by Jinnah. See *ibid*.

⁴The words "for the" were substituted by the words "consider what" by Jinnah and the amendment was accepted by the Partition Council.

⁵Sub-para (b) was deleted by Jinnah.

APPENDIX II

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE FUNDS

Documents included in this Appendix mostly relate to the Pakistan Fund, which was instituted on 16 June 1947, while others pertain to Bihar Relief Fund and donations for charitable purposes. The Appendix is in three parts: Section A includes a list of documents not included; Section B contains correspondence on the subject, and Section C comprises a summary of contributions received during the period of this Volume.

The day-to-day statements of receipts in Pakistan Fund Account except for the one dated 14 August 1947, have not been included in the Volume. This statement shows that in less than two months of its inception, the total receipts in the Pakistan Fund on that date stood at Rs. 5, 79, 871-4-8.

SECTION A

II. 1

LIST OF DOCUMENTS NOT INCLUDED

No.	Description	July 1947	Summary
1	Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi (F. 683/420)	26	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 30 for credit to Pakistan Fund Account, and requests issuance of receipt to the donor. [See Appendix II. 41, Vol. III, 755]
2	Bank of India Ltd., Junagadh, to Jinnah (F. 861/125)	28	Encloses demand draft for Rs. 500 on behalf of Mohammad Akram for charity.
3	Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China, Bombay, to Jinnah (F. 683/424-5)	30	Informs that the original draft was paid to the National Bank of India, Bombay, on 27 February 1947.
4	Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to Jinnah (F. 683/428)	30	Pakistan Fund Account credited with Rs. 26,436-2-0 and Rs. 13,217-4-0 on account of telegraphic transfers from Muslims of Pretoria.
5	Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to the Headmaster, H.E. School, Alamdanga, Dist. Nadia, Bengal (F. 683/430)	30	Return donor's draft on account of its payment having been suspended by the Calcutta High Court, and request that the amount be sent by money order.

6	D. Hossain to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi (F. 861/126)	30	Requests acknowledgement of the money order for Rs. 350 contributed by the Muslims of 205 Base Ordnance Depot, Panagarh, Bengal; felicitates the Quaid on his "grand and wonderful success".
7	K. H. Khurshid to M. A. Azhar (F. 683/433-36)	31	Sends Rs. 14 along with an explanatory note.
8	Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to Jinnah (F. 683/439)	31	Acknowledge cheques for Rs. 759-7-0 and Rs. 30, vide Appendix II. 68, Vol. III, 772 and item 2 ante.
9	Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to Jinnah (F. 683/431)	31	Acknowledge cheque for Rs. 30,000, to Jinnah vide Appendix II. 71, Vol. III, 774, for Bihar [Relief] Fund.
10	S. Rasool & Co., Delhi, to Jinnah (F. 861/128)	31	Enclose bill for Rs. 200 for auditing the Pakistan Fund; informs about another bill for Rs. 500 for auditing Bihar Relief Fund.
11	List of contributors to Pakistan Fund (F. 156/112-24)	n.d.	Records day-to-day receipts.
12	Muslim Officers of Bogra District, Bengal, to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi (F. 683/408)	n.d.	Enclose a draft for Rs. 843-14-0 for the Pakistan Fund.

August 1947

13	Fazal Ilahi to Jinnah (F. 861/129)	1	Encloses a draft for Rs. 1,000 for the Pakistan Fund.
14	M. M. Zakria to Habib Bank Ltd., Karachi (F. 861/131)	4	Encloses a draft for Rs. 1,000 for the Pakistan Fund.
15	Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, to D. Hussain (F. 156/283)	5	Advices crediting the amount specified in item 6 to the Pakistan Fund.
16	A. H. Mallam to Habib Bank Ltd., Bombay (F. 684/449)	6	Encloses a draft for Rs. 396-8-0 for the Bihar Relief Fund.
17	General Manager, Reuters, Bombay, to Jinnah (F. 861/135)	11	Advices forwarding a cheque for Rs. 1,051 in response to cable instructions from their Durban office.
18	Mrs. A. S. Mahmood to Jinnah (Original in Urdu) (F. 684/453)	12	Encloses a cheque for Rs. 100 for the Pakistan Fund.
19	Captain A. M. James to Jinnah (F. 861/138)	13	Encloses a draft for Rs. 2,414-2-0 for the Pakistan Fund contributed by personnel of 35 Field Company, Royal India Engineers in Johore Bahru, Malaya.
20	E. D. Mayariwala to Jinnah (F. 861/139)	14	Informs about having despatched a draft for Rs. 898-7-0 to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, as donation towards the Pakistan Fund.

SECTION B

II. 2

*M. A. Jinnah to the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China,
Bombay*

F. 683/417

26 July 1947

Dear Sir,

I have been informed by my bank, Imperial Bank of India, Bombay,¹ that you have refused to pay the enclosed duplicate draft on the ground that the original was paid on the 27th February.² The draft is payable to the order of Mohamed Ali Jinnah and nobody has received this payment on my behalf. But since you say that the original was paid on the 27th February, 1947, I would like to know how and to whom. My usual practice is to endorse these drafts as follows: "pay Imperial Bank of India, Bombay"(signed) Mohamed Ali Jinnah. Therefore, it could only have been paid to the Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to be credited to my account according to the arrangements made with them. But the Imperial Bank has not received this amount and I hope that you will help me in every way by giving me the fullest information, so that we could trace the amount and the party to whom it was paid by you as stated in your slip dated 11th July.

I am enclosing your slip and the duplicate draft to enable you to trace the matter and give me the fullest possible information and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
[M. A. JINNAH]

The Sub-Accountant,
The Chartered Bank of India,
Australia & China, Bombay

¹See Appendix II. 38, Vol. III, 753.

²Also see F. 663/425, QAP. Not printed.

II. 3

M. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 683/421

THE GREEN MEDICAL HALL,
P.O. BANKIPORE, PATNA,
26 July [1947]

Pakistan Zindabad

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

First allow me to express the greetings sent to you on behalf of the Muslims in the 122 Infantry Workshop Company, I.E.M.E.,¹ Malaya,² and the local Muslims whom I could contact during my stay over there.

Your appeal³ for the fund was published on 18th of last month over there in the *Indian Daily Mail*. The papers over there are all publishing news regarding India through Hindu agencies which give very depressing and anti-Muslim information. Anyway, the Muslims are wide awake, and Dr. Burhanuddin⁴ is giving a good lead to them. There is only one Muslim weekly published from Kuala Lumpur.

It is only a few days back that I have returned to India and am now at my home on leave. The Bihari Muslim plight seems to be pitiable as there is no proper leadership to give a lead to the disturbed Muslims and everything seems to be at stake.

Herewith is attached the draft of Rs.116-14-0 sent through Chartered Bank of India, Seremban, Malaya. Sir, should I expect an acknowledgement and oblige.

Hope you will always keep Muslims of Hindustan in view.

With best wishes and regards, Sir,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHAN
Warrant Officer

¹Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.

²Now called West Malaysia.

³See No. 128, Vol. II, 297-8.

⁴Not identified

II. 4

*M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi**F. 683/423**28 July 1947*

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a cheque on the Imperial Bank of India, Aligarh, for Rs. 500 (Rupees five hundred only) with a pay-in slip, which amount, on realization, please credit to the Pakistan Fund Account opened with you, and issue receipt in favour of Col. Anis Ahmad Khan,¹ R.I.A.S.C., Care of G.H.Q., Simla.

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank, Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

¹Also see Annexure II, Enclosure 2 to No.121, serial No. 4, Vol. II, 285.

II. 5

*S. A. Shafi Zaidi to M. A. Jinnah**F. 683/422*

LATOUCHE ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
28 July 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith on behalf of the E.I.R.¹ Muslim Railway Employees' Association, Lucknow, a bank draft No. 25/99 Block No. B456841 dt.21-3-47, issued by the Central Bank of India Ltd., Lucknow, to the Central Bank of India Ltd., Delhi, for payment on demand to the Habib Bank Ltd., for cr[edit] of [sic for to] Jinnah Bihar Relief Fund, the sum of rupees nine hundred and five and annas four only.

The draft could not be sent earlier due to misplacement of the same in the office. As I understand that Bihar Relief Fund is closed,² I, on behalf of the East Indian Railway Muslim Employees' Association

authorise you to credit this amount to either for [*sic* for to] the Pakistan Fund³ or any other Fund which you may please consider necessary, for the benefit of the Muslim community.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

S. A. SHAFI ZAIDI

Hon[orar]y Gen[era]l Secretary,

E.I.R. Muslim Employees' Association

¹East Indian Railway.

²See No. 340, Vol. I, Part I, 590

³See No. 128, Vol. II, 297-8.

II. 6

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F. 683/429

30 July 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith seven cheques with two pay-in slips both totalling Rs. 3,500 (Rupees three thousand five hundred only) which amount, on realization, please credit to the Pakistan Fund opened with your bank and oblige. The receipt may be made out in the name of S. Wajid Ali and sent to me.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

II. 7

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F. 684/440

2 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith three cheques and one demand draft with two pay-in slips both totalling Rs. 916-14-0 (Rupees nine hundred and sixteen and annas fourteen only), which amount please realize and credit to Pakistan Fund Account opened with you. Please issue receipts

direct to donors as per names and addresses in the list enclosed.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

Enclosure to No. II. 7

F. 684/441

2 August 1947

PAKISTAN FUND

[Name of donor]	[Amount Rs. As. Ps.]		
1. Mrs. Husnara Ghani c/o Major M. A. Ghani, 21, Perumal Mudly St., Royapettha, Madras (I. B. I., Chq.)	200	0	0
2. H. K. Sherwani, Mustafa Manzil, Hyderabad Deccan (Chq. Lloyds Bank, New Delhi)	100	0	0
3. M. Mahmudullah, Zaheer Manzil, Red Hills, Hyderabad Deccan, (Chq. Imperial B[an]k, New Delhi) ¹	500	0	0
4. M.A. Khan, Warr[an]t Officer, The Green Medical Hall, P.O. Bankipore, Patna (Draft)	116	14	0
Total	916	14	0

(Rupees nine hundred and sixteen and annas fourteen only)

¹See Annex.

Annex to Enclosure to No. II. 7
M. Mahmudullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 683/340

ZAHEER MANZIL, RED HILLS,
HYDERABAD D[ECCA]N,
July 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

My wife has written me from her small state, Mangrol in Kathiawar to present you on her behalf, a cheque for Rs. 500 as her humble contribution with a request that you may utilise it in any cause nearest

your heart and in the service of Islam.

2. Conscious of my own duty, realizing the gravity of the situation and in utter good faith and humility I have placed at your disposal my services. (Statement of facts enclosed).¹

3. I refuse to resort to recommendation and introductory letters and I beg you to believe in my sincerity.

4. Pray, remember, one false step will take us away from the establishment of a true Islamic State. We owe a great responsibility to our people and Islam.

5. I have laboured for years on the preparation of an Islamic constitution in the hope that one day Providence might bless us with a State that would be a true and faithful replica of the days of our Prophet and our four *Khalifas*. Of course, the State will be a modern one and its laws adapted to present day requirements.

6. Kindly read the enclosed papers² in the spirit in which they have been submitted to you.

Yours sincerely,
M. MAHMUDULLAH [JUNG]
LL.D.,
Bar-at-Law

¹See F. 1120/126-7, QAP. Not printed.

²For synopsis of his book entitled *Democracy in Islam: A Constitution for the Socialist Democratic State of Pakistan & A Code for the Good Government of Mankind*, see F. 1120/128-36, *ibid*.

II. 8

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F. 684/443

3 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith five demand drafts and one cheque together with two pay-in slips both totalling Rs. 3,519-8-0 (Rupees three thousand five hundred and nineteen and annas eight only) which amount, on realization, please credit to the Pakistan Fund Account opened with you. Also, please issue receipts direct to donors as per list attached and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

*Enclosure to No. II. 8**F. 684/446**3 August 1947*

PAKISTAN FUND

	[Name of donor]	[Amount Rs. As. Ps.]		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.]
1.	The Abubaker Siddique Cotton Mills Ltd., ¹ 27 B, Chitaranjan Avenue, Calcutta (No: Bx/ A 00370 Nath Bank)	249	- 8	- 0
2.	Chief Manager, Dacca Nawab Estate, ² Dacca, (Dr[a]ft Imperial Bank, No: AQ 25771)	123	- 0	- 0
3.	Soreya Khanim Minhas, ³ Sec[retar]y, Muslim Girls Students Federation, Nehru Road, Rawalpindi City (Draft on Imperial Bank of India)	1,000	- 0	- 0
4.	Goolam Hossen Desai, ⁴ 616 Sarnia Road, Sea View, Durban, Natal South Africa, (Draft Chartered Bank, Bombay)	109	- 0	- 0
5.	Mahmood E. Moolla, ⁵ 464, Dalhousie Street, P.O. Box No: 307, Rangoon (Draft No: 90/23 Mercantile Bank)	2,008	- 0	- 0
6.	Proprietor, The Moti Stores, ⁶ 99, Lower Chitpore Road, Calcutta (Draft CC 3/211 Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi)	30	- 0	- 0
<u>Total</u>		3,519	- 8	- 0
(Rupees three thousand five hundred and nineteen and annas eight only)				

¹See Appendix II.56, Vol.III, 765.²See Appendix II.62, *ibid.*, 769.³See Appendix II.58, *ibid.*, 766.⁴See Appendix II.25, *ibid.*, 743.⁵See Appendix II.54, *ibid.*, 763.⁶See Appendix II.15, *ibid.*, 737.

II. 9

*M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi**F. 684/444**3 August 1947*

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith two demand drafts with a pay-in slip for

the total of Rs. 2,755-13-0 (Rupees two thousand seven hundred and fifty five and annas thirteen only) which amount on realization, please credit to the Bihar Relief Fund and issue receipts direct to donors as per their addresses given in the list attached.

Kindly acknowledge receipt and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Delhi

Enclosure to No. II. 9

F. 684/445

BIHAR RELIEF FUND

[Name of donor]	[Amount]		
	Rs.	As.	Ps.]
1. Hon[orar]y General Secretary, E.I.R. Muslim Employees Association, ¹ Latouche Road, Lucknow (Draft on The Central Bank, Delhi)	905	- 4	- 0
2. Essop A. Kajee, ² P.O. Box 511, Pretoria, South Africa (Draft on Eastern Bank, Bombay)	1,850	- 9	- 0
<u>Total</u>	<u>2,755</u>	<u>- 13</u>	<u>- 0</u>
(Rupees two thousand seven hundred and fifty five and annas thirteen only)			

¹See Appendix II.5.

²See Appendix II.39, Vol. III, 753-4. The name of the donor given there as Essop Akoojee.

II. 10

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F. 684/450

6 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith two drafts, three cheques and three receipts with three pay-in slips, all totalling Rs. 6,080-3-10 (Rupees six thousand eighty, annas three and pies ten only) which amount, on realization, please credit to the Pakistan Fund Account opened with

your Bank and oblige. Also kindly issue receipts direct to donors as per list of their names and addresses attached and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

Enclosure to No. II.10

F. 684/451

PAKISTAN FUND

	[Name of donor]	[Amount		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.]
1.	The New India Publishing Co., Lahore (Cheque on Australasia B[an]k)	50	0	0
2.	Kh. Bashir Bux, Railway Road, Lahore (Cheque on Australasia Bank)	3	8	0
3.	S. F. Hasan, Division Plant Pathology, University Farm, St. Paul 1, Minnesota (U.S.A.)	165	0	0
4.	Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi Receipt (No name mentioned)	192	3	0
5.	Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi Receipt (No address given)	559	6	6
6.	The National Bank of India, Delhi Receipt (No address given)	4,956	15	0
7.	Cheque No. 64021 on Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, received by telegraphic transmission (No address given)	128	3	4
8.	Jamiluddin Faridi, 205, B.O.D. ¹ Panagar Base (Bengal). Cheque No. BA / 2 62056 on Imperial Bank of India, Agra.	25	0	0
<hr/> Total		<hr/> 6,080 - 3 - 10		

(Rupees six thousand and eighty, annas three and pies ten only)

¹Also see Appendix II.1, item 8.

II. 11

Mian Mohammad Munir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/136-7

4 BULL ROAD, LAHORE,¹

12 August 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending Rs. 14 only for Pakistan Fund. These were collected by one from my class matric of St. Anthony's High School (Lahore). The names of the boys who contributed are:

	[Name of donor]	[Amount		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.]
1.	Myself (Mohammad Munir)	5	0	0
2.	Mian Abdul Jamil	2	0	0
3.	Mian Abdul Munir	2	0	0
4.	Agha Iftikhar	1	0	0
5.	Agha Hyder	1	0	0
6.	Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din	1	0	0
7.	Asad Ali	1	0	0
8.	Mian Riaz Samee	1	0	0
<hr/> Total		<hr/> 14 - 0 - 0		

(Rupees fourteen only)

I congratulate you on your appointment as [the] first Governor-General of Pakistan and [the] Chairman [*sic* for President] of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Pakistan Zindabad

Your most humble servant,
MOHAMMAD MUNIR

¹The letter was sent from 9 Brightlands Hotel (Annexe), The Mall, Murree.

SECTION C

II.12

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS IN PAKISTAN FUND ACCOUNT BY THE
HABIB BANK, DELHI

Date	Description	[Amount		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.]
July 1947				
26	F. 156/260	17,979	- 3	- 0
28	F. 156/265	13,818	- 9	- 0
29	F. 156/267-8	36,469	- 12	- 0
30	F. 156/273	753	- 0	- 0
31	F. 156/270-1	14,884	- 15	- 6
August 1947				
1	F. 156/275	2,063	- 7	- 3
2	F. 156/277-8	3,575	- 9	- 0
4	F. 156/280	17,074	- 2	- 0
5	F. 156/282	24,513	- 13	- 0
6	F. 156/287	9,560	- 9	- 0
7	F. 156/285	1,901	- 3	- 0
8	F. 156/289	1,867	- 0	- 0
9	F. 156/291	887	- 4	- 0
11	F. 156/293	12,080	- 7	- 3
12	F. 156/295-6	20,204	- 9	- 4
13	F. 156/300	101	- 0	- 0
14	ibid.	5,227	- 12	- 0
Total		1,82,962	- 12	- 16

II.13

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS OF PAKISTAN FUND AS ON 14.8.47

F. 155/299

HABIB BANK LIMITED,
CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
14 August [1947]

Total receipts	5,79,871	- 4	- 8
Amount drawn	1,65,004	- 0	- 0
Credit balance in ledger	4,14,867	- 4	- 8
Outstation cheques under collection	13,525	- 0	- 9
Local cheques under collection	Nil		
Money orders received to-day to be collected	5,491	- 0	- 0

* * * *

APPENDIX III

COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN THE PUNJAB

The communal tensions engendered by polarisation between the major political parties showed no let-up after the British decision to divide and quit. Communal violence erupted on a burgeoning scale and escalated into pogroms. The law-abiding and peaceful citizens watched the situation with dismay and horror.

The lawless elements, no matter which community they belonged to, continued to resort to and fuel communal violence with impunity. They looked forward to the ensuing independence as an opportunity for settling old scores. Fanatics boiled over and things reached such a pitch that even Jinnah was targeted for assassination.

The preparations being made by the various communities for internecine conflict and clashes did not escape the notice of the outgoing rulers. However, the authorities chose to look the other way or to downplay the situation. They were reluctant to act decisively. This must have intrigued and dismayed Jinnah who had denounced "for all time the use of force to achieve political ends"¹ and had urged the Viceroy "I don't care whether you shoot Moslems or not, it has got to be stopped".²

The law-abiding citizenry watched the situation with growing anxiety and trepidation and awaited the advent of independence with mixed feelings of hope and uneasiness. The minority communities were filled with consternation and had forebodings of dire trouble. The lawless elements, regardless of their communal persuasion, went rampaging about with impunity. The organised killings on a frightening scale that followed the end of the Raj were unquestionably the result of deliberate planning.

The detailed situation reports for the period from the districts seldom got beyond the provincial authorities.³ The reports sent by the Governor to the Viceroy were characterised by an obvious desire to leave India without incurring blame rather than to make determined efforts to curb the grave situation. It was left to the successor governments to face the music. Reports relating to the Boundary Force smack of its inadequacy⁴ for the task assigned to it.

The contagion of communalism infected the press as well, which had ceased to be fair and impartial. It focussed on the wrongs done to its "own" community and minimised those perpetrated by it. The blame nearly always went to the "other" side.

The government house in Lahore as well as the home ministry in New Delhi must have had much more information about the communal situation than Jinnah had, and a fair idea of what was to follow the end of the British rule.

It is outside the scope of this appendix to chronicle day-to-day communal incidents on place to place basis. For this purpose reports appearing in the newspapers of both the sides would need to be consulted. The selection of documents for this appendix has therefore to be confined mainly to those which give an overview of communal situation as well as to those issues that came to Jinnah's notice through his correspondents, party workers or the press.

¹Annex II to No. 376, Vol. I, Part 1, 677.

²See Appendix II, 21, Vol. II, 829.

³Also see Nos. 158, 167-8 & 173, *Disturbances in the Punjab 1947*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1995, 310-1, 323-5 & 332.

⁴See Nos. 473 and 486, *TP*, XII, para 7, 721 & 736-7.

III. 1

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN EVAN JENKINS AND JATHEDAR MOHAN SINGH¹

IOR, R/3/1/176²

[*Extract*]

[LAHORE,]
11 July 1947

[*Paras 1 and 2 omitted*]

3. Jathedar Mohan Singh talked a lot about the difficulties of the Sikhs and took the same line as Giani Kartar Singh yesterday.³ He said that the only solution was a very substantial exchange of population. If this did not occur, the Sikhs would be driven to facilitate it by a massacre of Muslims in the Eastern Punjab. The Muslims had already got rid of Sikhs in the Rawalpindi Division⁴ and much land and property there could be made available to Muslims from the East Punjab. Conversely the Sikhs could get rid of Muslims in the East in the same way and invite Sikhs from the West to take their places. He did not put his case quite as crudely as this, but his general ideas were clear. He said that the Sikhs were being ridiculed as cowardly, but they were not going to act upon the taunts of the Hindus; their plan was to act in

a big way immediately after the transfer of power. Strong distrust of the Congress was apparent throughout his statement of the Sikh case. When I suggested that in the East the Sikhs might secure the Premiership or Governorship, he said that concessions of this kind were valueless and the Hindus would see to it that Sikh influence was gradually eliminated.

¹President, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

²No. 67, TP, XII, 103.

³In an interview with Jenkins on 10 July Giani Kartar Singh laid claim to Nankana Sahib and certain canal lands in the Punjab. He considered a large scale exchange of population to be essential and threatened that the Sikhs would be obliged to fight "if their claims were not met". See Enclosure to No. 56, TP, XII, 71-4.

⁴Copies of detailed reports on the causes and course of communal riots at Rawalpindi were later sent by a correspondent to Jinnah. See F. 832/60-90, QAP. Not printed. Also see No. 28.

III. 2

A Note by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/176¹

[Extract]

SECRET

23 July 1947

A large Sikh Diwan has been advertised to be held at Nankana Sahib, Sheikhpura District, on Sunday, 27th July 1947. The names of 22 members of the Legislative Assembly² appear at the foot of the poster, including those of Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh; but it is not certain who the actual organisers are.

2. Public meetings are prohibited throughout the Sheikhpura District, and this meeting will not come within the religious exemption, as it is frankly a political conference called to impress the Boundary Commission and the public generally with the enthusiasm of the Sikhs for their boundary claims.

3. It is said that the poster has been widely circulated in the local villages and that the intention is for those attending the meeting to come in *Jathas*. The leaders hope to be arrested; if no arrests are made, they will announce a further programme of meetings.

4. Meetings about the Boundary Commission and the determination of the boundary are extremely dangerous, and Sikh meetings in the Western zone, apart from the direct disorders they may occasion, will inevitably cause the Muslims in the Eastern zone to hold counter

meetings. It is therefore clear that this meeting at Nankana Sahib must be prevented.³

[Paras 5 to 8 omitted]

¹No 214, TP, XII, 309-10.

²There were a total of 31 Sikh seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. See Appendix XIII.10, Vol. I, Part II, 620. For the names of Sikh MLAs see Appendix XIII. 11, *ibid.*, items 119-49, 623.

³See Appendix III.5, para 3.

III. 3

John Eustace to George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/91

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
LAHORE,

29 July 1947

My dear Sir George,

When H.E. the Viceroy was here the other day¹ he asked me for certain information to meet criticism about the failure of the British administration in Lahore. Later His Excellency asked our H.E.² for the same thing, presumably on a provincial basis. Sir John Bennett³ and I were asked to put up notes.

2. I am sending you a copy of mine direct: not because I don't believe Sir Evan will use it in his reply, but because it may be of interest to see the views of one official at the bottom.

3. I was a bit shaken to find how surprised Lord Louis was to see so much of Lahore standing.⁴ The difficulties and problems have all been regularly discussed in my fortnightly reports; but they obviously disappear into the Commissioner's⁵ report, and Thapar's⁶ into the Governors provincial summary. So Lahore can only ever have had a line or two of official explanations.

4. It has been most interesting work: anyone doing a thesis on mob or mass psychology could have got his doctorate. It is mostly fear which have moved both sides and complete confidence one day and open bazaars can be shattered by a bolting tonga pony. On the other hand the North Western Railway workshops labour butchered nine Sikhs and seriously injured twenty more and when the police arrived

all were at their work and remained so until the siren went to knock off at 5 p.m.

[*Paras 5 and 6 omitted*]

Your ever,
JOHN EUSTACE⁷

¹The Viceroy visited Lahore on 20 July 1947. See Appendix VI.4, Vol. III, para 6, 954.

²Evan Jenkins, Governor of Punjab.

³Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

⁴In the Viceroy's staff meeting held on 21 July Mountbatten observed that only 5 percent of the walled city and 1 percent of the whole city had been destroyed in communal disturbances at Lahore. See No. 191, *TP*, XII, item 2, 279. Also see Enclosure to No. III, 10, para 2.

⁵Saidullah Khan.

⁶Not identified.

⁷Deputy Commissioner, Lahore.

Enclosure to No. III. 3
Note by John Eustace

IOR, R/3/1/91

LAHORE DISTURBANCES 1947— COMPARISON WITH
1942 REBELLION

SECRET

LAHORE,
29 July 1947

I was appointed Provincial Organizer of the National War Front in March 1942, and I had toured most of the province by August. The Punjab was hardly affected by the rebellion. The police already had lists of Congress workers who were to be arrested and this was done without difficulty. The United Provinces suppressed their disturbances in ten days, after almost completely losing their most eastern district to students from Benares University. But in Bihar it took six months before conditions returned to normal.

2. The reasons why the Punjab gave no trouble were:

- i. The Punjab Unionist Ministry was genuinely behind the War effort. I attended many meetings, held by all Ministers including Ch[audhri] Sir Chhotu Ram,¹ and there was never anything preached, openly or privately, but resistance to Japanese aggression.
- ii. Muslims were against Congress, and the Muslim public fully supported the action taken against the Congress leaders. Although many Hindus supported Congress, most Hindu agriculturists supported the Unionist Ministry and

there was a large body of Hindu business opinion in the towns which disagreed with the Congress attempt to force the issue at a time when the Japanese were threatening to invade India.

iii. The police and the administration were therefore everywhere working in a favourable atmosphere and any opposition was political. Economic and religious factors were not yet of importance.

3. The position this year has been entirely different.

- a. As a result of continuous propaganda the virus of religious and economic strife has affected the whole population. Every one, from a High Court Judge to the poorest in the town, and in many cases to the villager as well, had by March come to believe that there would eventually be a conflict between the communities in which he would have to join.
- b. The six weeks long Muslim League agitation² was responsible for a deterioration in people's outlook towards each other and towards the police, and confidence collapsed when the Unionist Party so suddenly disappeared. Whatever their faults the Unionists represented sanity, and they were a symbol of communal cooperation.
- c. Above all, the British, although still in power, were going. This had a psychological effect which cannot be over-estimated. Although our position was precarious in 1942 nobody really believed that we were leaving India. By March 1947 a definite date had been fixed for our departure, and officials and the public knew that the old administration, which had remained strong in the Punjab, was ending.
- d. In 1942 it had been the British administration supported by 95% of the population which had controlled the remaining 5%. In 1947 the parties in Lahore were equally divided and were determined to eliminate each other; and it was only the 5% British and supporting Indian officials which prevented this. An impartial attitude to all wrong-doers was correct but it meant fighting on two fronts.

FIRE-FIGHTING SERVICE IN LAHORE

4. Sir John Bennett's³ note and enclosure⁴ shows that during the war it was decided that Lahore required at least 59 trailer pumps and 619 officers. Of these the Chief Fire Officer and the Deputy appointed were British and gazetted officers. The reduced organization proposed

for peace time was 16 trailer pumps and 172 men. On the 14th May Lahore Corporation had three fire engines with five drivers and 32 firemen. After five days of continuous duty seven firemen were in hospital and within ten days the number of pumps was temporarily reduced to two. Had it not been for the devoted service of the North Western Railway fire engine under a European which did some incredibly long spells of duty without a rest, and had we not been able to borrow up to as many as four trailer pumps at a time from military sources the fires would have continued to burn for months. Although the shortage of hydrants and of water was a recurrent handicap a larger number of engines and greater lengths of hose could have tapped other sources of water, as, for example, the sewage drains or the canal water channels which encircle the city. Fires did occur in areas where unused stand pipes existed but they could not be dealt with for precious hours because Kotwali Control had no more fire engines. The reason why Lahore's fire service was so scandalously depleted after the war must be on record in the Secretariat.⁵

ATTEMPTS MADE TO CONTROL FIRES WITH EXISTING EQUIPMENT

5. There are roughly three types of fire. The first is an attempt which fails to set fire to a house at all. A lighted cloth or an incendiary bomb has been thrown into it or placed outside a door or verandah but it is extinguished with no real harm done. Secondly there is the fire which burns a small part of the house but which is put out by the neighbours or by the early arrival of the fire engine. Thirdly there is the fire which guts the complete building, and my [sic for may] involve neighbouring houses as well. If the building is surrounded by others such fires invariably require a fire brigade to prevent them from spreading or restarting.

6. The real period of arson began after 15. 5. 47 when the fires were started which destroyed Kucha Wan Wattan, Akbari Mandi, Chohatta Wasti Bhagat and Kucha Balian. Attempts, however, had been made before this date: and the records show that these can be classified as 31 attempts, 19 small fires, and 5 large fires. That is, 50 fires were controlled compared with 5 which destroyed buildings. This shows that a great deal was done, and successfully done, to deal with the persistent attempts at arson during this period. The comparative failure later on was either due to a lack of interest on the part of officials or because our strength was entirely inadequate to compete with the increased scale of arson.

7. Mention has been made in Sir John Bennett's note of the interest taken by police officers and I cannot support this too strongly. I attach

a copy of an order⁶ given by Sir John on 16. 5. 47. This order is of interest because it shows that from the very start the I.G. Police was well aware of the difficulties involved and was determined to meet them. The proposal to place magistrates in divisional control of police posts was carried out by me the following day, and from then until incidents subsided Indian magistrates were at six police stations in the walled city and two outside it throughout the twenty-four hours.

8. I have collected the figures for arson from 14. 4. 47 to 14. 7. 47 and they show that there were 112 "attempts", 149 "small fires" and 234 "large fires", making a total of 495 incidents in Hindu and Sikh houses during this period. Against Muslim houses there were 58 attempts, 38 small fires, and 20 large fires or 116 in all.

9. One is immediately struck with the small proportion of "large fires" in Muslim houses. This was entirely because the Hindus vacated their property and were not available on the spot to prevent an "attempt" or a "small fire" from spreading; the Muslims, on the other hand, were consistently active and a Muslim house had only to start burning for all the neighbours to turn out to help while the owners and occupiers of adjoining houses used buckets of water to keep their own buildings wet.

The above figures show that during three months we were able to control 357 fires, while 254 defied our efforts.

AREAS AFFECTED BY FIRES, UPTILL 28. 7. 47

10. The area of Lahore inside the walled city is 650 acres. The area outside the city and excluding Cantonments is 73,226 acres, while the total area including Cantonments is 81,767 acres. Of the area inside the walled city 466 acres are built up, but it is not possible to give the corresponding figure for the rest of the Corporation limits. Roads, gardens, fields, open spaces, bungalows compounds would all have to be measured. The best statistics are therefore those showing the number of houses.

11. There are 20,256 houses inside the walled city of which 1,120 have been destroyed. This gives a percentage of 5.5 per cent which is roughly what I gave in area on the 20th July to H.E. V[iceroy]. The total number of houses outside the walled city is 50,519. Of these 225 have been destroyed by fire, which gives a percentage of 4%.

12. The percentage of the total number of houses destroyed in Lahore to the total number of houses which existed in Lahore works out therefore to 1.8%. Calculation of destruction by houses for that part of the Corporation outside the walled city gives a rather higher percentage than if area were taken because the houses burnt have generally

been small while this area includes large buildings like the Secretariat, Falettis' Hotel, Government House and private bungalows shown each as one building although many represent in area half a dozen or more destroyed houses.

STABBING AND MURDER

13. Statistics have been collected for attacks on life during the period from 14th April 1947 to 14th July 1947 as being typical and well reported. These are summarized as below:

STABBING AND SHOOTING

	<i>Fatal</i>	<i>Non-fatal</i>
Hindus	30	31
Sikhs	<u>38</u>	<u>74</u>
Total Non-Muslim	68	105
Muslims	41	77

INJURIES FROM BOMBS

	<i>Fatal</i>	<i>Non-fatal</i>
Hindus	1	22
Sikhs	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
Total Non-Muslim	2	25
Muslims	14	68

14. The total figures for these three months were therefore 55 fatal, and 145 non-fatal attacks on Muslims and 70 fatal and 130 non-fatal attacks on non-Muslims, with a difference in the total score of only 6, namely 200 attacks on Muslims against 206 attacks on Hindus and Sikhs. The closeness of these figures may be accidental, or it may be that each party has had a better system of keeping a record than we have.

POLICE ACTION

15. The success of the police in keeping down attacks on persons and cases of arson to the above figures, or their failure in allowing them to become so large, must be considered against the background of the size of Lahore and the size of the police. Lahore Corporation area has already been given and has 81,767 acres or approximately 12.5 square miles. The population of Lahore in the 1941 Census was 632,136. In January 1945 the rationing returns showed that the figure

had increased to 910,000 and in January 1947 it was 1,161,717.

16. The sanctioned district police strength for Lahore Corporation area on 4th March 1947 was 2,423. In addition there were a further 673 men from the Phillaur Training School, the Additional Police and other district's reserves, making a total of 3,096.⁷ On the 14th May the figures of 3,135 were approximately the same. The district police had increased to 2,463 and extra reserves all from the P.A.P. amounted to 672. Taking the average as 3,000 police on the strength this works out to one policemen for 27 acres (not, of course, all built up area), or three policemen for every 1,160 inhabitants.

17. In actual practice no such number of police were available for preventing crime. In an ordinary police station only one-third the strength shown on the roll is available at any one time for beat duty. The above total police figures include clerks in police stations and in the S.S.P.'s office, sentries on lock-ups, sentries guarding and moving prisoners, constables on telephone duty, others on leave, others serving processes or attending courts, others who are resting and others carrying out investigations. Arson and stabbing have not been confined to hours of daylight, which has meant that the police even with the assistance of curfews have to operate throughout the twenty-four hours. The extra police have admittedly been on picket or patrol duty except when withdrawn for resting. But it is safe to say that not more than 900 of the district police have been available at any one time. This has meant that it was absolutely impossible to guard or patrol all disputed areas. To have one constable on duty for 24 hours ties up four men.

18. To prevent arson completely it would have meant the posting of a picket on the roof and on the ground in every place where Muslim and non-Muslim property adjoined. To prevent stabbing the police distribution would have to be even wider as assaults have occurred in majority areas as well as on the boundaries. The police strength in Lahore was already inadequate for the enormously increased population in normal times. It could not guarantee complete protection in a civil war between the communities. No mention has been made of army assistance which was considerable but troops manned only four pickets, and assaults were never made in front of army or police patrols. All that we could promise was control but not immunity.

19. The greatest tribute to the action taken by the police was the change in tactics. In the first days of March riotous groups moved through bazaars murdering anyone they met of the opposite community and looting and destroying shops and houses. Few realized the

seriousness of the situation. Within two days the essential services were almost paralysed and had severe action not been taken, disaster would have resulted as occurred in other towns and provinces. After March the 11th no individual has been murdered by a hostile mob, and no building has been openly set on fire.

BRITISH OFFICERS

20. It is difficult to exaggerate the part taken by British officers throughout these three disturbances. I do not mean that no Indian officers did anything, as there were notable exceptions. The Muslim Director of Telegraphs and Telephones, for example, locked his staff in one night to prevent the men leaving as he correctly feared they might not return. The Hindu Divisional Superintendent of the Railway had kept his services going through greatest difficulties. But on the whole British officers have been more prepared to take responsibility and risks and to extemporize. The Muslim League agitation might well have ended in a general demoralization of the police had it not been for the strong action taken by Messrs. Fearn⁸ and Adam⁹ outside the Secretariat at the end of February. It was this *lathi* charge followed by later offensives which re-assured the police that they were still to enforce the law. When March the 4th rioting started Sub-Inspectors were prepared to open fire on their own community at once. The inevitable reaction of continued disturbances leading to slackness and indifference was prevented by the officers from the Inspector General of Police downwards turning out at all hours of the day and night to enforce the curfew, to help the fire-brigade, or to surround and search a house from which weapons had been used. It was the same initiative which started the special section¹⁰ of the C.I.D. which has so successfully traced offenders. It was thanks to Messrs. Taylor¹¹ and Wilson¹² that the essential services, and transport stayed firm in March while Mr. Kennedy¹³ laid the foundation for ration supplies during riots.

21. A great deal was said against the police at the time of the Muslim League agitation and it has been repeated since. I was present on all except two occasions when Muslim League processions were stopped and I have seen the police in action throughout the later disturbances. There has never been any doubt whatsoever of the police following the lead of British officers or obeying an upper subordinate. The Muslim League agitation tactics were entirely new and much of the work in the city is either extremely dull or requires superior intelligence and alertness. Leadership by Sub-Inspectors and Head

Constables has not always been inspired and the occasional police picket and constables have failed in their duty. The same picket under better instruction and direction has later caught its culprit or put out its fire whatever the community. Where there have been weaknesses in the police it has not been because of the failure of British officers but because we have not had enough to go round. On March the 4th there were two British officers in the district and four others were attached making six in all. On 14th May there was only one for several days and we had to depend upon the personal direction of the I.G. and of three D.I.Gs¹⁴ to compete with the entirely new situation. An interesting comment on the position in Lahore made in the middle of July by the Commissioner to my Addl. D.C.¹⁵ was that control existed and untold damage had been avoided because the police had not yet lost the habit of obedience to British officers.

J. C. W. EUSTACE
Deputy Commissioner, Lahore

¹Revenue Minister, Punjab 1937-45.

²24 January to 26 February 1947. See Appendix VII, Vol. I, Part II, 199-325.

³Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

⁴Annotated as "not attached".

⁵These words appeared on the sideline of the paragraph, "Sir Manohar Lal [Finance Minister, Punjab, 1942] refused to finance, held that, Indian cities did not burn".

⁶The attached order elucidates, "His order was a note damning the police for allowing fires to start under their noses and giving excellent instructions for improving supervision and control. Sir John later realized that a constable *in Front* [underlined here and subsequently in the original] of a row of empty houses *cannot* prevent entry and arson from his back and over the roofs."

⁷Underlined in the original.

^{8,9}Not identified.

¹⁰See No. 64, Vol. III, note 7, 158.

^{11, 12, 13}Not identified.

¹⁴W. N. P. Jenkin, Hamilton Harding and John Lobb.

¹⁵Not identified.

III. 4

Viceroy's Conference Paper V. C. P. 140¹

Mountbatten Papers

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
27 July 1947

SECRET

THE POSSIBILITY OF DISTURBANCES IN THE PUNJAB

Attached is a note containing a paraphrased version of a report

rendered by the Director of Intelligence.² Copies of this note (less this cover sheet) will be handed round at the Partition Council Meeting on Tuesday 29th July, if approved at the Viceroy's Meeting at 10 a.m. on Monday 28th July, 1947.³

V. F. ERSKINE CRUM
Conference Secretary

THE POSSIBILITY OF DISTURBANCES IN THE PUNJAB

Note by the Viceroy's Staff⁴

1. Information has been received from a reliable source to the effect that, if Nankana Sahib (which is about 12 miles north of Lahore) is not included, by the award of the Boundary Commission, in East Punjab, the Sikhs intend to start trouble on a big scale.⁵

2. It is reported that the Sikhs intend to act on or about 7th August; and that during the ten days before this date large meetings will be held to work up agitation. As is already known, the Sikhs have collected large quantities of arms.

3. It is also reported that the Muslims are fully aware of the preparations which the Sikhs are making; and are, in fact, making counter-preparations themselves.

4. Both sides are attempting to subvert troops in the areas concerned. These attempts are said not to have been wholly unsuccessful; promises of assistance from some troops have been received.

¹No. 250, TP, XII, 369.

²Norman Smith.

³In the Viceroy's 65th staff meeting Mountbatten approved the note for handing round at the Partition Council Meeting next day. See No. 256, TP, XII, item 8, 376-7.

⁴The note was circulated by the Viceroy in the second meeting of the Provisional Joint Defence Council on 29 July. See F. 723/171, QAP, Case No. JDC/11/2/47. Not printed.

⁵Also see Appendix III. 1.

III. 5

Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/191

SECRET
No. 698

GOVERNMENT HOUSE LAHORE,
30 July 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Since my last fortnightly letter was written on 14th July,² there has

been no improvement in the communal situation at Lahore and little improvement at Amritsar. The incident of 10th July at the North-Western Railway Workshops at Lahore led to further trouble, as such incidents always do. There have been daily fires, stabbings and bomb explosions. Between 19th and 22nd July there were no less than six serious bomb explosions in Lahore and its suburbs. In one of these outrages the bomb was thrown at a truck load of workmen, but fortunately there were no casualties. There was a similar outrage with a good many casualties at an entirely different place later on the same day. Another bomb was thrown on 20th July at a group of Muslims buying fruit near Baghbanpura; on 21st July a fourth bomb was thrown among the audience at a cinema; and on 22nd July the fifth and sixth outrages occurred at Lahore Railway Station and Moghalpura Railway Station respectively. In all the four outrages on 20th, 21st and 22nd casualties were heavy. The offenders were Hindus or Sikhs, and luckily we were able to arrest five or six of them. Probably in revenge for the Moghalpura outrage on 22nd a workmen's train was held up by Muslims near Harbanspura on 23rd July, and several non-Muslims were murdered. Feeling in Lahore is perhaps worse than it has ever been; the only favourable feature in the situation is that the fires seem somewhat less effective than they have been in the recent past.

In Amritsar there have been a number of bomb outrages—the worst occurred on 28th July when 48 persons were injured in an explosion outside the Sessions Court. Murder cases arising from the disturbances were being heard, and the bomb was probably intended to kill some of the accused and any Muslims who happened to be about. It actually injured 46 Muslims, one Hindu and one Sikh, and two of the Muslims have since died.

2. Outside Lahore and Amritsar, the situation in the Amritsar and Gurdaspur villages, along the Jullundur–Hoshiarpur border, and along the Ferozepore–Lahore border gives cause for considerable anxiety. In Amritsar there has been a string of rural outrages, some of them serious. Muslims have been murdered in various ways. There have been several bomb explosions, and a train has been fired on. In Gurdaspur attempts have been made to raid Muslim villages, and a train has been held up. There have been two or three village raids in Hoshiarpur, and the neighbouring Jullundur villages are involved. Casualties have been fairly heavy. A regular communal riot has occurred at Garhshankar, a small town in the Hoshiarpur district, with a certain amount of burning. Various villages in the Lahore district are disturbed, and it is possible that trouble may spread *via* Kasur into the Ferozepore district, where too various outrages have been reported.

The aggressors in all these rural areas seem to be the Sikhs. I have the impression that they have made certain preparations,³ some of which are now being disclosed prematurely. Bombs are widely owned and are being widely used, and many people are in possession of firearms. A few days ago there was a big explosion in one of the buildings attached to the the Tarn Taran Gurdwara. A stock of bombs must have gone up—the estimates of their number vary from 6 or 7 to 150—and during a subsequent search gelignite, some parts of bomb cases, and two revolvers were recovered.

In various other parts of the Punjab tension is high and there have been incidents. Gurgaon remains generally quiet owing to the presence of troops.

3. The Sikhs decided during the fortnight to hold a big meeting at Nankana Sahib⁴ in the Sheikhpura district on 27th July to air their views about the boundary between West and East Punjab. As this was frankly a political gathering, I decided that the general prohibition on meetings (other than religious meetings) in the Sheikhpura district must be enforced. A considerable body of Police and troops was employed; all ordinary approaches to Nankana Sahib were guarded by an inner and an outer cordon; wide publicity was given to the fact that the meeting was illegal; bus services were suspended; and the sale of railway tickets to a number of stations, including Nankana Sahib, was suspended. Nankana Sahib is a country town with a fairly large Sikh population, and a good many Sikhs had collected in the Gurdwara some days before 27th July. There was therefore a fairly large gathering on that date—as always, estimates of its size vary, but the best opinion seems to be that from 1500 to 2000 outsiders attended. Speeches are alleged to have been made inside the Gurdwara, and for some time on 27th it seemed that we were in for a civil disobedience movement. The Sikhs in Amritsar had already begun to defy the ban on processions as a protest against the banning of the Nankana Sahib meeting, and the leaders present at Nankana Sahib were obviously upset. Late in the evening they informed the authorities that they would disperse quietly, and the Deputy Commissioner⁵ said that in that case he would not interfere with access to the Gurdwara from 28th morning. During the night of 27/28th July Giani Kartar Singh turned up at Nankana Sahib, apparently in disguise, and repudiated the local understanding. On hearing of this I sent the Commissioner⁶ and the Deputy Inspector General of Police⁷ to Nankana Sahib on 28th morning in expectation of serious trouble. Fortunately the Sikhs present at the Gurdwara dispersed peacefully during the day, and it was possible yesterday to

withdraw both cordons of Police and troops. On the whole I think we achieved our objective, which was to prevent a gigantic rural gathering and to make it clear to the Sikhs that mass demonstrations about the boundary are not considered a good thing. The Sikhs intend to organise an all-Punjab *hartal* for 5th August. They are very puzzled and unhappy, and do not quite know what to do.

[*Paras 4 to 7 omitted*]⁸

[Yours sincerely,]

E. M. JENKINS

¹No. 292, TP, XII, 425-7.

²Jenkins had reported on the communal situation in Lahore, Amritsar, Gurgaon, and Hoshiarpur districts. An explosion outside a Sikh canteen at the North Western Railway workshops Lahore was followed by a free fight with knives in which the majority of the casualties were Sikhs. See IOR, R/3/1/191. Also see No.145, *Disturbances*, op. cit., 289-91.

³See Annexes I and II.

⁴See Appendix III. 2.

⁵Not traced.

⁶Saidullah Khan.

⁷John Lobb.

⁸Enclosure regarding record of Jenkin's interview with Giani Kartar Singh not printed.

Annex I to No. III. 5

Louis Mountbatten to John Short¹

PRO, CAB 127/50

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
3 May 1947

My dear Short,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. I like the Sikhs and have seen lots of Baldev Singh and a certain amount of Patiala, Faridkot, Nabha, Kapurthala, and have had one long meeting with Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh. They are raising a fifty-lakh war fund and are arming for a civil war. They demand partition and are asking for far more than their fair share. The only line I can go on is by the majority communities living in the various areas, but they want to go on landed property.

3. I have told them that if they start a war while I am here, they will have to fight me, as I cannot allow the authority of the Government to be challenged.

4. Actually, I hope that if they got their Sikhistan or the nearest approach to it, they may subsequently make good terms with the

Punjab as to be able to rejoin it, for the partition of the Punjab will be a mortal blow for that Province.

[Paras 5 to 8 omitted]

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹Personal Assistant to Stafford Cripps during the Cabinet Mission to India, March-June 1946.

Annex II to No. III. 5
Charles Thompson to George Marshall
U. S. National Archives 845.00/8-1347
[Extract]

NO. 1745

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,
CALCUTTA,
13 August 1947

SIKH INTENTIONS CONCERNING WEST PUNJAB

Among the Consulate General's valued contacts is Mr. James Jameson, Deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of Security Control. During a recent luncheon with Vice Consul Bloodworth, Mr. Jameson, in the course of a conversation on the political situation in India, remarked that he had been told in confidence that some of the Sikh leaders told the departing Governor¹ of the Punjab that, once British troops are pulled out of the Punjab, the Sikhs intend to take West Punjab back. Jameson is of the opinion that the Sikhs may be sufficiently well organized to succeed.

CHARLES O. THOMPSON
Consul

¹Evan Jenkins.

III. 6

Telephone Message¹ from Stuart Abbott
[Extract]

R/3/1/157²

[LAHORE,]
1 August 1947

There is going to be trouble with the Sikhs. When, and how bad, the

Governor³ cannot yet say. Raids on Muslim villages have begun in Amritsar and Lahore Districts and along the Jullundur Hoshiarpur border,⁴ and there have been four attacks on, or attempts to interfere with, trains in the past two or three days. Muslim casualties in Amritsar rural area alone since night of 30th/31st July are 23 killed, including 3 women and 2 children, and 30 wounded.

¹Message addressed to George Abell.

²No. 306, TP, XII, 459.

³Evan Jenkins.

⁴See Nos. 144-5, *Disturbances*, op. cit., 288-91.

III. 7

Memorandum by Evan Jenkins¹

IOR, R/3/1/89

[GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LAHORE,
[4 August 1947]]

There have been many criticisms of the Punjab Government's handling of the disturbances of 1947. During his visit to Lahore on 20th July His Excellency the Governor-General suggested that I should record them and add my comments.

2. The main criticisms are:

- i. that while the British were able to crush without difficulty the disturbances of 1942, they failed to deal in the same way with the disturbances of 1947 (Congress—particularly Nehru and Patel).²
- ii. that British officials have been callous and incompetent, and have taken the line that since the British are going, massacre, arson and looting are of no consequence (Congress—particularly Nehru and Patel).³
- iii. that in the Punjab the worst districts have been those staffed by British officials—Indian officials have managed to maintain order (Congress—Nehru).⁴
- iv. that Congress Governments have had no difficulty in suppressing disturbances—the worst Province of all has been the Punjab, which is still "under British rule" (Congress—Nehru).⁵
- v. that the fire services in the cities, particularly in Lahore and

Amritsar, have been inefficient and useless (Congress).⁶

vi. that the Magistrates and Police have been both incompetent and partial, and that the Police have connived at and actually participated in murder, arson, and looting (Congress).⁷

vii. that Martial Law should have been declared at least in Lahore and possibly elsewhere (Congress).⁸

Attacks on the administration were not confined to the Congress Party—the Muslim League were equally severe,⁹ though less precise except in their constant allegations¹⁰ of partiality against myself.

3. There are two short answers to most of these criticisms.

In the first place, the critics have missed the significance of what is happening in the Punjab.

We are faced not with an ordinary exhibition of political or communal violence, but with a struggle between the communities for the power we are shortly to abandon. Normal standards cannot be applied to this communal war of succession, which has subjected all sections of the population to unprecedented strains, has dissolved old loyalties and created new ones, and has produced many of the symptoms of a revolution.

Secondly, the critics are themselves participants in the events which they profess to deplore. During the disturbances Nehru, Patel, and Baldev Singh have visited various parts of the Punjab. They have done so nominally as Members of the Central Government, but in fact as communal leaders. To the best of my belief not one of them made during these visits any contact of importance with any Muslim. Nehru¹¹ was balanced and sensible; but Baldev Singh¹² on at least two occasions went in for most violent communal publicity, and Patel's visit¹³ to Gurgaon was used to make it appear that Hindus in that district were the victims of Muslim aggression, whereas broadly the contrary was the case. Conversely when Liaquat Ali Khan¹⁴ or Ghazanfar Ali Khan visited the Punjab, they did so not to assist the administration, but to assist the Muslims. When a Hindu leader talks about "utter ruthlessness" or "martial law", he means that he wants as many Muslims as possible shot out of hand; Muslims are less fond of these terms, but all communities, Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh persist in regarding themselves as blameless. Moreover, there is very little doubt that the disturbances have in some degree been organised and paid for by persons or bodies directly or indirectly under the control of the Muslim League, the Congress, and the Akali party. The evidence of this is to be found in the daily intelligence summaries, and in the solicitude with which prominent men—particularly among the Hindus—take up the cases of suspects belonging to their own community.

[*Sub-para omitted*]

4. Before the criticisms are examined individually, some understanding of the Punjab background is essential. From 1921 to the end of 1942 the Punjab was dominated by home-grown Muslim leaders powerful enough to control, or at least to influence very greatly, the policy of the Muslim League as a whole.

These leaders saw clearly that the Punjab as it stood then, and still stands until 15th August, could not be governed by a communal party, Muslim or non-Muslim. They therefore developed the Unionist idea—a United Punjab, with a Unionist Party open to Members of all communities, under Muslim leadership. As the Muslim League gained strength, the Muslim Unionists were driven to equivocation. They could not deny Pakistan and endeavoured to treat it as a matter external to the Punjab; but it was clear from the first that Pakistan was a vital internal issue and that sooner or later the Punjabi Muslims would have to accept it fully and join the League, or reject it and maintain the Unionist idea. With the death of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan at the end of 1942, the Unionist Party began to disintegrate. The last Unionist Ministry under Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana continued uneasily until the General Election of 1945-46, which was fought on the most bitter communal lines. Only eight or nine Muslim Unionists survived; with one or two exceptions Hindu Unionists were defeated or absorbed by the Congress party; and Sikh Unionists joined the Panthic Party. The Punjab had reached the worst possible position, so long avoided, in which practically all Muslims were on one side of the fence and practically all non-Muslims on the other.

The situation might have been saved by a genuine coalition between the Muslim League on the one hand and the Congress or the Panthic Party on the other. But communal feeling was too strong, and both the Muslim League and the Congress were under orders from outside the Punjab. A country with thirty million inhabitants was sucked into the vortex of all-India politics; Punjabis ceased to be Punjabis and became Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs—the Sikhs alone retaining their political independence. In the upshot a makeshift coalition was formed between the Congress the Panthic Party, and the small Unionist remnant, under the leadership of Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana.

The new Coalition Ministry took office in March 1946. When I assumed charge as Governor on 8th April 1946, it had just weathered the Budget Session of the Assembly, but had attempted no legislation. The Ministers lacked confidence in themselves and in one another.

They were cordially hated by the Muslim League Opposition, and had no contacts with the Opposition. In fact until the Ministry resigned in March 1947, I was the only member of the Government who could meet members of the Opposition naturally and without constraint.

During the remainder of 1946 the Coalition Ministry managed better than might have been expected. The Ministers were terrified of the Legislature, and when, in July 1946, a Session became inevitable for the elections to the Constituent Assembly, they used their small majority to secure the adjournment as soon as the obligatory business was over. They were most ingenious in avoiding legislation, thus depriving the Opposition of opportunities of constitutional combat; they were equally ingenious in annoying members of the Opposition in various small ways. Many of the Muslim League complaints against the Ministry were exaggerated or untrue; but the tactics and conduct of the Coalition Ministry were intensely annoying to the Muslim League, and with some reason. The largest single party had been shut out of office, and might have to wait indefinitely for its turn.

In these highly explosive conditions, the news of communal disorders on an unprecedented scale in Bombay, Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar, the Western United Provinces and the N.W.F. Province caused great alarm. The Coalition Ministry took strong action. Minor trouble which occurred in Amritsar and Multan early in the summer had been effectively dealt with; and more serious disturbances at Ludhiana and Rohtak later in the year were quickly suppressed. The Rohtak disturbances were directly connected with those in the Western United Provinces, and were extremely dangerous. A "civil war" atmosphere was at this stage developing throughout the Punjab, and all communities were arming for a struggle which seemed inevitable. The Punjab Public Safety Ordinance,¹⁵ promulgated in November 1946, reflected the views of the Ministry on the situation.

The Ministry saw that "private armies" might play a large part in communal strife. Two of these—the Muslim League National Guards and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh—were prominent and were growing rapidly. The Sikhs had disbanded their Akali Sena about 1940, and it was thought undesirable that they should have an excuse for reviving it. In January 1947 the Ministry accordingly banned the Muslim League National Guards and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. I had advocated this action some months earlier, and concurred in the January decision.¹⁶

The banning of the Muslim League National Guards was the signal

for a Civil Disobedience Movement by the Muslim League. This movement was modelled on the Congress movements of the nineteen-twenties, and its object being to dislodge a "popular" Ministry, it was clearly unconstitutional. The "defence of civil liberties" was an inadequate cloak for the real intentions of the demonstrators. By the middle of February the Coalition Ministry decided to compromise with the Muslim League, and did so on about 26th February. The movement had induced a universal contempt for law and order, and the extreme arrogance of the demonstrators had alarmed the non-Muslims to the point of hysteria.

In the meantime on 20th February His Majesty's Government had announced their intention of leaving India not later than 30th June 1948, and of transferring power to a successor Government or to successor Governments whose identity was unknown. The Muslims were anxious, and apparently almost ready, to seize the whole of the Punjab for Pakistan; the non-Muslims were passionately determined that they should not do so.

The Coalition Ministry, shaken by the Civil Disobedience Movement, and profoundly depressed by the Statement of 20th February, decided initially to see the Budget Session through, and to attempt during or after the Session some party adjustments. That at least was the Premier's intention, in which his colleagues concurred. But quite suddenly, and for reasons not fully known to me, the Premier decided on 2nd March to resign. He did so late in the evening, and on 3rd March after seeing the Finance and Development Ministers (to whom the Premier's decision had been considerable shock), I sent for Mamdot and asked him to form a Ministry.¹⁷

The non-Muslims believed that a Muslim League Ministry would destroy them, and there was little hope of a Coalition, without which Mamdot could not count on a majority in the Assembly. To clinch the matter the Congress and Panthic Sikhs held a large meeting in Lahore on the evening of 3rd March at which very violent speeches were made. On the morning of 4th March rioting broke out in Lahore.¹⁸

On the evening of 4th March, the outgoing Ministers refused to carry on in accordance with the usual convention; and since on 5th March Mamdot showed no signs of producing a Ministry, a proclamation¹⁹ under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, was made on the evening of that date.

Thus I assumed direct personal charge of the Punjab with the Muslims intent upon the communal domination of the whole of it, the non-Muslims determined not to submit to Muslim domination, fighting in

progress in the principal cities, and the prospect of "vacant possession" for some person or persons unknown not later than 30th June 1948. I was without Advisers, because a sufficient number of senior officials was not available. It was clear that a communal Ministry—Muslim or non-Muslim—had no hope of survival. It was equally clear that a new Coalition was out of the question. Between March 1947 and June 1948 officials would inevitably be driven to take sides, and the services would disintegrate. The prospects were therefore not encouraging.

It has been represented from time to time that Mamdot could have formed a Ministry during March. In fact Mamdot showed little eagerness to form a Ministry—the events of the first half of March were too much for him—and it is my belief that he has not at any time had the support of a majority in the Assembly.

5. Rioting broke out in Lahore City on 4th March, as I have said above. The disturbances since that date have fallen into three main phases:

- i. *4th March to 20th March.* Rioting in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Rawalpindi, Jullundur and Sialkot Cities. Rural massacres of non-Muslims in Rawalpindi, Attock and Jhelum Districts of the Rawalpindi Division, and in Multan District, casualties very heavy, and much burning especially in Multan and Amritsar. I was able to report²⁰ on 21st March that order had been restored everywhere.
- ii. *21st March to 9th May.* Minor incidents in many districts. Serious rioting and burning in Amritsar 11th-13th April with some repercussions in Lahore. Trouble at Hodel, a small town in Gurgaon District, followed by the first outbreak along the Mewat in the same district.
- iii. *10th May onwards.* The communal "war of succession". Incendiarism, stabbing, and bombing in Lahore and Amritsar. Serious incidents reported from various districts, particularly Gujranwala and Hoshiarpur. Urban rioting almost unknown, and all activities in cities, including some organised raids, conducted on "cloak and dagger" basis. Village raiding begins, especially in Amritsar, Lahore, Ferozepore, Jullundur, and Hoshiarpur districts. Revival of disturbances in Gurgaon with 140 villages burnt and very heavy casualties.

The first phase presented many of the features of normal communal disturbances of the past. The urban slaughter was without precedent (in Multan City about 130 non-Muslims were killed in three hours), and the wholesale burnings both urban and rural, and the rural

massacres were new. But on the whole, the situation yielded to the usual treatment.

The second phase was used by the communities for preparations. It was relatively quiet, but there was much practising with bombs, and ill-feeling never really died down in Lahore and Amritsar.

The third phase showed the real dimensions of the problem. The communities settled down to do the maximum amount of damage to one another while exposing the minimum expanse of surface to the troops and police. Mass terrorism of this kind offers no easy answer—troops and police can act, and sometimes act decisively, against riotous mobs. They can do little against burning, stabbing and bombing by individuals. Nor can all the King's horses and all the King's men prevent—though they may be able to punish—conflict between communities interlocked in villages over wide areas of country.

The casualties in all three phases as reported up to 2nd August are:

A.	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Seriously injured</i>
	Lahore	382	823
	Amritsar	315	666
	Multan	131	133
	Rawalpindi	99	230
	Other cities	<u>117</u>	<u>171</u>
		1044	2023
B.	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Seriously injured</i>
	Rawalpindi	2164	167
	Attock	620	30
	Jhelum	210	2
	Multan	58	50
	Gurgaon	284	125
	Amritsar	110	70
	Hoshiarpur	51	19
	Jullundur	47	51
	Other districts	<u>44</u>	<u>36</u>
		3588	550
C.	<i>Total</i>		
	Urban		
	and Rural	4632	2573

The figures are clearly incomplete, especially for Gurgaon, where the dead and wounded are usually removed by their own party. In my opinion not less than 5000 (and probably not more than 5200) people

have been killed in all, and not more than 3000 seriously injured.

The figures are not classified by communities; but in the cities the Muslim and non-Muslim casualties must now be approximately equal. Almost all the casualties in the rural areas of Rawalpindi, Attock, Jhelum and Multan are non-Muslim. In the other districts (at a rough guess) two-thirds of the casualties may be Muslim.

On this basis I would put the communal distribution²¹ of casualties approximately as follows:

A.	Urban	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Seriously injured</i>
	Muslim	522	1011
	Non-Muslim	<u>522</u>	<u>1012</u>
		1044	2023
B.	Rural	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Seriously injured</i>
	Muslim	357	201
	Non-Muslim	<u>3231</u>	<u>349</u>
		3588	550
C.	Total		
	Muslim	879	1212
	Non-Muslim	<u>3753</u>	<u>1361</u>
		4632	2573

Since a large proportion of the unknown Gurgaon casualties are Muslim, of the 5000 persons probably killed perhaps 1200 are Muslims and 3800 non-Muslims; while of the 3000 persons believed seriously injured about 1500 belong to each community.²²

The destruction of property by fire has been very great, though less than is sometimes represented. Among the cities Lahore, Amritsar and Multan have suffered most. The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore reports²³ that up to 28th July 1947 of 20,256 houses within the walled city 1120 or 5.5 per cent had been destroyed; while outside the walled city of 50,519 houses 225 or .4 per cent had been destroyed. The total destruction in the City of Lahore Corporation Area thus amounts, in terms of houses, to 1.8 per cent. A "House" may, however, be anything from a large hotel or office building to a thatched hut, and outside the walled city the damage (except in one or two areas) is not readily noticeable. Similar figures are not immediately available for Amritsar and Multan.

In the Rawalpindi Division and the Gurgaon district there has been much burning of villages. In many Gurgaon villages, however, the

mud walls of the houses are sound, and only the roofs and rafters have been destroyed.

No accurate estimate has been made of the total damage.

[Remaining portion of this para and paras 6 to 13 omitted]

E. M. JENKINS

¹Enclosure to No. 337, TP, XII, 511-27.

^{2,3,4,5}In his speech to the AICC on 15 June 1947 Nehru had criticized the Punjab Government's handling of communal riots stating that "the trouble was prevalent the most where there were the British Officers in charge". See Enclosure to No. 218, TP, XI, 429. Also see Appendix X.3, Vol. II, 945.

⁶See Appendix II.20, Vol. II, 825-8.

⁷In the meeting of the Indian Cabinet held on 25 June 1947 accusations were made against officers who had been "unable to handle the situation" at Lahore and Amritsar. It was decided to "man the administration by officers in whom all parties had confidence." See No. 338, TP, XI, 622, Indian Cabinet Case No. 155/32/47, minute 2. Not printed.

⁸See Appendix II. 20 and 21, Vol. II, 825-9.

⁹On 2 July Mamdot had complained to Jenkins about "repressive and oppressive administrative measures" against Muslims. The next day he resigned from the Security Committee on the plea that the administration was "strongly anti-Muslim". See No. 455 and 472, TP, XI, 822-4 and 843-5.

¹⁰The Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party passed a resolution on 21 June 1947 expressing lack of confidence in Evan Jenkins for his "partisan attitude" and demanding his withdrawal. See No. 305, TP, XI, note 1, 569. Also see Appendix VI. 1, Vol. III, para 7, 941.

^{11,12}Jenkins was critical of the attitude of those party leaders in the Viceroy's Executive Council who had visited the riot devastated areas in the Punjab. See No. 12, TP, XI, paras 4 and 5, 24-5.

¹³Not traced.

¹⁴See Appendix II. 9, Vol. II, 810-2.

¹⁵The Punjab Public Safety Ordinance was promulgated by Governor Jenkins on 19 November 1946 under Section 89 of the Government of India Act, 1935. See No. 135, TP, IX, 229-30.

¹⁶On 24 January 1947 the Punjab Government issued declarations against R.S.S. and Muslim League National Guards and followed up with searches of premises of both the bodies. These searches were obstructed by local ML leaders who were arrested. Subsequently 15 League MLAs were arrested for defying ban on processions and meetings. See No. 310, TP, IX, 556-7.

¹⁷The ministers were Bhim Sen Sachar and Swaran Singh, respectively. Also see No. 97, Vol. I, Part I, 193-4 and No. 476, TP IX, 829-34.

¹⁸On 4 March Jenkins reported that the outbreak of communal riots in Lahore was preceded by a clash between non-Muslim students and police. This was also confirmed independently by a correspondent who informed Jinnah that the non-Muslims "were the aggressors in the Punjab riots... and not Muslims". See No. 481, TP, IX, 850-1. Also see No. 249, Vol. I, Part I, 427-30.

¹⁹On 5 March 1947 Jenkins informed Wavell that he would still advocate continuance of Section 93 even if Mamdot produced evidence of majority for a purely League Ministry. See No. 493, TP, IX, 868-70.

²⁰In his telegram dated 21 March 1947 Jenkins reported to Wavell about the law and order situation having been controlled and drew attention to the need for retaining 40,000 displaced persons in refugee camps. See No. 558, TP, IX, 1002-3.

²¹The communal distribution of casualties was probably based on guesswork.

²²There appears to be an error in the breakdown of figures of casualties of the Muslims and non-Muslims.

²³See Appendix III. 3.

III. 8

*George Abell to Louis Mountbatten*¹

[NEW DELHI,]

6 August 1947

I had half an hour with Mr. Jinnah this evening about the Punjab.

2. He says that he thinks it would be unwise to wait to see the reactions of the Sikhs after the announcement of the award. He is personally in favour of arresting the more extreme Sikhs² at once. He only agreed to simultaneous action on the announcement of the award in order to meet the point of view of Sardar Patel.

[Paras 3 to 6 omitted]

G. E. B. ABELL

¹No. 361, TP, XII, 559.

²See Appendix V.3.

III. 9

*Aftab Ahmed to Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan*¹

AFM 407/65

INDER KOTE, AJMER,

7 August 1947

Dear Nawab Sahib,

Scores of Muslim refugees from Bharatpur and Alwar² States are daily pouring in Ajmer. The Local League has done excellent work in opening relief camp. The present number of the refugees has grown to over eight hundred. Poor and brave Meos have been ruthlessly butchered, their homes and hearths wantonly destroyed and their babies and womenfolk have been thrown alive into the huge bon-fire. The victims of Jat fury already deprived of their earthly belonging are roaming about³ in unknown places among unknown people and on the charity of others. Few savages could improve upon the Jat misdeeds. It is a pity that while Hindu Leaders are crying hoarse at the fictitious and imaginary persecution of the Hindus in Pakistan area, the Muslim Leaders and the Muslim Press are keeping mum over the great massacre of Muslims in an area

only 100 miles away from the city of Delhi.

I, therefore, fervently appeal to you kindly to take immediate and proper action in public and press to ward off the total extinction of the Mewat.⁴

Yours sincerely,
AFTAB AHMED

¹Chairman, Committee of Action, AIML, Delhi.

²The adjoining district of Gurgaon remained a disturbed area throughout July and August. See No. 455, TP, XI, 822-4. Also see No. 73, Vol. III, 175, and Appendix III. 7.

³Sidelined in the original.

⁴See No. 153.

III. 10

*Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten*¹

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/91

SECRET / IMMEDIATE

[GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LAHORE,]

No. 219-G

8 August 1947

Situation is now most serious and I have discussed it this morning with Commander, Punjab Boundary Force,² and Inspector General of Police.³

2. In rural areas of Amritsar, Hoshiarpur and Jullundur we have for some days had both casual attacks and organised raids in most of which Sikhs are aggressors and Muslims the victims. Rural areas of Lahore, Ferozepore and Ludhiana have all reported similar outrages including organised raids though trouble there seems less widespread so far. Amritsar and Lahore cities continue to give trouble. So does Gujranwala and there have been bomb explosions in Lyallpur⁴ followed by 15 casualties from stabbing. Gurdaspur (both towns and districts) may blow up at any time. 9 of the 12 boundary districts⁵ are thus already involved. Daily casualties running between 50 and 100.

3. Our civil side of picture is not encouraging. Transfers and postings connected with partition are in progress. Standard of reporting of incidents has fallen off. Police in East Punjab are unsteady and Muslim Police men in Amritsar intend to desert to West Punjab on 15th August. Similar intention may exist in other districts since extreme communal feeling has been fostered both by leaders and press. With new teams getting into position confused information and unsteadiness of services particularly police in East Punjab prospects of good

start for new governments particularly East Punjab Government are poor. We are dealing with all this as well as we can and Inspector General of Police is informing Amritsar Police that West Punjab will in no circumstances employ deserters.

4. Commander Punjab Bounbary Force tells me strength of his 5 Brigade groups averages 1500 effective rifles. This means that in addition to police we have a strength of say 7500 effective rifles to control 12 districts with a population of no less than 12 million. Use of training centres and static troops will add another 1500 but even so strength will not be large. Rural raiding in areas in which communities are inextricably mixed cannot be checked except by display and use of force on massive scale. I am satisfied everything possible is being done with resources available and have told Commander Punjab Boundary Force that all ranks will be backed up in any *bona fide* action to disperse unlawful assemblies under section 5 of Punjab Disturbed Areas Act and connected Central Ordinance.⁶ Interception and immediate dispersal of raiders is vital.

5. Following action by Centre would help: 1. Reinforcement of Punjab Boundary Force if possible. I cannot recommend withdrawal of troops from Gurgaon or from Western Punjab where reprisals highly probable. 2. Attachment of tactical reconnaissance squadron or at least flights to Punjab Boundary Force. This is most urgent. 3. Release of 200 provincial additional police now lent to Delhi Province. East Punjab cannot afford to lend these men and they should be returned immediately. I understand official move has been made. 4. Earliest possible advance information of Boundary Commission's award.

¹See No. 382, TP, XII, 583-4.

²Major General T.W. Rees.

³John Bennett.

⁴Now called Faisalabad.

⁵See Appendix I.2, para 3 and Annex to I.3.

⁶The entire province had been declared a disturbed area on 31 May 1947. See No. 299, TP, XII, 440.

III. 11

PUNJAB LEADERS DISCUSS MEASURES TO CONTROL RIOTS¹

Ways and means to control the situation in the rural areas of Amritsar, Lahore, Gurdaspur and other affected places were discussed on Thursday [7August] at a joint meeting of top-ranking leaders of the Muslim League, the Congress² and the Panthic Party, held at the residence

of Khan of Mamdot. Among those present were the Khan of Mamdot, Leader of the western section of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party, Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Leader of the Eastern Section of the Punjab Congress Assembly Party and S. Swaran Singh, Leader of the Panthic Akali Party, and L. Bhim Sen Sachar, Leader of the Western [Section of the Punjab] Congress Assembly Party.

A deputation from Amritsar acquainted the leaders with the situation in Amritsar and rural areas and made various proposals for the maintenance of law and order.—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 9 August 1947.

²Also see Annex.

Annex to Appendix III.11

SABRE-RATTLING PRESIDENT¹

It is with no sense of exultation but with a feeling of utter frustration that we draw the attention of the well-wishers of India to the directive issued by the President of the Indian National Congress, instructing the minorities in Pakistan not to celebrate the Independence Day on August 15. Mr. Kripalani argues, in his usual perverted manner, that the carving out of a sovereign Muslim state is no occasion of rejoicing for the non-Muslim minorities of Pakistan. Elaborating this pernicious theory, Mr. Kripalani states: "We know that the hearts of all Congressmen and Congress sympathisers in Sind, East Bengal, West Punjab and the N.W.F.P. are lacerated at the division of the country. They are, therefore, in no mood to rejoice with the rest of India. Under the circumstances, there is no need of celebrating August 15, in those areas which have been separated from India."²

We are not aware of any mandate by which Mr. Kripalani can arrogate to himself the right of deciding whether or not the minorities in Pakistan are in a mood to rejoice on the most momentous day in the history of the Indian sub-continent's bid to break asunder the steel shackles of foreign domination. The reports that are continuously pouring into the press, indicate beyond all doubt that the minorities in Pakistan on whose behalf Mr. Kripalani professes to speak, are not as apprehensive of their future in Pakistan as the Congress Rastrapathi [*sic*] would like them to be. With a very dishonourable exception of a certain community³ in the Punjab which is bent upon giving a full vent to its innate pantomimic urges and having its heart's fill of mischief and manoeuvres, all the minorities in Pakistan are reconciled to the stark fact that the myth of "United India" could be played up only at the risk of plunging the sub-continent into a nightmare of communal

vandalism and perpetuating the deadly grip of imperialist fetters. Nearly all the leaders of the minority communities in Pakistan have already sworn allegiance to the young Muslim state. It is a pity that Mr. Kripalani should have given expression to his cantankerous outlook on men and matters at a time when amicable relations are sought to be established between the hitherto warring communities of India.

If the basis on which the Congress President invites the Pakistan minorities to boycott the Independence Day celebrations, is used by the Muslims in India to determine their attitude to the Independence Day celebrations of the Indian Union, they too would have nothing to do with the country-wide rejoicing. Indeed, they would have a more convincing reason to keep out of the celebrations, because, ever since the announcement of the Mountbatten Plan,⁴ some discordant spokesmen of the majority party have made it their business to exude the fresh germ of communal bitterness by broadcasting threats of a very grave nature. But the Muslims of Hindustan preferred to turn a deaf ear to the irresponsible chatter of irresponsible demagogues and chose to associate themselves whole-heartedly with the Independence Day celebrations. If nothing else, at least the spirit of co-operation evidenced by the Muslims in Hindustan, ought to have checked Mr. Kripalani's demonstration of hostility towards the new Muslim state.

Above everything else, the Congress President ought not to have allowed himself to forget the fact that the party over which he happens to preside—although, we cannot help mentioning incidentally, he has proved by his utterances that he does not deserve to hold the high position which he holds in the Congress today—has unreservedly accepted His Majesty's Government's announcement of June 3, and is not free to act in a manner prejudicial to the provisions of that announcement. The Congress, by accepting⁵ the Plan, has accepted the principle of division, and it devolves on its leaders to facilitate the work of partition instead of complicating it. It is not necessary to prove exactly to what damaging extent Mr. Kripalani's directive to the Pakistan minorities militates against the spirit of the Mountbatten Plan which the Congress is pledged to carry out in a peaceful manner.

As we said above, there still exists in Pakistan a solitary community which has taken aggressive ambition for its counsel. Mr. Kripalani's directive we are afraid, will only help to spur this particular community on to more and still more outrageous acts of unbridled brigandage. It will only add fuel to the smouldering fire of Hindu Mahasabha's sound and fury. It would have been a wiser course if the Congress President, instead of rushing to the press with a thoughtless directive,

had treated silence [*sic*] and kept his counsel to himself.

We are, however, glad to note that Mr. Gandhi asked the Pakistan minorities to pin all their faith in the assurance⁶ given to them by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and not to run helter-skelter in panic. We only hope that the Pakistan minorities will for once, take their lead from Mr. Gandhi and leave Acharya Kripalani alone to pursue his set profession of stirring trouble in peaceful waters.

¹Editorial, the *Morning Herald*, 9 August 1947, appended to American Consul-General, Bombay, despatch No. 428 dated 13 August 1947, U. S. National Archives, 845.0018-1347.

²Kripalani's statement formed part of a directive issued from Lahore to the provincial Congress Committee in Pakistan areas and evoked a strong protest from Liaquat Ali Khan. See editorial, the *Times of India*, 12 August 1947. Not printed.

³Refers to the Sikh community. Also see Appendices III. 1, 5 and 6.

⁴No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

⁵See Annex IV to No. 299, Vol. II, 570-2.

⁶See Appendix VIII. 2, Vol. III, 1001-3.

III. 12

MUSLIMS URGED TO PROTECT MINORITIES¹

RAWALPINDI, Aug 8: "It is the duty of the Muslim nation as a whole to treat the minorities in such a manner that they should have absolutely no cause for complaint," says the President of the Muslim League Defence Committee, Mr. A. R. Changez, in a statement today.

Referring to the mass exodus of the minorities from Rawalpindi town, Mr. Changez says: "The minorities have a good deal of justification in entertaining fears and mistrust in view of the riots in March last. Their mass exodus from the town is justified from their point of view although I do not see any chance of the recrudescence of communal riots here."

Mr. Changez appealed to the minorities not to leave the town and assured them that their rights and privileges would be fully protected. He also appealed to Muslims to redeem the pledge² given by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah to the minorities for the protection of their rights and urged them to show by their general conduct that they were following the command of their leader, both in letter and spirit.

Mr. Mahmood Khan, a prominent Muslim League leader and Secretary of the League Defence Committee, in a similar statement pleaded for the protection of the rights of the minorities as "the first task" before the Dominion Government of Pakistan.—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 9 August 1947.

²See Appendix VIII. 2, Vol. III, 1001-3.

III. 13

EAST PUNJAB¹

Some time ago we commented on the urgency of safeguarding the interests of Muslims in East Punjab who will shortly be separated from us. In the last few days the difficulties that our brothers beyond the border will have to face, have been forcefully brought home by the unfortunate occurrences that are daily reported from various parts of the Eastern country-side. We do not know the whole truth but both fact and rumour point to increased communal aggression and consequent suffering: official communiques admit of considerable losses in life and property² and security measures have yet to ensure effective protection for unarmed and unsuspecting peasantry against organised marauders. We should not be surprised, therefore, if in some towns and villages of the East a feeling of isolation and helplessness begins to seep into the Muslim masses, a feeling which would be disastrous both for their morale and their welfare. This feeling must be resisted and overcome and our people of the East must be given the most positive proof, that even though their sufferings for the cause of Pakistan, have not been able to undo the political intrigue that has forced separation upon us, they are still flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood and that the division of boundaries does not mean the division of hearts. Their immediate problem is the protection of their lives and property. Until the new Government takes over, this is the direct responsibility of the present Governor and his administration, and at the next remove it is the responsibility of the present Boundary Commission Force and its commanders. As the communal complexion of the administration in the East has already decisively changed and continues to change rapidly every day, we do not know how much energy, impartiality and honesty it is still possessed of, whether it is capable of placing the law above communal considerations and active exertion to check communal aggression above the usual bureaucratic *Laissez-faire*. The Boundary Force is impartial, we know, but again we do not know whether their intelligence and *recce* resources³ are equal to an effectively preventive and punitive role against isolated but organised outrages. We hope both the administration and the Boundary Force realise the gravity of the situation but we do not know how far they can entirely prevent the repetition of the occurrences of the last few days. Perhaps the most effective thing either of them can do is to make each isolated village defensively self-sufficient by distributing a

minimum quantity of arms to reliable ex-soldiers or other village notables, who can be trusted not to abuse the privilege. The people thus armed can be made personally accountable both for the custody and for the proper use of such arms which can be withdrawn when the present emergency is over. These and any other measures which those responsible for the maintenance of peace and order might devise, do not absolve the public leaders of all parties from their urgent responsibilities. We consider, for instance, that every Muslim MLA⁴ from the East should, at this moment, not only be at his post but should also be at his job. And his job is to share the trials and sufferings of his voters, to give them whatever aid and succour lies in his power, to bring them solace and comfort and hope. The same applies to non-Muslim MLAs⁵ as well in a different way, for they are morally responsible for the behaviour of their electors and unless what is happening in Eastern villages has their tacit approval, they should be equally active in preaching humanity and restraint to their followers. We have seen or heard no word of condemnation of these happenings from the non-Muslim side but we presume that the repercussion of the bitterness and hostility that these happenings might create, are not entirely lost on them. We presume that they are as anxious to have a peaceful and harmonious State as we are and that crime and lawlessness are as repugnant to them as they are to us. It would be extremely short-sighted for any Government to sow the seeds of bitterness and hostility among its people for any short-term communal gains and the leaders of Pakistan have already given the lead to the other side by the enunciation of their extremely liberal policy⁶ towards the minorities. If Hindu and Sikh leaders non-cooperate with any peace efforts that might be made at this stage, the continuation of disturbances in the East will have to be put down to this act of omission and they will not be able to plead either ignorance or alibi for present-day crimes. Perhaps more joint-tours and joint-appeals, however limited their value can still have some effect. We cannot force reason, however, on the leaders of other parties, we can only urge greater vigilance and greater industry on leaders of our own. We consider that even though the material help they can render to our brothers of the East may be limited, there are no limits to the moral and psychological support that can be offered. There should be an extensive campaign to explain to the Eastern areas the extreme urgency of maintaining their pride and solidarity, to explain to them the new political and organisational tasks they will have to face in the new State, to assure them that even though we have to

work out our destinies in different ways we are still linked together by indissoluble ties. And the task should be taken in hand at once.

¹Editorial, the *Pakistan Times*, 9 August 1947.

²See Appendices III. 12, 17 and 18.

³See Appendix III. 10.

⁴See Appendix XIII. 11, Vol. I, Part II, 621-3.

⁶See Appendix VIII. 2, Vol. III, 1001-3.

III. 14

Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten

*Mountbatten Papers*¹

TOP SECRET

No. 703

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LAHORE,

9 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. I have now discussed this matter both with Trivedi² and with Mudie,³ and we are all agreed (a) that the arrest of Tara Singh and his friends now or simultaneously with the announcement of the Boundary Commission's award could not improve and might worsen the immediate situation; and (b) that though it may be necessary for me to make the arrests after the announcement of the award and before 15th August if the Sikhs give very serious trouble, it would be far better to leave them to be dealt with by the new Governments of West Punjab and East Punjab.

3. In amplification of (a), it is clear that the village raiding which is now causing us so much concern in Amritsar and elsewhere is not specifically directed by Tara Singh and his associates, though it is undoubtedly the result of their general propaganda. Their arrests now or simultaneously with the Boundary Commission's award would almost certainly lead to a sharp reaction among the Sikhs and would jeopardise what hopes there are that the Sikhs in West Punjab will accept the award and settle down quietly. I believe that the reports⁴ submitted to Your Excellency on Tara Singh's personal activities are substantially true; but I doubt if in fact his alleged plans will come to anything.

Turning to (b), if the arrests were made by the Section 93 administration, the leaders taken in West Punjab would presumably have to be confined in a Pakistan jail, and the leaders taken in East Punjab would have to be confined in an Indian jail. We have as yet no evidence to

support a criminal prosecution, and it is impossible to say what the attitude of the new Governments would be. West Punjab would be anxious to detain their men, but East Punjab, relying on some Sikh support, would be greatly embarrassed and might decline to take responsibility for the detention orders. On the other hand, if the two new Governments have to take decisions of their own, they are more likely to adhere to them and to make suitable arrangements for the custody of the prisoners—a matter which may cause considerable embarrassment.

4. I have not discussed the problem with Mamdot⁵ or with any political representative of East Punjab, as in the present state of feeling the politicians would be unable to keep quiet about it; but there is no doubt at all about the views of Trivedi and Mudie. Trivedi pointed out to me that the logical alternatives were to make the arrests immediately or to await the results of the Boundary Commission's award. Mudie concurred in this view and added that unless West Punjab could be quite certain of the ultimate attitude of East Punjab, the confinement of the Sikh leaders, not on criminal charges but under my emergency powers, might be most embarrassing, and that he was not clear where I could put the leaders without causing trouble. I could hardly send them to what will in a few days be a Pakistan jail; on the other hand if I left them in East Punjab, they would be a centre of agitation.

5. I have accordingly decided to plan the arrests, but not to make them myself unless my hand is forced. The arrests may be far from easy, as the Sikh leaders travel a good deal and usually live in places like the Golden Temple where Police action causes much excitement.

6. This decision⁶ will probably be unwelcome to Jinnah, but I believe that in all the circumstances it is the right one. The whole object of our policy has been to get as smooth a change-over as we can, even at considerable risk. The two new Governments may have to fight the Sikhs, but if I start the fight now, they will inherit it, and I do not think that this would be fair to them unless the arrests before the transfer of power are quite unavoidable.

Yours sincerely,
E. M. JENKINS

¹No. 403, *TP*, XII, 636-7.

²Governor designate, East Punjab.

³Governor designate, West Punjab.

⁴See Appendix V. 3.

⁵Jftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot, Premier designate of West Punjab.

⁶See No. 489, *TP*, XII, para 34, 765.

III. 15

George Abell to Saiyid Hashim Raza

*Telegram, Mountbatten Papers*¹

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL

10 August 1947

No. 3312-S. Please pass following to Hon'ble Home Member² in reply to his telephone enquiry this morning.

Begins. At 2100 hours on August 9th a Pakistan special train ran over a mine on the track 15 miles west of Bhatinda in East Punjab.³ The mine exploded, blowing 11 feet out of the track and derailing the engine and six coaches. Casualties 1 woman and 1 child killed, 10 persons slightly injured.⁴ Relief trains have gone out from both directions and the passengers have been moved on. Punjab Government have been asked to make special arrangements for guarding the track in future.⁵ *Ends.*

¹No. 418, TP, XII, 648.

²Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur.

³The place of derailment was Giddarbaha. See F.43-GG/3. Not printed.

⁴The casualty figures as given in press were 4 killed and 20 injured. See *The Times*, 11 August 1947 and the *Pakistan Times*, 12 August 1947.

⁵The incident was attributed to Sikhs by the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force who reported that the "jeep containing the saboteurs which was chased [but] disappeared" into the Faridkot state territory. See No. 432, TP, XII, 668. Also see Appendix V. 3.

III. 16

SWARN SINGH ASKS SIKHS TO REMAIN PEACEFUL¹

"In spite of the division of the country all of us Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs have to live together. Let us, therefore, live in peace so that the poor and the down-trodden may, in the new freedom that we have achieved, get enough to eat and to cover their naked bodies leading to a happier and fuller life," says Sardar Swarn Singh in a Press statement at Lahore on Sunday [10 August 1947].

Sardar Swarn Singh says: "The division of the country has taken place much against the wishes of many of us. The Boundary Commission is about to announce its decision² in regard to a boundary line between the East and West. The two Dominions of India and Pakistan are to come into being on August 15. The prosperity and happiness of the poeple of the two States depend upon the maintenance of peaceful

conditions in the country.

"I appeal to the community for maintaining a perfectly calm and peaceful attitude. The brave Khalsa should not do anything by which his name may be sullied or the peace of the Province may be disturbed.

"Nothing can be gained by killing innocent people or by arson. In spite of the division of the country all of us Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs have to live together. Let us, therefore, live in peace so that the poor and the down-trodden may in the new freedom, that we have achieved get enough to eat and to cover their naked bodies leading to a happier and fuller life."³—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 12 August 1947.

²The Boundary Award was sent by Radcliffe to Mountbatten on 12 August but not made public till 16 August. See No. 446, TP, XII, 687.

³A similar "appeal to the Sikhs to desist from violence and maintain the reputation of an organised community and await orders of the Panth as to future course of action" was issued by Tara Singh on 12 August. See the *Pakistan Times*, 14 August 1947.

III. 17

Note by Douglas Hawthorn¹

IOR, R/3/1/171²

TOP SECRET

11 August 1947

[Para 1 omitted]

2. The refugee problem mainly from Eastern Punjab to Western Punjab is becoming increasingly difficult and more and more of the population is on the move; naturally the Civil are demanding escorts from the Punjab Boundary Force to protect these defenceless refugees as they move and the Commander, Punjab Boundary Force is doing what he can.

3. The disturbances are producing an average daily killing of about 100 people with occasional large raids in which 70 to 80 people are killed at one fell swoop. There have been two of these in the last few days, one in which the victims were Muslims and the other in which the victims were Sikhs and Hindus. A Lieut. in 3 Mahar⁴ who went on a few days leave to his home was liquidated with his entire family. The GOC did not know his name.

4. The bigger raids are usually carried out by well armed and well led gangs. Information is generally being received too late. This is due

to the "sources" of information drying up and the general pull-out of Europeans.

5. There is no doubt that but for the presence of troops an uncontrolled massacre would now be taking place.

[*Paras 6 to 9 omitted*]

D. C. HAWTHORN
Maj. Gen.

¹Deputy Chief of General Staff, India 1947.

²No. 432, *TP*, XII, 667-8.

³Major General T.W. Rees.

⁴An Infantry unit in the Indian Army.

III. 18

Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/91¹

SECRET

No. 704

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LAHORE,

13 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

The communal disturbances have naturally over-shadowed everything else during the first half of August. For some days Lahore City remained reasonably quiet, but Amritsar City showed no improvement, and there were serious incidents in the cities of Gujranwala and Lyallpur. In the meantime the violent Sikh agitation gained ground in the rural areas of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur, and there were isolated outrages in Ludhiana, Lahore and Ferozepore.

2. I have submitted daily reports on the situation.² They are almost certainly incomplete because raids and murders are now so frequent that it is difficult to keep track of them all, and the regrouping of the services as a preliminary to the transfer of power has not improved our organisation for the collection and analysis of reports. During the past week the Amritsar district, including even the main roads, has become generally unsafe. There have been several attacks on trains—the most spectacular being the derailment of one of the Pakistan Specials near Giddarbaha in the Ferozepore district.³ Most of the rural casualties—and they have been very heavy—have been caused by Sikhs working in fairly large bands and raiding Muslim villages or Muslim pockets in mixed villages. The Muslims in the Amritsar district have occasionally hit back, and in a village named Jalalabad near

the Beas have eliminated a local Hindu minority, killing probably over 70 people. The Sikhs, as was to be expected, have behaved with extreme brutality. Parties of unescorted Muslim refugees have been attacked and butchered, and yesterday, 12th August, a harmless party of Pathan labourers moving on foot along the Grand Trunk Road near Amritsar was set upon and 30 Pathans were killed.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

4. The derailment of the Pakistan Special, the arrival in Lahore of large numbers of Muslim refugees from Amritsar, and the news of the disarming of the Muslim Police in Amritsar had immediate repercussions in Lahore City. On 11th and 12th August there were well over a hundred casualties, almost all non-Muslim and well over fifty fires almost all affecting non-Muslim property. For the first time the Police showed open indiscipline. They made little attempt to enforce the curfew which was imposed on 11th August, and the Deputy Commissioner informs me that he met with insolence from some of the men, who said that they were more concerned with the fate of the Amritsar Muslims than with the fate of the Lahore non-Muslims; and that policemen have actually taken part in looting houses. About 15 Sikhs, were killed in a *Gurdwara* in Lahore City on 11th August, and the Inspector General reports that the Police almost certainly connived at, if they did not actually carry out, this massacre. On 12th August there was trouble in the Recruits Training Centre at Lahore. The Hindu and Sikh recruits, who all belong to West Punjab districts, said that they could not continue to serve in West Punjab. Khan Qurban Ali Khan⁴ visited the Centre and talked to the men, who impressed him very favourably. They told him that they intended no breach of discipline, but were genuinely frightened in view of the threats of their Muslim comrades. Khan Qurban Ali Khan was told on enquiry that there had been threats and was given the names of four Muslim Constables who were the ring-leaders on the Muslim side. He sent for them and directed their immediate discharge. The recruits then started shouting slogans and advanced on Khan Qurban Ali Khan, to whom they were most insolent. He explained that as Inspector General he would have to see that justice was done and he could not have any of his men bullied. He was able to have the Muslim recruits marched off—there was no actual violence—but he has decided in consultation with the Inspector General and one of the Deputy Inspectors General that the Hindu and Sikh recruits must be sent on short leave at once, and that when they are out of the way, the Muslim recruits will have to be dealt with and some of them will have to be discharged. This incident

deprives us of a reserve of anything up to 500 men—not highly trained perhaps, but useful in an emergency. Most of the recruits are ex-soldiers who are joining the Punjab Additional Police.

[Paras 5 to 9 omitted]

Yours sincerely,
E. M. JENKINS

¹No. 459, TP, XII, 700-2.

²See Appendix III. 10. In his subsequent reports Jenkins informed Mountbatten about serious disorders in Lahore in reprisal to incidence of violence in East Punjab as also about unreliability of police forces in Lahore and Amritsar. See No. 437, TP, XII, 674 and No. 448, *ibid.*, 688.

³See Appendix III. 15.

⁴Inspector General of Police designate, West Punjab.

III. 19

Telephone Message from Frank Messervy and T. W. Rees

R/3/1/171¹

13 August 1947

The situation in East Punjab is bad. The Sikhs are operating in large gangs and we are lucky if we get information in time to intercept them. We have today intercepted some in the open, and it has been our most successful day. Casualties to one Sikh *Jatha* 69 killed and 10 wounded. There are also Muslim gangs about but not in the same numbers. We have also hit them once or twice. The situation in Amritsar is deteriorating owing to the disarming of Muslim Police by Hindu S.P. That man has since been removed and arms are being restored to Muslim Police. The rural Muslim Police also ordered to hand in arms; country-side bereft of Police. Do not know whether any arms have yet come back. Shaukat Hayat went round starting evacuation. Intention was to evacuate smaller villages into larger ones. Some casualties amongst refugees on way to bigger villages. Also killing Muslim refugees (30 to 40) in village near Pati two or three days ago. Some refugees acted precipitatedly without waiting for escort or troops, which had been arranged. They met a horse Sikh Patrol, which led a *Jatha* on to the crowd and caused casualties. Rumours about trouble in Amritsar Station grossly exaggerated owing to incidents when small numbers of shots fired at Frontier Mail. Total casualties on that occasion, 1 man killed. Another killing of 30 Pathan Coolies at Bukka Dam project.² These people intercepted on way to Amritsar Police Station by Sikhs.

Some fled to jungle, fate not known. Effective strength of Police 30%, as 70% were Muslims, who were disarmed. Tara Singh now said to have issued a call off.³

2. Lahore situation deteriorating owing to the defection of Muslim Police. Some taking local Muslim population's side, against Sikhs. British Officers pulling out tomorrow. Muslim National Guards in Lahore yesterday interfering where they should not do so. Shooting and arson in Lahore to-day. Large military force in city.

[Paras 3 to 5 omitted]

¹No. 460, TP, XII, 704-5.

²Refers to Bhakra Dam on Sutlej River. See No. 340, Vol. II, para 3, 660.

³See Appendix III. 16, note 3.

III. 20

EAST PUNJAB REFUGEES POURING INTO LAHORE

League Providing Relief to 7,000 Persons¹

The refugee problem is assuming enormous proportions in the Western Punjab where thousands of homeless and panic-stricken people are streaming² in everyday from the disturbed districts of Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, and Ludhiana.

The Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League Relief Committee at Lahore, Begum Salma Tassadduque Hussain, MLA, is grappling with the difficult task of sheltering and feeding the displaced persons from the East Punjab, whose number has soared upto over 7,000 in the last few days.

The refugees have been distributed over a score of official Muslim League relief centres in the different parts of the city and its suburbs. In addition, hundreds of Musalmans have volunteered to take them in, in some cases from 10 to 30 people. The officially run refugee camps have their own kitchens, a small dispensary and each camp is provided with transport facilities as far as possible.

Large-scale arrangements are being made at the Walton Training School for the likely influx of refugees from the East Punjab. Presently, there will be accommodation for 20,000 persons after the League will take over the school and the allied buildings for the purpose. Over 1,500 refugees have already arrived in this camp. Khan Bahadur Sheikh Fazal Ilahi, Director General Public Relations, has been put in charge

of the Walton Refugee Camp, by the Punjab League leaders. The Baghbanpura and the Sultanpura refugee centres have arranged for the accommodation of a thousand persons each.

A number of charity funds have been opened in Lahore under the auspices of the Muslim League Relief Committee and the refugees are being fed from its funds pending negotiations with the Punjab Government to take over the responsibility for sheltering and feeding the refugees as it has done in the case of thousands of non-Muslim refugees from the Western Punjab after the March riots. The refugees are being provided with two square meals a day and breakfast in the morning. Those who want to fast are given the facilities of *Sehri* and *Iftari*. A special cloth depot for the refugees, who are in Lahore, has been opened at 2 Empress Road near the Model Transport Bus Station, where the refugees can have their cloth quota.

It is learnt that a separate camp for women refugees will shortly be opened which will be run entirely by women League volunteers.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 14 August 1947.

²See Appendix III. 17.

APPENDIX IV

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AND
THE PATHANISTAN ISSUE

IV. 1

Minutes of the Viceroy's Twenty Third Miscellaneous Meeting¹
Mountbatten Papers

SECRET

29 July 1947

PRESENT

Louis Mountbatten

M. A. Jinnah

Rob Lockhart

Liaquat Ali Khan

V. F. Erskine Crum

Sir Rob Lockhart stated that, when first he had arrived to assume the governorship of the North West Frontier Province, he had asked the members² of the existing Ministry whether they could, in any circumstances, see their way to agreeing to vote for Pakistan, as they admitted that it was out of the question for the North West Frontier Province to join Hindustan—and also, surely, in their heart of hearts, admitted that an independent Pathanistan was impossible. The Ministers had made both these admissions; but had stated that they would never accept joining Pakistan as such. He had then seen Dr. Khan Sahib separately, and asked him what he would do if the referendum went against him. Dr. Khan Sahib had said that he would resign³ if there was 30% vote⁴ for Pakistan. Later, however, complaints against the conduct of the referendum had begun; Dr. Khan Sahib had claimed that it was being run in an improper manner, had changed his position, and had declared that he would not resign. Sir Rob Lockhart said that he had then tackled Dr. Khan Sahib privately, but the latter had held his position and claimed that the referendum result would not be a fundamental issue. Dr. Khan Sahib had stated that he saw no reason why he should resign, because he had a majority in the Legislative Assembly and was convinced that he still enjoyed the support of the majority of the electorate. He (Sir Robert Lockhart) had pointed out that the referendum was surely no more improperly run than the election which had put the Congress party in power; and with this Dr. Khan had agreed!

Sir Robert Lockhart said that he had then considered what recommendation for the future Government of the Province to make to the Viceroy.⁵ He had first thought of some form of Coalition Ministry for the interim period. But neither the present Ministry nor the local Muslim League leaders considered that this was practicable, although Dr. Khan Sahib personally thought that it could be done although he himself would take no part. Another course might be for the present Ministry to continue until 15th August. But this did not seem fair to the future Government of Pakistan. Another possibility was to dissolve the Legislative Assembly. A still further one was to dismiss the present Ministry and to form a Ministry of the Muslim League minority—but, if the Legislative Assembly met, such a Ministry would be in a minority in the House. Furthermore, the local leaders were not particularly keen on this course. The last course open was Government in [sic] Section 93. The only point in favour of this course was that it would be the least offensive to either party at the present time. But the great disadvantage was that there would be no one to carry on the Government when 15th August came.

His Excellency said that he personally was violently opposed⁶ to Government by Section 93 as it would be interpreted by the public as the last act of the British to introduce direct rule.

Sir Rob Lockhart said that he had later seen Dr. Khan Sahib again and the latter had still adhered to his decision not to resign.⁷ He (Sir Rob Lockhart) had asked Dr. Khan Sahib on what terms he might consider resigning. Dr. Khan Sahib had suggested that the Legislative Assembly should be dissolved and fresh elections ordered. But he had agreed that this was impossible before 15th August, and that new elections would have to be held under the new Constitution and the new Electoral role [sic]. Dr. Khan Sahib had thought that this could be done within three to four months. Sir Rob Lockhart said that finally he had pointed out to Dr. Khan Sahib that it was in his own interests [sic] to resign; and thus the position had been left when he had come away. He had asked Dr. Khan Sahib what the Congress party would do if the present Ministry was dismissed. Dr. Khan Sahib had left no doubt in his mind that it was intended to stage a movement of some sort.⁸ He had personally given an assurance that he would himself do his best to ensure that this was non-violent. Sir Rob Lockhart added that he understood that, if the Assembly was dissolved, the existing Ministry would have to carry on.

The Viceroy asked whether it was considered that there was any possibility of those members of the Legislative Assembly who had up

to now supported the present Ministry, changing sides.

Sir Rob Lockhart said that it was very difficult to get definite information on this point; but so far as he could gather, few members of the Assembly had declared this intention.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he considered it quite possible that non-Muslim members, now that they knew that Pakistan had been established, would feel that they must look to the Muslim League, and might cease to support Congress.

Mr. Jinnah said that he agreed with this, but he considered that it was necessary to plan on the assumption that Dr. Khan Sahib would continue to enjoy the support of the majority of the Legislative Assembly. He pointed out that there had been precedents, for example in Bombay and the Punjab, for calling on minority parties to form Ministries. He agreed that the Legislative Assembly should not be summoned. He further agreed that Section 93 Government should be avoided. He gave his opinion that the North West Frontier Province had given a "thumping" verdict of "No confidence" in the present Ministry.⁹ Mr. Jinnah went on to say that he considered Dr. Khan Sahib was acting in a manner which made it clear that he was unfit to be a Prime Minister. No decent man would, in such circumstances, refuse to resign. Mr. Jinnah said that in his view the only practicable course now was again to ask Dr. Khan Sahib to resign; and, if he refused, to dismiss him and to form an Interim Ministry of the next largest party (the Muslim League). Mr. Jinnah suggested that a Ministry of three should be formed to begin with. Possibly later the fourth place might be offered to the Hindus. He gave his opinion that the Hindus would be the first to support such a new Ministry.

Mr. Jinnah said that he did not consider that it would be desirable to dissolve the Legislative Assembly. It was not necessary that this Assembly should be called together until the Budget Session in March 1948. He did not consider it necessary that it should be called in order to choose a successor to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had resigned from membership of the Constituent Assembly.¹⁰ He went on to say that, in the rules which would be framed on 10th August¹¹ for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, there would be provision to the effect that if a member did not attend two consecutive meetings he would, *ipso facto*, be expelled unless he had special reasons to be excused.

The Viceroy said that, in his opinion, it would be psychologically ideal to give warning to both sides of this intention now, but not to take the step until 15th August. He enquired whether, if such a course

was chosen, the present Government could do much harm to the future of the Province in Pakistan.

Sir Rob Lockhart replied that he did not consider that they could do a great deal of harm. Financially, the North-West Frontier Province was in a poor way, and there was no more to spend. There might, however, be interference in the posting of officials. The Viceroy suggested that a Standstill Order might be enforced on this aspect.

Sir Rob Lockhart went on to say that he considered that, if warning of the intention to dismiss the Ministry was given, the Congress party would have more time to plan and prepare a movement. Therefore, he considered it desirable that, if a change were to be made, it should be made as soon as possible.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he also considered that a new Ministry should be formed as soon as possible. It would then have time to get hold of the machinery properly, particularly in view of the danger of trouble in the tribal areas, where the machinery of Government could be used for propaganda purposes. Mr. Jinnah said that he considered that every day that passed made the situation more dangerous. He could provide no definite proof of the intentions of the tribes; but was receiving daily reports of agents stirring up trouble in the tribal areas and even of terrorization in the Province itself. For example, 6,000 arms licences had been issued during the last few weeks.

The Viceroy said that it was his desire to legalise the position as much as possible. He suggested that there should be a meeting of the Members of the Pakistan Executive Council, and that, at this meeting, instructions for him to send [to] the Governor should be drawn up. These should preferably be in the form of an Order-in-Council.

The Viceroy said that the situation with regard to choosing a successor for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad might also be considered at his meeting with the Pakistan Executive Council.

The Viceroy also emphasised the necessity for making a clear statement on the decision which would be reached at the Pakistan Executive Council Meeting. It was decided:

That there should be a Meeting¹² of the Pakistan Executive Council at 10 a.m. on Friday, 1st August; and that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should arrange for papers to be prepared for this meeting, in co-operation with Mr. Mohd. Ali¹³ and Sir George Spence on—

- (a) The form of instructions which the Viceroy should issue to the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province on the future

Government of that Province,

(b) The problem arising from the resignation of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as a member of the Constituent Assembly.

¹No. 278, *TP*, XII, 405-9.

²Dr Khan Sahib, Mehr Chand Khanna, Qazi Ata Ullah and Muhammad Yahya Jan.

³After declaration of the referendum results, Pir Aminul Hasnat of Manki Sharif called upon Dr Khan Sahib to fulfil his pledge to resign. See No. 210, *The Referendum in NWFP*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1996, 251. Not printed.

⁴See Annex I to No. 79, Vol. III, 192-3. Also see Annex.

⁵See Appendix IV. 19, *ibid.*, 896-7. Subsequently Lockhart informed Mountbatten of the unlikelihood of resignation by Frontier Congress Ministry and of ML aversion to that Ministry's remaining in office till 15 August. See No. 188, *TP*, XII, 278.

⁶See Appendix V. 2, Vol. III, 925-8 and Annex V to No. 79, *ibid.*, 201-2.

^{7/8}See Appendix IV. 28, *ibid.*, 910-4.

⁹Probably a reference to referendum results. See note 4 above.

¹⁰Abul Kalam Azad had been deemed to be elected to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan from NWFP in terms of the Statement of 3 June 1947. See Enclosure to No. 232, Vol. III, 677.

¹¹The inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held at Karachi from 10 to 14 August 1947.

¹²See Appendix IV. 3.

¹³See Appendix IV.2.

Annex¹ to Appendix IV. 1

Kanji Dwarkadas² to D. G. Pole³

U.S. National Archives, 845.00/8-747

[Extract]

[BOMBAY,]

26 July 1947

My dear David,

...an American journalist, a very knowledgeable and sound man who has just returned from Delhi and the Frontier Province, told me ...that the Frontier Referendum was run on fair lines and not as complained by Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He found Khan Sahib muddle-headed and both the Khan brothers are now feeling rather sore with the Congress for having let them down. The Muslim Leaguers in the Frontier do not want Afghanistan to interfere. At a Muslim League procession they were shouting to bring Amanullah back to the Frontier Province to keep proper check on Afghanistan....

You may pass on this letter to our good friends.

Your ever,

K[ANJI] D[WARKADAS]

Major David Graham Pole,
146 Palace Chambers,
Westminster, London S.W.1.

¹Extract from Enclosure to Despatch No. 382, dated 30 July 1947 from John Macdonald, American Consul-General in Bombay, to George Marshall, Secretary of State.

²Bombay politician; Jinnah's long-standing friend and one-time Secretary to M. K. Gandhi. His reporting of political developments during the terminal decade of the Raj was characterised by Attlee as "fair minded and balanced".

³British politician, one-time Vice Chairman of Labour Party's Advisory Committee on government machinery.

IV. 2

Notes by Mohammad Ali and George Spence¹

R/3/1/165

[NEW DELHI,]

30 July 1947

THE EFFECT OF THE REFERENDUM IN THE N.W.F.P. ON THE POSITION OF THE MINISTRY IN THAT PROVINCE

A note by Sir George Spence on the above subject is enclosed.

2. The referendum in the N.W.F.P. has no analogy with the precedents referred to by Sir George Spence where a Ministry ascertains the national will on a particular issue in order to regulate its course of action accordingly. The referendum in the N.W.F.P. was of an entirely different character. Its purpose was to determine the authority—the Muslim League or the Congress—to whom power should be transferred. Since this referendum has clearly demonstrated that the majority of the electorate in the N.W.F.P. is in favour of the Muslim League,² it is clearly established that Congress Ministry should not remain in power. If an immediate general election could be held without danger to the security and tranquillity of the Province there could be no doubt that the present Ministry would be defeated. The situation on the Frontier is, however, fraught with danger and the occasion of a general election would be seized by the Red Shirts and the Zalme Pakhtoon to cause serious disturbances in the Province. The tribes are in a restive mood and any internal disorder in the North-West Frontier Province might be a signal for a general uprising in the Tribal areas. The holding of a general election in the near future should therefore be ruled out on practical grounds.

3. Since as stated above, the referendum in the N.W.F.P. is a clear indication of the will of the electorate, the Governor-General in his discretion may, if he agrees, issue a direction to the Governor under sub-section (1) of Section 54 of the Govt. of India Act, 1935, to ask for the resignation of the Ministry and, if they refuse, to dismiss them

under the power given to him by sub-section (5) of Section 51 of the Govt. of India Act, 1935. In such an event the Muslim League would be asked to form a Ministry.

MOHAMMAD ALI

Enclosure to Appendix IV. 2

30 July 1947

In those Dominions in which the referendum is a regular feature of the constitution it appears to be established that the defeat on a referendum of proposals submitted by the ministry itself to a referendum as their own proposals does not render it constitutionally obligatory on the ministry to resign. Indeed, the normal course appears to be for a ministry whose proposals have been rejected on a referendum to remain in office until a dissolution next occurs in the ordinary course (Keith's *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, Vol. I, p. 137 and Vol. II, p. 693).³

2. It follows, I suggest, *a fortiori* that the result of the referendum held in the North-West Frontier otherwise than at the instance of the Ministry, and on an issue to the formulation of which the Ministry was not a party, cannot in itself have produced a position in which it is constitutionally obligatory on the Ministry to resign.

3. I understand that the Ministry is still in a position to command a majority in the Provincial Assembly. If this is so, a new Ministry formed on the resignation or dismissal of the present Ministry would not be in a position to maintain itself in power and would be constrained at an early stage of its existence to ask the Governor to dissolve the Assembly with a view to the holding of a general election.

4. In the circumstances it appears to me that on a purely abstract view of the question the appropriate course for the Governor would be to offer the present Premier the choice between resignation and dissolution. If the Governor called for the resignation of the Ministry without offering the alternative of a dissolution and thereafter granted a dissolution to the new Ministry, he would expose himself to the charge of having been actuated merely by the desire that the new Ministry and not the present Ministry should enjoy the advantage of being in office during the conduct of the general election, which any new Ministry would be unable to avoid for any length of time.

5. I understand, however, that security reasons would constitute an insuperable obstacle to the holding of a general election in the immediate future and in these circumstances I have no doubt that the Governor (assuming him to be satisfied that if an immediate general

election were a practicable proposition it would result in the defeat of the present Ministry) would be justified in calling for the resignation of the present Ministers and in dismissing them if they declined to resign.

6. Under sub-section (5) of Section 51 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the functions of the Governor with respect to dismissal of Ministers are exercisable by him in his discretion with the result that under sub-section (1) of section 54 it is open to the Governor-General in his discretion to issue such directions to the Governor in the matter as he thinks fit. This position will, of course, cease to prevail as from the appointed day¹ but I assume that any action taken in the matter is designed to be taken before the appointed day.

G. H. SPENCE

¹No. 294, TP, XII, 432-4.

²See Enclosure to Annex III to No. 79, Vol. III, 199-200.

³Arthur Berriedale Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, 3 Vols., Oxford, 1912.

⁴15 August 1947.

IV. 3

Minutes of Pakistan Cabinet Meeting¹

R/ 31/1/165

SECRET

1 August 1947

PRESENT

Louis Mountbatten

Liaquat Ali Khan

Rob Lockhart

I. I. Chundrigar

Abdur Rab Nishtar

Ghazanfar Ali Khan

Mohammad Ali

J. N. Mandal

Osman Ali

Case No. 1/1/47. THE EFFECT OF THE REFERENDUM IN THE N.W.F.P. ON THE POSITION OF THE MINISTRY IN THAT PROVINCE.²

His Excellency said that the present position of the Ministry of West Bengal was proving extremely inconvenient to Dr. Ghosh and his colleagues, but he had resisted the demand for the reconstitution of the Suhrawardy Ministry on a regional basis because he had been advised by Mr. Jinnah that it would be an unconstitutional step to take. He mentioned this because Sir George Spence's note,³ and particularly paragraph I thereof, indicated that it would be

unconstitutional for him to remove the N.W.F.P. Ministry and he felt that he should be guided by the same constitutional considerations in dealing both with the Frontier Province and with Bengal. He accepted the position, however, that it was his duty to prevent the present Ministry in the Frontier Province from doing anything prejudicial to the interests of the Muslim League. He offered, therefore, to instruct the Governor of the N.W.F.P. to issue a complete standstill order under which business would only be transacted with the Governor's sanction, which he would give only on the advice of the Muslim League. On the 15th of August, of course, it would be open to the Muslim League to put in its own Ministry in that Province.

In the course of subsequent discussion the following points were made:

(1) Paragraph I of Sir George Spence's note was irrelevant. The reference there was to constitutions such as the Swiss model which specifically provided for referenda on particular matters. This was not so in the case of the N.W.F.P. Here the question was as to who should be the successor authority to whom power should be transferred. The referendum had clearly shown this to be the Muslim League.⁴ The Province should, therefore, be handed over now to the League and the Congress should not be allowed to remain in power even for a day. To leave the present Ministry in power until the 15th August would mean in effect that a part of Pakistan territory would pass to the Congress on that date. Sir George Spence had not taken this point into consideration. Paragraph 5 of his note, however, showed that even he considered that it would be constitutional to remove the present Ministry given certain specified circumstances.

(2) The position would have been different had disagreement between the Muslim League and the present Ministry in the Frontier Province been based merely on party programmes. It went much further than that because the Ministry was opposed to Pakistan itself. There were precedents for removing a Minister or a Ministry who acted in a way detrimental to the interests of the State as a whole. This could be said to be the case in the N.W.F.P. Constitutionally also it was open to the Governor of a Province to dismiss the Ministry without assigning reasons if he thought fit.

(3) A "standstill" arrangement would not meet the requirements of the case—because (a) it was likely to be flouted by the Ministry and (b) it could be applied only in the case of those subjects which were the Governor's special responsibility.

(4) The present Ministry was acting in an unconstitutional manner

if not resigning when defeated on a fundamental issue.

(5) To effect a smooth transfer of power it was necessary that the Province should be handed over immediately so that the Muslim League Ministry would be able to function successfully from the 15th August. To that end many preliminary steps had to be taken, such as disarming all the illegally armed elements in the Province.⁵ Otherwise on the 15th August the Pakistan Government would be faced with a very dangerous situation.

(6) According to Sir George Spence action to remove the Ministry had to be taken before the appointed day and it would not be open to the Pakistan Government to dismiss the Ministry on or after the 15th August. This point would have to be examined when considering the Adaptation Orders.

(7) A possible solution was to put the Province under Section 93 rule a day or two before the 15th August so as to avoid any criticism that Britain was trying to run the Province at this stage. Since, however, the imposition of Section 93 rule with immediate effect would be done on the advice of the Pakistan Government, such criticism would not be justified.

(8) It would be unprecedented and impracticable to dismiss the Ministry without also dissolving the Legislature because the Ministry still commanded a majority there. It was pointed out, however, that the referendum had clearly shown that the Ministry did not possess the confidence of the majority of the people. It was not, therefore, necessary to dissolve the House.

(9) The referendum had not shown that the Province was behind the Muslim League except on the one specific issue as to whether it should join Pakistan or India. The objection of the N.W.F.P. Ministry to the referendum had been that they were not free to put to the people the third choice of their electing for Pathanistan.

(10) The position of West Bengal was different from that of the Frontier Province because it was not yet clear which parts of the existing province of Bengal would go to Pakistan.

(11) It could be argued that the Frontier Ministry, in not accepting the policy of partition as laid down in H.M.G.'s statement of the 3rd June, 1947⁶ was not doing its duty of assisting the Governor in running the Province and it could, therefore, be dismissed. It would then be open to the Governor to call on the leader of the opposition to form a Ministry.

Summing up, His Excellency reiterated the assurance he had given that he regarded it as his duty to see that the present Ministry did nothing to injure the Pakistan State. Two courses had been suggested

in the following order of preference:

- (a) that His Excellency the Governor should ask the present Ministry to resign and if they refused should dismiss them and call on the leader of the opposition i.e. the Muslim League, to form a new Ministry;
- (b) that the Province should be placed under Section 93 rule with a Muslim League Council of Advisers and the League Ministry installed by about the 14th August.

It was his opinion that because the latter course would place the responsibility for running the Province almost entirely on British shoulders at this particular juncture H.M.G. were likely to be averse to it, unless it was adopted a day or two before the 15th August. Whichever course, he ultimately adopted, it would be only on the advice of his colleagues and after consultation with his legal advisers and H.M.G. to ensure that his action was constitutional.

¹No. 301, TP, XII, 441-3.

²See Appendix IV. 2.

³Enclosure to Appendix IV. 2.

⁴See Enclosure to Annex III to No. 79, Vol. III, 199-200.

⁵Jinnah had earlier complained about reports of agents stirring up trouble in the tribal areas and the Frontier Congress Ministry issuing 6,000 arms licenses. See Appendix IV.1, para 13. By the end of July the confrontation between the parties had taken the shape of a "war of posters in Peshawar City in which the respective merits of Pakistan and Pathanistan had been described and political opponents criticised". See No. 215, *The Referendum in NWFP 1947*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1996, 255-6. Not printed.

⁶No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

IV. 4

Minutes of Viceroy's Sixty Sixth Staff Meeting, Item 13¹ *Mountbatten Papers*

SECRET

2 August 1947

PRESENT

Louis Mountbatten

H. L. Ismay

V. P. Menon

Walter Christie

V. F. Erskine Crum

George Abell

Douglas Currie

A. Campbell-Johnson

Item 13

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

The Viceroy said that he had discussed² the question of dismissing the Ministry of the North-West Frontier Province with Sardar Patel, who had expressed the hope that nothing unconstitutional would be done, and that in any case any step of this nature should be postponed until the 15th August. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand, was extremely keen that immediate action should be taken,³ preferably before the arrival of Sir George Cunningham. He had said that the present Ministry was deliberately attempting to sabotage the position of the North-West Frontier Province in relation to Pakistan.

Rao Bahadur Menon gave his view that, if the present Ministry was dismissed in consequence of the result of the Referendum, this step should be immediately followed by a general election. He considered that the dismissal of the Ministry should not take place before the 15th August.

The Viceroy said that the main difficulty confronting him was how he could, behaving constitutionally, reject the advice⁴ which had been given to him by the Pakistan Executive Council. It might be desirable to delay the final decision for a few days. He enquired why the Congress Party objected so strongly to the proposed dismissal of the Ministry. Perhaps this was mainly a question of prestige.

Lord Ismay gave his view that the sooner this matter was settled, the better it would be. He advised against undue delay.

Sir George Abell suggested that the dismissal might take place four or five days before the 15th August.

Rao Bahadur Menon said that if this was done he would suggest government under Section 93 for the intervening period. He said that he still believed that a Coalition Ministry after 15th August was a possibility.

It was also suggested that Sir George Cunningham, who was due to arrive in Karachi on the evening of 11th August, should come direct to Delhi⁵ to discuss this matter with the Viceroy.

His Excellency the Viceroy directed P. S. V. further to discuss the future of the Government of the North-West Frontier Province with Sir George Spence and Rao Bahadur Menon.

¹No. 319, *TP*, XII, 485-6.

²Not traced.

³Appendix IV. 1.

⁴Appendix IV. 3.

⁵No. 107.

IV. 5

Giles Squire to Government of India, EA&CR Department¹

Telegram, L/P&S/12/1812

KABUL,

2 August 1947

IMPORTANT

No. 75. After brief lull Afghan Press has resumed daily articles on frontier problems of which few have been broadcast.

2. Writers continue to criticise so-called forced referendum and urged Pakistan Government² not to allow among Muslims extension of disunity unfortunately continuing between Muslims and Hindus. Tone is generally mild.

3. Ghulam Faruq, Minister of the Interior, has returned from Eastern Province along with Ras-Al-Khaimah and religious leaders whom acting Prime Minister has been interviewing. Arrival of Mr. [Girdhari Lal] Puri, Deputy Speaker of North West Frontier Province Legislative Assembly, and staunch supporter of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, lends further support to view that there is collusion between Afghan Government and Congress Party for a renewed campaign³ for an independent Pathanistan.

Repeated to U.K. Commissioner, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Government of North West Frontier Province. (copy to Baluchistan by post.)

¹No. 321, TP, XII, 488.

²On 29 July a Muslim League leader had warned Afghanistan to keep away from NWFP. See Annex.

³See Appendix IV. 3, note 5.

Annex to Appendix IV. 5

LEAGUE LEADER WARNS AFGHANISTAN TO KEEP AWAY FROM NWFP¹

A warning to the Government of Afghanistan to refrain from interfering in the affairs of the North-West Frontier Province of India, is sounded by Khan Ghulam Mohammad Khan,² a member of the All-India Muslim League Council.

In a statement to the press today in Lahore, Khan Ghulam Mohammad Khan said: "When despite all his efforts, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan failed to hold back the Frontier Province from joining

Pakistan, he started the stunt of Pathanistan. Later on, the Afghan Government joining hands with him demanded the annexation of the Frontier Province. But after receiving a rebuff, she too went the way of supporting self-determination for the North-West Frontier Province."

"It is quite obvious", Khan Ghulam Mohammad said, "that this Province with a total population of a little over three million cannot afford to become an independent State and must of necessity align itself either with Pakistan or Afghanistan. As Muslims, we, the Pathans of the Frontier Province, believe ourselves to be akin to the Muslims of the Punjab and our interests demand an alignment with Pakistan rather than with Afghanistan, which is an autocratic and backward country. I wonder how the Afghan Government can conceive of annexing and bringing under their own rule, a people, who are far ahead of them politically and economically."— API.

¹*The Pakistan Times*, 29 July 1947.

²He had earlier returned after visiting Jinnah at Delhi on 23 July where he was accompanied by Samin Jan Khan, Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Khan Muhammad Ali Khan and Khan Habib Ullah Khan, Frontier ML leaders. See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47*, Lahore, 1989, 88.

IV. 6

*Rob Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten*¹

Telegram, R/3/1/165

IMMEDIATE

1 [2] August 1947

SECRET

No. CA-158. I saw Khan Sahib informally 2nd August and discussed situation generally without reference to meetings² in Delhi. Abdul Ghaffar Khan expected to return 3rd August and subject to anything he may dictate I am certain Khan Sahib will not voluntarily resign and he is in position to make serious trouble if dismissed.

2. I also consider it likely that League will make trouble³ if Ministry remains in office after 15th August or at any rate after 'Id. Probably only *Ramazan* and hopes of favourable decision in Delhi have prevented trouble hitherto.

3. Fundamental position is that both parties, with their Pathan factional characters, want power, but Congress though in majority [*sic* for minority]⁴ in province as a whole are well organised and disciplined whereas League are somewhat disunited and mutually suspicious.

4. Present Ministry has already done much to prejudice moral conflict in their favour, and immediate dismissal would stimulate rather than hamper their undermining of Pakistan Dominion e.g. by fomenting tribal unrest.

5. Khan Sahib says he had already stopped issuing of arms⁵ during referendum (and) agrees to standstill on any administrative matter as I may order. He says he personally would recommend his party to accept the position on the understanding that they might continue to work constitutionally for Pathanistan.

He still thinks coalition impracticable and I see little hope of one.

6. I have consulted experienced individuals on all aspects and expediency. My Advocate-General [Malik Khuda Bukhsh Khan] is of opinion that dismissal without dissolution would be unconstitutional and I now consider it would be inexpedient because (a) it will precipitate disorder which could not be subdued before 15th so that both transfer of power and arrival of new Governor would take place in a state of turmoil (b) the *Ramazan* is a bad time for widespread operations by troops and police (c) such action must involve Governor's special powers the authority for which will be obscure from 15th until orders are issued under Sec[ti]on 9 of Independence Act.⁶

7. I would however make retention of present Ministry conditional upon their maintaining constitution and reasonable attitude towards Pakistan Dominion and new Governor-General and not creating circumstances which would hamper administration of successor government.

8. Given these conditions I now feel the less⁷ for dismissal and/or dissolution is one which I should not repeat not take.

If this is agreed to I request authority to put conditions above to Khan Sahib.

¹No. 327, *TP*, XII, 493-4.

²See Appendices IV. 1 & IV. 3.

³See Annex to No. 58.

⁴Also see No. 327, *TP*, XII, note 2, 493.

⁵See Appendix IV. 3, note 5.

⁶See F. 4/2-8, *QAP*. Not printed. Also see No. 164, *TP*, XII, 233-49.

⁷In paragraph 8 of the file copy of this telegram the words "the less" were deleted and replaced by "choice?".

IV. 7

Louis Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel¹

Telegram, R/3/1/165

IMPORTANT
SECRET

NEW DELHI,
5 August 1947

No. 3170-S. As I reported in last week's VPR² the situation in the NWFP is very difficult. The League insist on the dismissal of the Ministry. Khan Sahib refuses to resign.

2. I discussed the matter with the members of the Pakistan Provisional Cabinet.³ We had before us a legal opinion by Spence⁴ which I repeat in my next succeeding telegram.⁵

3. In the end I was formally advised (1) to direct the Governor to ask the present Ministry to resign and, if they refused, to dismiss them and call on the leader of the League party to form a new Ministry, or (2) if (1) were unconstitutional to place the Province in Section 93 and direct the Governor to appoint Muslim League leaders as advisers with a view to a League Ministry being installed by the 14th August.

4. I promised to accept the advice rendered me (i.e., either (1) or (2) in that order of preference) provided I was satisfied I could constitutionally do so.

5. I realise that in any case, I act, constitutionally speaking, in my discretion but I must insist on publishing the fact that I have in fact taken advice and am acting on it.

6. The Congress leaders here insist that to dismiss the Ministry or even to go into Section 93 would be constitutionally improper and Nehru and Patel have urgently advised me against dismissing a Congress Ministry in this manner. Jinnah is equally emphatic that the result of the referendum makes it impossible to leave the present Ministry in office after August 15th, and that if there must be a change it is far less improper and less dangerous for me to make it now, and the sooner the better.

7. After August 15th the Governor-General and the Governors will of course have no special powers and a Section 93 regime will be impossible. This legal position can only be changed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

8. I think the best thing I can do is to accept the second alternative put to me by the League (para 3 above) but to make the change over about the 12th August.

9. I repeat the Governor's latest telegram⁶ to give you the background and his own views.

10. I should be grateful if you would (1) let me have expert advice on the constitutional position and (2) show this correspondence to Cunningham and ask for his views.

¹No. 342, TP, XII, 532-3.

²Appendix VI. 1.

³See Appendix VI. 3.

⁴Enclosure to Appendix IV. 2.

⁵Not printed.

⁶Appendix IV. 6.

IV. 8

Ernest Bevin to Giles Squire¹

L/P&S/12/1812

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 11

FOREIGN OFFICE, [LONDON,]

5 August 1947

CONVERSATION WITH THE AFGHAN PRIME MINISTER

Sir,

I had a conversation on 31st July with the Afghan Prime Minister,² who has been received during his short stay in London as the guest of His Majesty's Government.

2. His Royal Highness appeared pleased with the hospitality shown to him here. He again raised, however, the vexed question of Afghanistan's interest in the North-West Frontier Province. He reiterated³ the familiar arguments about the Afghan character of the inhabitants of the province, who should, he thought have been offered the choice during the recent referendum of joining Afghanistan or of forming a separate Pakistan [?Pathanistan] instead of merely being called upon to decide on what was in effect a religious issue, namely, whether they wished to be associated with Muslims or Hindus. Naturally, being Muslims, they had chosen Pakistan. He also mentioned the dissatisfaction of the Afghan Government with the reply they had received to their recent note⁴ on this subject (my despatch No. 9 of 19th June⁵ and my telegram No. 56 of 1st July⁶) more particularly in regard to the assertion that the North-West Frontier Province was an integral part of India.

3. It was notable, however, that His Royal Highness did not press the specific Afghan claims mentioned in the preceding paragraph and

put forward by them in their note of 13th June.⁷ On the contrary he made it clear that the primary anxiety of the Government of Afghanistan was that their kinsmen in the province should continue to be well treated and be given every opportunity of preserving their cultural integrity after the transfer of power in India. In reply to a reference to the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 His Royal Highness indicated that, since this treaty was concluded with His Majesty's Government, the Afghan Government could no longer regard it as valid after the transfer of power by His Majesty's Government in India. They would, however, regard as equally valid, and be prepared to abide by, any treaty subsequently negotiated, e.g. with Pakistan.

4. I pointed out to the Prime Minister the great importance for Afghanistan, as well as for India, of avoiding any disturbances on the frontier at this crucial time and any possible interference with her vital trade routes through India. Although His Majesty's Government were handing over power in India they had hitherto been successful in avoiding widespread bloodshed and they were very much concerned to see that this transfer of authority was carried out smoothly. With their close friendship with Afghanistan, and the influence they would continue to exercise in India, His Majesty's Government would be equally concerned to ensure that peace and friendship should in future prevail on the frontier, and between Afghanistan and the successor Governments in India. Our good offices would indeed always be available to Afghanistan should trouble arise and we would do all in our power to ensure that the cultural heritage and general welfare of those whom Afghanistan regarded as her kinsmen across the border was maintained. As regards the words in our note to which the Afghan Government had taken exception about the North-West Frontier Province being an integral part of India I would be prepared to examine once again the expression we had used.

5. At the conclusion of our talk, which was most cordial throughout, I referred to the *contretemps* which had prevented His Royal Highness from meeting the Viceroy⁸ on his way to this country and expressed the hope that he would be able to see Lord Mountbatten on his return, since I felt sure that this meeting would be of the greatest value.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Viceroy of India and the United Kingdom High Commissioner at New Delhi.

I am, &c.
ERNEST BEVIN

⁷No. 348, TP, XII, 541-2.

²Marshal Shah Mahmood Khan. He was an uncle of King Zahir Shah and was also the Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan Army.

³See Appendix V. 8, Vol. II, 864-5.

⁴See Appendix IV. 5, Vol. III, 861-2.

⁵Not traced.

⁶Appendix IV.9, Vol. III, 867-8.

⁷See note 4 above.

⁸The Government of India had earlier refused to receive an Afghan mission. See Appendix IV. 24, Vol. III, 905-6 and Annex to Appendix IV. 26, *ibid.*, 907.

IV. 9

Extract from NWFP Police Abstract of Intelligence

NDC/Acc S-407¹

[PESHAWAR,
5 August 1947]

MILITANT CONGRESS PREPARATIONS AGAINST MUSLIM LEAGUE

It is rumoured in some circles that Congress and Red Shirt supporters might start civil disobedience after the 15th of August, if the Congress Ministry is made to vacate the office. It is reported from the Khattak area of Kohat District that the Faqir of Ipi will declare *Jehad* against the British and Hindus after the 'Id, and that the Zalmai Pakhtoon Party would fight the Muslim League for the attainment of Pathanistan.²

Two Muslim League supporters of Prang were shot dead by certain Red Shirts on 20 July.

¹No. 220, *The Referendum in N.W.F.P.*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1996, 263-4.

²Also see Annex to No. 58.

IV. 10

PATHANISTAN STUNT¹

Mr. Allah Nawaz Khan, Speaker of the N.W.F.P. Legislative Assembly, in a recent statement has raised the Pathanistan stunt once again. Some would have conceded that there was a modicum of sense in this slogan before the Frontier Pathans by an overwhelming majority

decided to join Pakistan in the recent referendum. The protagonists of the Patharistan move, who rather than suffer the defeat with a sense of humiliation have preferred to put on an air of righteous indignation, now and then issue statements² unwittingly giving vent to their feelings of chagrin at the turn events have taken for them. When a political leader is at the end of his tether he takes to flattering his own vanity by assuming that his word carries weight with the masses and that is what seems to have happened to this self-appointed spokesman of the Pathan masses. Mr. Allah Nawaz Khan was only speaking for himself when starting from the premises that some alien power was going to subjugate the Pathans "by employment of military forces" he heroically declared that they would not submit to it. It would appear rather strange that the set of persons who had made the N.W.F.P. an appendage of the Congress as long as they were able to bamboozle the Muslim masses into accepting that position today want the Pathans to assert their freedom against Pakistan. Those persons who made it their mission of life to work consciously against the fulfilment of the national aspirations of Musalmans can hardly be expected to prove their fidelity to the nation's cause in future. If after the frustration of their attempts they appear again on the scene with a set of catchwords and shibboleths to undermine the solidarity of the people and the State, it should not surprise anybody. Some of these hardened delinquents have chosen the occasion of the inauguration of Pakistan to sow the seeds of disruption by promoting provincial jealousy and by setting the people of one province against another. These discredited persons are likely to be pilloried by the Muslim masses which is in fact what they deserve on account of their record of constant betrayals. That they will not succeed in breaking up national consciousness by canalising it into the wrong channel of narrow provincial consciousness is a foregone conclusion, but one factor which might afford them some opportunity must be countenanced. The British stranglehold over this sub-continent's economy has resulted in an unequal development of the various regions of the country. Some areas have made considerable headway with general socio-economic progress while others have remained behind and have still to make up the headway. It might, however, be taken for granted that the builders of Pakistan will take cognizance of this fact and subject to other considerations of national planning will organize to effect the necessary adjustment. This measure apart from ensuring a more even development of the constituent units of Pakistan in the various spheres would curb the growth of provincial isolationism and cut the ground from under the feet of those disruptive

forces which might wish to exploit it for political ends.

The other day we commented on the apprehensions expressed in certain circles about the role of people going to Sind. Happily the leadership of Sind has come forward to allay the misgivings engendered by the enemies of Pakistan and the protagonists of the slogan "Sind for Sindhis", were frustrated by their prompt clarification of the position. The N.W.F.P. is another province where the ghost of provincialism has not yet been laid and it is high time concerted measures were adopted to conduct this fight on the ideological plan. The enemies of Pakistan in Sind and N.W.F.P. can rest assured that their campaign of promoting fissiparous tendencies would be halted before it makes any further progress and the Muslim masses and the Government of Pakistan would sternly tell them it would no longer be tolerated.

¹Editorial, *Dawn*, 5 August 1947.

²See Annex.

Annex to Appendix IV. 10

LEADERS URGED TO CALL A CONFERENCE OF PATHANS¹

PESHAWAR, July 28: An earnest appeal to Lord Mountbatten, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr M.A. Jinnah to call a round table conference of Pathan representatives at New Delhi soon after *Ramazan* to discuss and settle amicably the issue of Pathanistan in the spirit of cordiality, mutual goodwill and brotherhood, has been made by Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan, Speaker of the Frontier Legislative Assembly in a statement to the Press.

He says that the delegates to the proposed Pathanistan round table conference should include Tribal leaders representing the border-line and the number should not exceed 50. Care must be taken that representatives of Tribal Areas should be the accredited leaders of Pathan Tribes and not "yes men" of the Political Department or political agents in pay of Government. The Nawabzada points out that this suggestion has been made with the sole object of avoiding conflict and promoting goodwill and harmony in the Frontier Province.

"Pathanistan dilemma of NWFP must be solved immediately, if peace and tranquillity of India at this critical juncture is needed. The problem of Pathanistan must not be treated lightly and brushed aside as mere political stunt", added Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan. "The issue had deeply attracted instinctively the imagination of Pathan mind not only in NWFP but the whole of Pathan race extending upto Central

Asia. The movement is gaining momentum in Tribal belt of the borderland and beyond, because Pathans, as a race, culturally, economically, socially, linguistically and ethnographically are a homogeneous compact in this region. In view of great political changes in India, the Frontier problem of Pathanistan needs immediate attention and solution."—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 29 July 1947.

IV. 11

*Louis Mountbatten to Rob Lockhart*¹

Telegram, R/3/1/165

IMMEDIATE

NEW DELHI,

6 August 1947

No. 3206-S. Your telegram CA-158 of 3rd August.²

2. I have been formally advised by the Pakistan Provisional Cabinet

(i) to direct you to ask the present Ministry to resign, and if they refuse, to dismiss them, and call on the leader of the Muslim League to form a new Ministry; or

(ii) if (i) is unconstitutional, to place the province in Section 93, and direct you to appoint Muslim League leaders as Advisers with a view to a League Ministry being installed by the 14th August.³

3. I promised to accept the advice tendered me provided I was satisfied that I could constitutionally do so. The Congress leaders maintain that either course of action would be constitutionally improper.

4. I am consulting⁴ the Secretary of State in regard to the constitutional position, and have sent him a copy of your telegram. I have also asked that the correspondence should be shown to Cunningham, and his views obtained. I shall let you know further as soon as I receive a reply.

¹No. 363, *TP*, XII, 560.

²Appendix IV. 6.

³See Appendix IV. 3, para 11.

⁴See Appendix IV. 8.

IV. 12

*Rob Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten*¹

Telegram, R/3/1/165

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

6 August 1947

No. CA-162. Reference my telegram CA-158 dated 3rd August.²

Khan Sahib came to see me today. He attended the meeting of Party Leaders at Abdul Ghaffar Khan's house on the fifth. Although he expressed satisfaction with meeting, Khan Sahib said there was no advance on information he gave me on 2nd.³ Abdul Ghaffar and Qazi [Ataullah Jan] had seen Liaquat Ali in Delhi and latter had been conciliatory. In fact from his attitude and Jinnah's appeal to let bygones be bygones in statement on 30th July⁴ they had hoped Jinnah might accept Ministry's cooperation. However, from other sources of information Khan Sahib and party learned that Ministry might be dismissed before fifteenth. For that reason his party decided to keep away from celebrations on 15th August. They did not intend violence.

2. Later in discussing arrangements for 15th August, Khan Sahib said he thought Ministers should attend official ceremony such as Flag hoisting.

3. Incidentally it is very difficult to settle celebrations on 15th August not knowing who is to be in power.

4. Khan Sahib reiterated statement that his party is prepared to accept Pakistan and cooperate provided that

a. province is autonomous [in] all matters except External Affairs (I much doubt whether Premier includes tribes under this), Defence and Communications.

b. no prohibition is placed on party programmes provided that they are advocated and executed in constitutional manner.

5. It might help towards solution if Liaquat Ali and/or Ismay or Abell could fly here and discuss with me and Khan Sahib.⁵

¹No. 365, TP, XII, 561-2.

²Appendix IV. 6.

³See *ibid.*

⁴Appendix VIII. 4.

⁵See Appendix IV. 13, note 5.

IV. 13

Louis Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel¹

Telegram, R/3/1/165

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

NEW DELHI,
8 August 1947

No. 3265-S. I spoke to Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan yesterday² and agreed to submit following programme to you for the Frontier Province:

(i) I would instruct Lockhart to dismiss his Ministry on the afternoon of the 11th or the morning of August 12th;

(ii) Cunningham should take over as Governor on the evening of the 12th or morning of the 13th and ask the Leader of the Muslim League party³ in the Assembly to form a new Ministry. This will mean that Cunningham will have to be sworn in as Governor using the old form of oath⁴ &c. I should be grateful if you could have his Commission sent to me as soon as possible by telegram;

(iii) Lockhart to arrange for military precautions to be taken to prevent trouble by the Red Shirts over the dismissal of the Ministry and the formation of a Muslim League Government.

2. Liaquat Ali Khan states that Dr Khan Sahib, if he remains in office, proposes to declare an independent Pathanistan on August 15th.⁵ This must obviously be avoided if there is to be peace on the Frontier.

3. I should be grateful for your agreement to this course with least possible delay.

Repeated to Governor N.W.F.P.⁶

¹No. 374, TP, XII, 572-3.

²Not traced, probably refers to telephonic conversations. Jinnah had left Delhi for Karachi on 7 August afternoon and Liaquat a day earlier. See *The Pakistan Times*, 6 & 7 August 1947.

³Abdul Qaiyum Khan.

⁴Not traced. The oath of allegiance and office for Governors, subsequently proposed by Jinnah required them to "solemnly affirm" that they would be "faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Sixth, His Heirs and Successors, and to the Constitution of Pakistan, as by law established", and to "do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of Pakistan without fear or favour, affection or ill-will". See No. 202. Also see No. 416, TP, XII, 647.

⁵Also see Annex II to Appendix IV. 19.

⁶Mountbatten had earlier informed Lockhart on 7 August about the proposed action in the belief that it would not cause too much trouble to either side. The Viceroy asked for any comments that Lockhart might have and if the latter agreed "to work on Khan Sahib to resign on 11th/12th August". See IOR, R/3/1/165.

IV. 14

Rob Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten¹

Telegram, R/3/1/165

IMMEDIATE

8 August 1947

SECRET

No. CA/166. Your telegrams 3265-S² dated August 8th and 3264-S³ dated August 7th.

In view of possibility of serious disturbances if Ministry is dismissed consider it essential that new Ministry should come into power as soon as possible after act of dismissal. Consider therefore Governor should invite League Leader to form Ministry immediately he dismisses the old.

2. Will try again to persuade Khan Sahib.

¹No. 381, TP, XII, 582-3.

²Appendix IV. 13.

³Calling for comments on Appendix IV. 13. Not printed.

IV. 15

Earl of Listowel to Louis Mountbatten¹

Telegram, L/P&J/8/660

MOST IMMEDIATE

INDIA OFFICE,

8 August 1947

No. 10278. Your telegrams Nos. 3170,² 3171³ and 3172⁴ of 5th August and No. 3265⁵ of 8th August. North-West Frontier Province. I have considered two alternatives given in paragraph 2 of your telegram No. 3170. With regard to (1) present position as I understand it is that Ministry have suffered no defeat in Legislature and still retain confidence of majority of its members; and that although Governor may have very good reason to believe that Legislature as at present constituted no longer represents majority of electorate, general election is ruled out for security reasons. Dismissal of Ministry in these circumstances with no choice of dissolution would be unconstitutional, particularly in view of injunction in Governor's Instrument of Instructions to appoint as Ministers those best in position to command confidence

of Legislature.⁶

2. As regards second alternative Governor does not appear to consider that present situation in Province, in respect either of law and order or of Ministry's position, is such that in words of Section 93 government of Province cannot be carried on in accordance with provisions of Act. Furthermore withdrawal of Section 93 regime as soon as Muslim League were installed in office would be evidence that resort to it had been merely a device.

3. Thus (subject to paragraph 6 below) both your alternatives would be unconstitutional, although of course either would be legal in the sense that it could not be challenged in courts.

4. On information before me I am not convinced that removal of present Ministry by us before 15th August, however much desired by provisional Pakistan Government⁷, would really be wise particularly as it could be done only by unconstitutional action. Even though you could state that you had acted on advice of Pakistan Provisional Government and Mr. Jinnah, responsibility both legal and moral would be that of H.M.G. Governor evidently does not consider that disappearance of Ministry would necessarily bring about improvement in local situation on 15th August (see paragraphs 4 and 6 of his telegram repeated in your telegram No. 3172). Pressure for action to be taken before 15th August appears to come wholly from Muslim League High Command.

5. My inclination therefore would be to leave problem to be resolved after 15th August and accordingly without the intervention of yourself and H.M.'s Government. Resolving of the difficulty in a constitutional manner after 15th August might possibly involve urgent action by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly under Section 8(1) of Indian Independence Act⁸ so as to confer special powers on Governor of Province or on Governor-General of Dominion to deal with it. We have no information here as to what adaptations, if any, you have made or are making before 15th August or Jinnah contemplates on or after 15th August under Section 9 of the Indian Independence Act in relation to either Provincial Executive itself or relationship between Pakistan Central Executive and Provincial Executive. Accordingly we are not in a position to judge whether after 15th August any special action desired by Jinnah in relation to N.W.F.P. Executive could be taken constitutionally without bringing in his Constituent Assembly as suggested.

6. Of course if you or Governor were satisfied that information

quoted in paragraph 2 of your telegram No. 3265 is correct the position would be different and you would I think be entitled to adopt course you propose in that telegram or to impose Section 93 regime. But have you any information confirming Liaquat Ali Khan's fears? He is very interested party and I do not think that we ought to accept his unsupported assertion regarding Khan Sahib's intentions, particularly as you in India presumably and we in Parliament certainly would have to justify our action by reference to our knowledge that Khan Sahib was about to declare independent Pathanistan.

7. Even if there appears to be fairly good ground for believing that Khan Sahib might take such a course, I am still not sure that action by you before 15th August is the wisest course. Cunningham will have taken over just before 15th August and if he believes that there is the slightest risk of such a step by Khan Sahib he could warn the latter that such action would be unconstitutional as being entirely outside powers of N.W.F.P. Government, and that if Khan Sahib made any attempt to issue any such a declaration without the Governor's approval it would be followed by instant dismissal of Khan Sahib and his Ministry.

8. Possibly a friendly warning to Khan Sahib at once by Lockhart on the lines of the preceding paragraph might be useful but as to the wisdom of that I must leave you to judge.

9. Cunningham has seen this telegram and fully agrees. Indeed he had independently come to much the same conclusion before the matter was discussed with him.

10. I shall telegraph to Lockhart, Cunningham's Commission as acting Governor from 12th-15th August.

11. I should be grateful for an urgent reply.

[LISTOWEL]

¹No. 387, *TP*, XII, 608-10.

²Appendix IV.8.

³This telegram repeated Spence's legal opinion in Enclosure to Appendix IV. 2.

⁴Repetition of Appendix IV.6.

⁵Appendix IV.13.

⁶For party position see Appendix XIII. 14, Vol. 1, Part II, 625.

⁷See Appendix IV.3.

⁸See No. 164, *TP*, XII, 238.

IV. 16

Louis Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel¹

Telegram, R/3/1/165

MOST IMMEDIATE
SECRET

NEW DELHI,
9 August 1947

No. 3284-S. Your 10278 of 8th August.²

I note your instruction that it would be unconstitutional to dismiss the Ministry. I propose to inform Jinnah that I have had this instruction from you and to ask him to discuss with Cunningham at Karachi what action should be taken about a change of Ministry on or after 15th August. I shall send a letter to Jinnah and make a copy available for Cunningham when he arrives at Karachi.

2. If possible please contact Cunningham and tell him the situation before he leaves.³

¹No. 393, TP, XII, 616.

²Appendix IV. 15.

³Listowel acknowledging this telegram on 9 August stated that Cunningham had been informed. See IOR, R/3/1/165.

IV. 17

Rob Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten¹

Mountbatten Papers

SECRET
No. GH-151

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PESHAWAR,
9 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,
I am afraid this letter is a little late.

GENERAL SITUATION

2. The general situation remains much as it was when I saw² Your Excellency a week ago. Members of the Congress party organisations continue to make threatening and sometimes provocative speeches in public and to individuals. "Pathanistan" is being vigorously advocated and the idea is, I think, proving attractive to many Pathans. Rumours and reports of continued activity by the Faqir of Ipi³ flow in daily. There is no doubt that Congress are in touch with him and that

he may initiate some form of trouble, but probably not until after the 'Id. He has apparently had no success with the Mahsuds or Wana Wazirs and his efforts to create trouble seem likely to be confined to North Waziristan, although he has some following in the Bannu District.

3. There is a feeling of expectancy of impending changes amongst the tribes in general. Although it is considered that Mr. Jinnah's announcement on 30th July,⁴ that existing agreements and arrangements are to continue in force, will have a good effect, it is possible that the idea, held by some, that everyone will be free to do what he likes after 15th August may lead to some light-heartedness on the part of irresponsible elements after that date.

4. The revival of talks on the Kabul Radio and articles in the Afghan Press, after the recent lull, is also a disturbing feature.⁵ It is I think significant that this revived interest coincided with a visit to Kabul of one [Girdhari Lal] Puri, the Peshawar correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* and the Deputy Speaker of the Province's Legislative Assembly. He is commonly supposed to be the main link here with Gandhi. In articles to the *Hindustan Times* from Kabul he has made the most of Afghan interest in Pathanistan. I cannot help feeling that his visit to Kabul at this particular time was not accidental.

5. I have seen Dr Khan Sahib several times since my return from New Delhi. On the first two occasions on which he visited me his manner was pre-occupied and somewhat downcast, although he said nothing to explain this. When however he came to see me on the 6th, after attending a meeting of Congress Party leaders at Abdul Ghaffar Khan's house on the fifth, his manner was most cheerful. He said "it was a very nice meeting". I signalled my report⁶ of my talk with him to Your Excellency that day.

He still adheres to his intention not to resign. I will try again, in accordance with your instructions⁷ to persuade him to do so, though I fear there is little chance of my success.

He has in recent talks seemed more inclined to co-operation with the Pakistan Government than he has done previously, although he still doesn't like the idea of a coalition. As I telegraphed to you he even said he would co-operate and accept Pakistan if Jinnah would agree to full Provincial autonomy and to placing no prohibition on political party programmes provided they are advocated and executed constitutionally.

However, I fear that though he himself may have some inclination towards the constitutional conduct of the political differences between

his party and the League, the Congress Party here as a whole are determined to fight for power with any means at their disposal, and have their plans ready.

6. The Muslim League are aware of all the Congress activities and are reported to be preparing to deal with any action the latter may take.⁸ They are as insistent as ever that Dr Khan Sahib's Ministry must go before the 15th August. I, and the officials I have consulted here, would prefer that the Pakistan Government should take the necessary action to do this.⁹ I can see the argument against it, i.e., that it would be hard on the Pakistan Government to have as its first act to dismiss the present Ministry and face the probable ensuing trouble.¹⁰ On the other hand it can be said that it is the Pakistan Government, by its insistence on not dissolving the Legislative Assembly, that has led to the present situation, where Dr Khan Sahib refuses to resign.

7. There are dissensions amongst the local League leaders. Some disapprove of the appointment of a British Governor,¹¹ some are disappointed with Jinnah's choice of Ministers for the League Ministry here and some are annoyed because Jinnah said he could not establish Shariat law.¹² (I understand that Mr. Jinnah has selected Abdul Qaiyum, Habibullah Khan of Lakki Marwat in the Bannu District and [Muhammad] Abbas Khan of Hazara as Ministers).

There is I think little doubt that the League will deal firmly with their opponents and I am concerned as to how one can protect the present Ministers from bad treatment.

¹No. 394, *TP*, XII, 616-8.

²See Appendix IV. 1.

³See Appendix IV. 9.

⁴Appendix VIII. 4.

⁵See Appendix IV. 5.

⁶Appendix IV. 12.

⁷See Appendix IV. 13, note 5.

⁸See Annex to No. 58.

⁹See Annexure to Encloure to No. 220.

¹⁰Also see Appendix IV. 14.

¹¹See No. 71.

¹²See No. 196, Vol. III, 512. Also see No. 217, *ibid.*, 631-2.

IV. 18

*Rob Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten*¹*Telegram, R/3/1/165*

IMMEDIATE

11 August 1947

SECRET

CA/172. Addressed Viceroy, repeated Secretary of State.

Your telegram 3265-S,² para 2 and Secretary of State's 10278,³ para 8, both dated August 8th.

I saw Khan Sahib today at normal routine interview. I referred to rumours⁴ and press reports of proposals to declare Pathanistan on 15th. Khan Sahib assured me they were nonsense and there was no question of this or any other unconstitutional action.⁵ His party would not participate in celebrations of August 15th but would not interfere with them. Ministers if still in power would however attend.

2. In view of his assurances I gave no warning nor did I refer to resignation (your 3264 dated August 8th).⁶

3. Have informed Cunningham.

[R. M. M. LOCKHART]

¹No. 433, TP, XII, 668-9.²Appendix IV. 13.³Appendix IV. 15.⁴Also see Annex II to Appendix IV. 19.⁵Also see Annex.⁶See Appendix IV.13, note 5. The date of telegram No. 3264 should read 7 August.*Annex to Appendix IV. 18**Charles Lewis to George Marshall**Telegram, U. S. National Archives, 845 F. 00/8-1247*

RESTRICTED

KARACHI,

No. 61

12 August 1947

[Para 1 omitted]

2. In Peshawar, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan continuing to try stir up trouble among Pathans and has issued strong statement against appointment Sir George Cunningham as Governor Northwest Frontier Province.¹ Kripalani, President Indian National Congress, and Mr. Jai Ramdas, Hindu Governor designate of Bihar, now in Karachi

encouraging Hindu minority accept with good grace new Govt. and to cooperate.

[Para 3 omitted]

[CHARLES W.] LEWIS [JR.]

¹Also see No. 78.

IV. 19

*George Cunningham to Louis Mountbatten*¹

R/3/1/165

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PESHAWAR, N.W.F.P.,
14 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

This is to thank Your Excellencies again for your kindness to my wife and myself at Delhi.² I appreciated very much the time that you spared to discuss NWFP affairs when you were so busy, and the background I got thereby has been very valuable. I am sending with this a brief note³ I have just dictated of my talks so far. There is, I think, no doubt that J[innah] will order the dismissal of the Ministry on 16-18th Aug.⁴ but I am not particularly gloomy as to the course of events thereafter.

I hope you are having a successful and not too tiring visit to Karachi.

With our kindest regards to Your Excellency and our sincere wishes that your time as Governor-General of the new India may be as brilliantly successful as the Viceroyalty of the old.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE CUNNINGHAM

¹No. 481, TP, XII, 727-9.

²No. 489, *ibid.*, 763-4.

³Enclosure.

⁴See F.46-GG/7, note 1, 15 August 1947. Not printed.

Enclosure to Appendix IV. 19

SECRET

14 August 1947

I

I saw Dr. Khan Sahib on the evening of 13th August, and told him pretty frankly everything that had passed between me and Jinnah in

Karachi on the 11th. I told him that I had said to Jinnah that as Governor I was of course bound to carry out loyally such directions as he gave me as Governor-General; but that I had to satisfy my own conscience as to any action that I took myself and that therefore I had asked to be given a day or two after my arrival in Peshawar to talk to local leaders and to judge for myself what their attitude was. I repeated to Khan Sahib what I had said to Jinnah: that the only grounds on which I considered I would feel justified in dismissing Khan Sahib myself would be:

- (a) if he insisted on declaring that Pathanistan was to be an independent unit, or
- (b) if he could not satisfy me that he meant genuinely to cooperate with the Pakistan Constitution.

I then said that Jinnah had agreed that I could wait until the 15th August before sending him my final views.

2. Khan Sahib's attitude, which emerged only after a great deal of talk, can, I think, be summarised as follows:

- (a) As long as he remains Minister he will do nothing injurious to the Pakistan Constitution, and that, if the final Constitution decided upon by the Constituent Assembly was one that he felt he could not support, he would give up the Ministry.
- (b) He has no intention of making any declaration about an independent Pathanistan.
- (c) If Jinnah dismisses his Ministry they would accept that decision and not give any trouble; when, however, I pressed him on this point, he said that of course if a Muslim League Ministry were installed in their place there probably would be trouble. (He seemed to have an idea that something analogous to Section 93 administration might be imposed until the next General Election).

3. I then told Khan Sahib that I thought I ought to have a talk to [*sic*] Abdul Qaiyum, as Leader of the Opposition, on the 14th, and that I would try to see Khan Sahib again either on the 14th or the 15th. I decided that it would be better at this stage not to give him any indication of what I was going to do. He was in a very friendly frame of mind, and promised that he and the other Ministers would go to the flag-hoisting ceremony on the 15th.¹ I asked him what sort of flag he was going to fly on his house from the 15th onwards, and he said that he would pull down his present Congress flag and probably fly nothing in its place.²

II

I saw Abdul Qaiyum on the morning of the 14th. To him, too, I explained, as I had to Khan Sahib, what had passed between me and Jinnah, and I added that Jinnah had said that whatever assurance I gave him about Khan Sahib's genuineness of intention to co-operate he could not trust it. It seemed probable to me therefore that when I send my report to Jinnah, as I probably would on the evening of the 15th, Jinnah would at once take the necessary steps to dismiss the Congress Ministry and to instal a Muslim League Ministry in their place. But I said he must say nothing of this to his friends as he must not embarrass Jinnah's decision.

2. Abdul Qaiyum thinks that a great deal of the Congress threat of disturbance (if they are dismissed) is bluff, and he said that if we could show troops in 3 or 4 of the bad areas there would probably be no serious trouble. He thought we would probably get away without having to arrest the Red Shirt leaders. He also talked a good deal of the misdeeds of the Congress Ministry, their unscrupulous distribution of arms licences,³ their abuse of patronage in the matter of supply permits, etc., and their interference with the law courts. He was certain in his own mind that Congress meant to do their best to make Pakistan a failure. He promised that if the Muslim League came into power these abuses would all be shut down with a bang. I think that he really means this. He said that he thought the sooner the dismissal of the Congress Ministry was announced the better. I said that I thought that there was no chance of his hearing anything until the 16th, and that I rather hoped that it might not be until the 18th, when the *roza* [fast] would be ending and troops could be moved with less difficulty. I told him that I would probably see Khan Sahib on the evening of the 15th, and wire to Jinnah the same night.

3. Abdul Qaiyum seems to me to have acquired more sense of responsibility than he was showing 18 months ago. He spoke without any bluster, and I was generally quite favourably impressed. He told me that he thought his Ministry would be 3 in number; the other two would be Habibullah Khan of Bannu (quite a good man) and Abbas Khan of Mansehra (an honest, nice creature, but rather weak).

G. CUNNINGHAM
Governor, NWFP

¹On 15 August the NWFP Congress Ministers boycotted the independence ceremonies at Peshawar. Also see Annex I.

²Shortly before independence the Red Shirts had started replacing Congress flags with those of Zalmi Pakhtoon. See Annex I.

³See Appendix IV. 1.

Annex I to Appendix IV. 19
Extract from NWFP Police Abstract of Intelligence

NDC/Acc S-407¹

12 August 1947

At various places, the Congress flag has been replaced by the Zalmi Pakhtoons flag, consisting of two crossed swords and words of *Allaho Akbar* in white on a red background.

Red Shirt supporters continued to speak in favour of Pathanistan, and in a poster, issued by Mir Alam, Khudai Khidmatgar "General", the public were informed that Afghanistan and the Faqir of Ipi² sympathised with the Pathanistan ideal. Numerous rumours were current about the possibility of Zalmi Pakhtoons and Red Shirts declaring an independent Pathanistan on August the 15th, and hoisting their own flags on the same day. Abdul Ghaffar Khan subsequently issued a poster, ordering his supporters not to interfere with the celebrations³ on August the 15th.

¹No. 234, *The Referendum in NWFP*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1996, 277.

²See No. 34. Also see Annex II to Appendix IV. 28, Vol. III, para 10, 920-1.

³See Annex I to Appendix IV. 19.

Annex II to Appendix IV. 19
Henry Grady to George Marshall

Telegram, U. S. National Archives, 845.00/8-1247

SECRET
 No. 672

NEW DELHI,
 12 August 1947

Retiring Foreign Secretary Crichton made following observations [in] conversations with Weil¹ yesterday.

1. Apparently no new developments in Afghanistan—NWFP situation.² No reports of unrest among tribes, although difficult [to] judge temper of tribes during *Ramazan* which they take seriously. Celebration of it and harvest season may continue [to] absorb tribesmen's attention to exclusion [of] political issues. Still possible Afghanistan Government agitation re[garding] Pathans may die down completely.

2. Difficult analyze Abdul Ghaffar Khan's present intentions.³ "Impossible situation" in NWFP. Congress Ministry apparently does not intend resign.⁴ New Governor, Cunningham, however, unusually well qualified⁵ [to] effect compromise if any is possible. In event serious flare-up in NWFP tribes would probably become involved....Consensus

among informed observers is that *vis-a-vis* Afghanistan or NWFP all tribes would act together.

3. While GOI officials did not seem to make special effort to enable Shah Mahmud⁶ meet Viceroy, Jinnah, Nehru after plane had been delayed Lahore, Shah Mahmud himself appeared uninterested and extremely anxious proceed Karachi. Should he hold talks on return trip, meeting with Jinnah would of course be more important than Delhi talks.

[*Paras 4 to 6 omitted*]

[HENRY] GRADY

¹Second Secretary, US Embassy, New Delhi.

²See No. 34.

³See Annex I.

⁴See Appendix IV. 17, para 6.

⁵Also see No. 71.

⁶See Appendix IV. 7, para 5.

APPENDIX V

VICEROY'S INTERVIEWS WITH JINNAH AND OTHER LEADERS

V. 1

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND
KHAN OF KALAT¹*Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No. 171*

28 July 1947

H. H. reminded me that he had been one of my first visitors in March this year,² and was extremely complimentary about what had been achieved in so short a time, and he assured me that everyone in Kalat thought that the solution was the very best possible; they were delighted that Mr. Jinnah had got his Pakistan and grateful for my help in the negotiations with Mr. Jinnah.³

After this preliminary politeness we got down to business. He thanked me for obtaining recognition of the Pakistan Government that his position was that of an independent sovereign state in treaty relations with the British Government.⁴ He told me that he had had a long meeting with Mr. Jinnah at which both had said that they wished to be friends with each other, and it looked as though a suitable treaty or agreement could be drawn up between them. But the main bone of contention was the leased territories.⁵

I explained to H. H. that this was a legal question which could be settled by getting an agreed legal opinion; but that it appeared to me as though the Pakistan Government would inherit the leases in the same way as they would inherit the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921.⁶

I also pointed out that the British and Indian governments had sunk a lot of money in Quetta and Wazirabad [*sic* for Nasirabad], and that even if the legal opinion was that the leased territories reverted to Kalat there still was the problem of how the immensely valuable fixtures were to be paid for.

H. H. admitted that all this would have to be worked out with Mr. Jinnah, but said that Mr. Jinnah was most anxious that he should see me and report progress; and he asked if he and Mr. Jinnah might come together to see me on their proposed draft treaty and agreement. I replied "With pleasure".

Finally he told me that he was extremely anxious that Mr. Jinnah should not import a Pathan A.G.G. into Baluchistan. Everybody, he said, liked Sir Geoffrey Prior and everybody hoped that he would stay and that

in any case, if he left, he should be replaced by a Britisher if Mr. Jinnah wanted peace.

He told me that all the Baluchis loved and trusted the British in a way they had never trusted anybody else.

I invited him to give Mr. Jinnah this advice.

M[OUNTBATTEN] OF B[URMA]

¹No. 258, TP, XII, 378-9.

²During his meeting with the Viceroy, the Khan of Kalat had mentioned the possibility of his State being granted dominion status. See No. 59, TP, X, 91.

³See Appendices V. 2, V. 5, VII 9, and VII. 13, Vol. III, 926, 935-6, 977, and 982-6, respectively.

⁴See Appendix VII.13, Vol. III, 982-6.

⁵*Ibid.*, note 6, 986.

⁶See No. 60, Vol. III, note 5, 151.

V. 2

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN, M. A. JINNAH AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN¹

[Extract]

Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No. 172

29 July 1947

4. BIHAR

The Viceroy asked Mr. Jinnah whether he would agree to request the local Muslim League Leaders in Bihar to withdraw their demand for an inquiry into the riots² which had taken place there.³ Mr. Jinnah said that it would be very difficult for him to make such a request at this stage. However, he considered that the situation would be radically changed by the setting-up of two new Dominions on 15th August, and assumed that the issue would probably lapse.

After further discussion it was agreed that the Viceroy would take no action towards answering the letter⁴ which he had received from the Governor of Bihar on this subject, and that the whole question would be left in the air.

5. ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

Mr. Jinnah stated that he was in close touch with Sir Patrick Spens concerning the rendition of the name of a Muslim representative for the Arbitral Tribunal.

He had already decided on a nominee and would send the name in to Sir Patrick Spens shortly.⁵

6. AMNESTY TO BE DECLARED ON 15TH AUGUST

The Viceroy suggested that he should go into the question of the declaration of an amnesty on 15th August, on behalf of both future Dominions. He emphasised the desirability of both Dominions acting "in step" on this matter.

He said that it was proposed to release the ex-I. N. A. prisoners as part of this amnesty. He emphasised the undesirability of publicity in this connection.

Mr. Jinnah signified thorough agreement;⁶ and the Viceroy undertook to send Mr. Jinnah particulars⁷ when he had further considered the matter.

7. FLAGS

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan produced, out of his brief case, a revised design for the flag of the Pakistan Dominion. This was similar to the Muslim League flag except that the quarter nearest the flag pole was white instead of dark green. There was unanimous approbation of this design. The Viceroy said that it had been suggested that the flags of Governors in Pakistan should be on a deep green background. Mr. Jinnah agreed with this suggestion.

Mr. Jinnah also agreed that the armlets for members of the Personal Staff of Governors in Pakistan, should be deep green.

Mr. Jinnah said that he had decided to agree to the design for the Governor-General's flag,⁸ which had been put forward. He made it clear that his reason for not having made this decision previously had arisen from fear that the Dominion of India would change the design at the earliest possible moment.

The Viceroy undertook to inform Mr. Jinnah privately, in advance, if there was any evidence that the Dominion of India had any such intention.

⁶No. 279, *TP*, XII, 409-10.

⁷See No. 85, Vol. III, 224. On 19 July 1947, Jinnah received a deputation of Bihar Muslim League Leaders headed by Jafar Imam. Also see Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47*, Lahore, 1989, 86.

⁸The riots in Bihar took place from 25 October to 7 November 1946, when the Congress Ministry was in office. The Bihar Muslim League pressed for an enquiry which was conducted by Naranjan Singh Gill at Suhrawardy's instance. The inquiry confirmed the widespread carnage and extreme brutalities by the Hindu community on the Muslims. See No. 43, Vol. I, Part I, 93-104. Also see Appendix IV, Vol. I, Part II, 45-64.

⁹Hugh Dow, Governor of Bihar, had suggested to Mountbatten that Jinnah's influence be used to persuade the local ML to withdraw its demand for an enquiry, which he thought

might lead to further communal trouble. See No. 85, Vol. III, 224. Also see No. 34, *TP*, XII, 33.
⁵See No. 44.

⁶Also see No. 302, *TP*, XII, 455.

⁷See No. 140.

⁸The flag of Governors-General of the two new Dominions was proposed to be the same as the one already in use by the Commonwealth Governors-General, which was blue "with a crown and lion and the name of the Dominion in gold" However, instead of the name of the Dominion being in blue on a gold scroll, it was proposed that the names "India" and "Pakistan" would be in gold. See Appendix C to No. 243, *TP*, XII, 362-3.

V.3

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN,
 M. A. JINNAH, LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, VALLABHBHAI PATEL AND
 GERALD SAVAGE¹

Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No. 178

TOP SECRET

5 August 1947

Captain Savage,² who was a Police Officer employed in the Punjab C.I.D. Control said that he had been sent down by the Governor of the Punjab³ to make a personal report to the Viceroy. He explained that the C.I.D. Control⁴ co-ordinated investigation of disturbances cases,⁵ special interrogation, and intelligence from all sources.

Captain Savage related that one of the first instigators of disturbances to be arrested had been one Pritam Singh, an ex-member of the I. N. A. He had been roped in on 4th June, in possession of a wireless transmitter. This man was well-known to the Punjab C.I.D. as he had been interrogated after arrest on his return to India some years previously from Chopra's⁶ Penang spy school. He had been one of the party to be landed in Southern India by submarine. Pritam Singh had made a long statement which involved Master Tara Singh in the production of bombs, and a Sikh plan to attack certain headworks.

Captain Savage said that the next incident at which men had been arrested was an explosion in the Crown Talkies in Lahore. The main arrest in this incident was of Kuldip Singh, who had joined the R.S.S.S. in February 1947. He was a bomb maker and incendiary and had done a lot of successful work. He was probably involved in six bomb-throwing cases and had specialised in train wrecking. He had been arrested on 30th July.

The next man to be arrested as a result of the statement made by

Kuldip Singh and his friends of the Crown Talkies and Lyallpur⁷ derailing case was Goupal Rai Khosla, a clerk in the Secretariat at Lahore. This man had made a statement which involved Master Tara Singh very deeply. He had seen Tara Singh towards the end of July and had asked for 700 R[upee]s outstanding for the purchase of rifles and for grenades already promised by Tara Singh. He had left one Ram Lal⁸ behind with Tara Singh who had got on very intimate terms with him. Ram Lal gave Goupal a note to take to Tara Singh. This contained information concerning trains and was somewhat cryptic. He had asked Tara Singh when he saw him what it was all about, and the reply had been that it referred to the Pakistan special trains carrying staff between Delhi and Karachi. Arrangements had been made to keep Tara Singh informed by wireless of the schedules of the trains.

Captain Savage went on to say that Master Tara Singh had stated that four or five young Sikhs were planning to blow up the Pakistan Special with remote control firing apparatus and after wrecking the Special, set it on fire, and shoot the occupants. Tara Singh had also said that Mr. Jinnah should be killed during the ceremonies at Karachi on 15th August.⁹

Captain Savage said that independent and highly reliable sources confirmed Tara Singh's frame of mind as being completely one-track on the subject of revenge on Muslims. Tara Singh was collecting arms through Sikh Army officers and dumping them in States. The Raja of Faridkot had actually given help with transport and other moral and possibly material aid also. Tara Singh was reported to believe that the India and Pakistan Governments were sure to crash immediately.

Sir George Abell gave his opinion that Master Tara Singh should most certainly be arrested.

Captain Savage said that such a step would certainly create trouble in the Central Punjab.

Sardar Patel said that he placed no reliance on statements made by arrested people, particularly ex-members of the I. N. A.

Captain Savage said that so far as one could be certain in these particular cases, those interrogated had been telling the truth. However, it was very difficult to produce concrete evidence against Tara Singh; but he could be detained under Section 3 of the Punjab Safety Act.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan stated that he had given directions for all the Pakistan special trains to take every possible precaution. A report had come through that a crowd had been collecting at one station and that there was danger of attack on a particular train. He had insisted that the

train should go all the same but had strengthened its military escort and arranged for the Inspector-General of Police¹⁰ to be informed. In his opinion, the Sikhs were likely to rise in any case on the announcement of the Boundary Commission's award.

Captain Savage gave his opinion that the Sikh Leaders had lost control of their people. However, Giani Kartar Singh was more hopeful that they would get through without major trouble.

The Viceroy, after further considering the matter, decided to recommend to the Governor of the Punjab that Master Tara Singh and the other ringleaders of this movement should be arrested at about the time of Boundary Commission's award. He asked Sir George Abell to draft a letter accordingly to Sir Evan Jenkins.¹¹

¹No. 345, TP, XII, 537-9.

²Gerald Robert Savage, Superintendent of Police, CID, Lahore, 1947.

³Evan Jenkins sent Savage to Abell with papers on Sikh plans against the Muslims. See No. 338, TP, XII, 527.

⁴It was headed by W. N. P. Jenkin. See No. 64, Vol. III, note 1, 158.

⁵Also see Appendix III.

⁶S. N. Chopra, a schoolmaster in Malaya, organised the training of spies in wireless techniques at Penang and with a small party was landed in India by a Japanese submarine in 1943.

⁷Now called Faisalabad.

⁸He was engaged in plots for derailing trains in the Punjab.

⁹See Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1989, 342. The Muslim staff at Delhi were also apprehensive about the threat to Jinnah's life. See No. 194, Vol. III, 502-3.

¹⁰John Thorne Masey Bennett.

¹¹Abell in his letter to Jenkins asked that the latter should discuss the matter with Trivedi, the Governor of East Punjab, and the Premiers of East and West Punjab. See No. 346, TP, XII, 539.

APPENDIX VI

VICEROY'S PERSONAL REPORTS

VI. 1

Louis Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel
Viceroy's Personal Report No. 15

10R, L/PO/6/123¹

TOP SECRET
PERSONAL

1 August 1947

[Paras 1 to 18 omitted]

19. I have run into some difficulty over the question of the Ministry in the North West Frontier Province. The present Ministry is, of course, a Congress Ministry, and has refused to resign in spite of the adverse result of the referendum. Dr. Khan Sahib, the Premier, originally indicated² that he would be prepared to resign if the Referendum went decisively against him, but possibly on instructions from the High Command, he has withdrawn this decision, and now says³ he sees no reason why his Ministry should resign until there is a General Election or he is defeated in the Legislature, in which, the Congress with the weightage of the minorities, have a considerable majority.

20. It is within my legal powers to direct the Governor to dismiss the Ministry and that decision cannot be called to question. On the other hand such action would be contrary to normal constitutional practice since the Ministry undoubtedly have a majority in the Legislature, and would almost certainly be taken amiss by Congress, who wish their Ministry kept as long as possible as a matter of prestige.

21. I informed Lockhart that I would take the advice of the Provisional Government of Pakistan on this issue and make them take the major responsibility for the decision. The advice they gave me at this morning's Pakistan Cabinet meeting⁴ was that I should direct the Governor to ask the Ministry to resign and, if they refused, to dismiss them. I said that I did not want, in my last fortnight as Viceroy to do something which could be alleged to be unconstitutional and although I recognised the difficulties I thought it would be better to get the Governor to issue a sort of standstill order so that League interests should not be damaged during the next fortnight by any action taken

by the Congress Ministry.

22. This did not go down well and ultimately the advice given me was that if I could not direct that the Ministry be dismissed I should order the Governor to go into Section 93 and take on the Muslim League team as his advisers. I was urged to admit that unless a change was made soon the Muslim League would inherit chaos in the N.W.F.P. on the 15th August.

23. Ultimately I promised to accept the advice of my colleagues provided I was assured by the experts that it was constitutionally correct. I also said that I must refer the matter to London before taking a final decision. Jinnah has always stalled on matters he does not wish to give me a decision on. He can hardly complain if I follow suit.

24. I think it is clear that the present Ministry must either resign or be dismissed before 15th August, but it may be advisable to make the change as late as possible, and possibly to adopt the expedient of going into Section 93 for a couple of days rather than appointing a Muslim League Ministry before 15th August.

[Paras 25-6 omitted]

27. Kak and the Maharajah hate Nehru with a bitter hatred and I had visions of the Maharajah declaring adherence to Pakistan just before Nehru arrived and Kak provoking an incident which would end up by Nehru being arrested just about the time he should be taking over power from me in Delhi! I realised Nehru was in a most emotional state so called a meeting of Nehru, Patel and Gandhi on the 29th July⁵....

[Paras 28 to 32 omitted]

33. I have reason to believe that when Patel had tried to reason with Nehru the night before our meeting, Nehru had broken down and wept, explaining that Kashmir meant more to him at the moment than anything else. Patel found it impossible to deal with him and told a friend⁶ after our meeting that I had probably saved Nehru's political career, and thus the chance of Congress making good on the transfer of power.

[Paras 34 to 55 omitted]

¹No. 302, *TP*, XII, 448-50.

²Annex I to No. 79, Vol. III, para 3 i(b), 192-3.

³See Appendix IV 28, *ibid*, para 6, 911-2. Also see Appendix IV. 1.

⁴Appendix IV. 3, para 11.

⁵Mountbatten had argued against Nehru's visit to Kashmir insisting that the latter's leaving the capital was inopportune due to imminent transfer of power and on "what really amounted to almost private business". See No. 269, *TP*, XII, 397-8.

⁶Not identified.

VI. 2

*Louis Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel
Viceroy's Personal Report No.16*

IOR, L/PO/6/123¹

TOP SECRET
PERSONAL

8 August 1947

[Para 1 omitted]

2. I had a satisfactory meeting with the Khan of Kalat on the 4th August² and with his Wazir and legal advisers. Towards the end of the meeting, I brought in Jinnah and Liaquat, who had arrived for a Partition Council meeting, and I got all parties to agree to the issue of a press communique³ setting out the latest position on the negotiations between Pakistan and Kalat; but Jinnah and the Khan are still haggling over the precise wording.⁴

3. Immediately after this meeting, Jinnah told me that the Khan of Kalat would not have been so difficult if "the other side" were not encouraging him to make difficulties for Pakistan. Whatever the truth of Jinnah's allegation, I think there is little doubt that he himself has been guilty of bringing grossly improper pressure to bear on the States with Muslim rulers who are geographically linked with the Dominion of India, i.e. Hyderabad, Bhopal and Rampur.

[Paras 4 to 7 omitted]

8. His Highness⁵ threatened to abdicate in favour of his 23-year-old daughter;⁶ but I told him that I considered this would be a cowardly act and unfair to his daughter, and that he must stay for at least a year. The Nawab is thinking of taking service in Pakistan, presumably as a Governor⁷ and possibly as an eventual successor to Jinnah as Governor-General. I do not feel, however, that I can allow him to abdicate if I can possibly avoid this, since it would look as though I was bringing undue pressure to bear on him, which is far from being the case as he himself is the first to admit.

[Paras 9 to 15 omitted]

16. Monckton came back with Chhatari (the Prime Minister) and they reported⁸ that although the Nizam himself was advancing towards the idea of a treaty on exactly the same terms as the instrument of accession, the *Ittihad-ul-Muslimin*, backed by Jinnah, were hardening in their attitude and bringing every pressure to bear on his Exalted Highness to prevent him from agreeing to a treaty. I made it clear to

them both that the Dominion of India would not accept a treaty and would insist on accession. Monckton thought that once the Nizam got as far as accepting the idea of a treaty, he could be induced to take the extra step and accept accession. What he did point out was that time was too short not only to bring about this attitude of mind in the Nizam by the 15th August, but to give adequate opportunity for preparations in the way of propaganda and other steps to meet the trouble which the Muslim organisations would make in the state.

17. Although only 15 per cent of the population is Muslim, practically the whole of the Government, Army and Police are Muslims. Thus, if the Nizam were to try and join Pakistan and the 85 per cent Hindus rose, he would have no difficulty in putting down a revolution. But if he joins India before all the necessary steps have been taken he will have a rebellion from the Muslims without any means of putting it down.

[Paras 18 to 24 omitted]

25. It has been very difficult to find a Governor for East Bengal, owing to both Kilearn⁹ and Rowlands turning down Jinnah's invitation. But Bourne, the Governor of the Central Provinces, in a very public-spirited way, responded to my personal appeal¹⁰ to oblige Jinnah by taking over East Bengal temporarily on the 15th [August].

[Paras 26 to 28 omitted]

29. I have previously reported¹¹ to the Secretary of State that the Indian leaders agreed that the Union Jack should be flown together with the Dominion flag on public buildings on certain days of the year. I now attach as Appendix II¹² a list of the agreed dates. This list, when it came up for discussion at the Partition Council meeting, included Anzac Day. The reason for the deletion of this day, which I and my staff did not previously spot, is of course that it commemorates a victory over the Turks, a Muslim nation whom Pakistan naturally does not want to embarrass in any way. I also originally had "Empire Day" down against 24th May. There was unanimous feeling among all the leaders that this was an unfortunate expression so far as India is concerned, but they would accept the date if the title were changed to "Commonwealth Day". I had put down the 15th August as Independence Day for India and Pakistan; but Nehru wrote pointing out that this was the least suitable day in the year to fly the Union Jack. Liaquat suggested that each Dominion might fly the flag of the sister Dominion on this day. Congress would not give an immediate agreement, but undertook to consider the matter in the summer of 1948.

[Para 30 omitted]

31. At Tuesday's and Wednesday's meeting¹³ of the Partition Council we considered a draft Order dealing with the provisional allocation between the two Dominions of the rights, property and liabilities of the Governor-General in Council. The final allocation of rights, property and liabilities will be made, either by agreement between the two new Dominions on the basis of decisions already reached in Council, or by an award of the Arbitral Tribunal. But this final allocation will take time, and on August 15th there must be some interim arrangement in force to avoid chaos. It is over this interim arrangement that a deadlock was reached just before the departure of Jinnah and Liaquat for Karachi.

32. The draft Order is being telegraphed to the Secretary of State.¹⁴ It embodies the following provisional scheme:

- a. Immovable property and goods, equipment, and stores to vest in the Dominion in which they are situated.
- b. Bank balances and securities to be held jointly.
- c. Contracts exclusively referable to Pakistan to devolve upon Pakistan. Other contracts to devolve upon India.
- d. National debt to devolve upon India.
- e. Liability for actionable wrongs other than breach of contract to devolve according to the place where the cause of action arose.

33. The Order also provides for making the appropriate Dominion a party to pending proceedings. It includes corresponding provisions for each of the divided Provinces. The Order is expressly stated to be without prejudice to the final allocation.

34. It is not disputed by either side that a holding Order is essential. Without it, responsibility for public debt would be in doubt with disastrous effects upon credit, existing Government contracts would come to an end, and nobody would have authority to deal with Government property.

35. I am confident that if only the Steering Committee had raised this issue in time, I could have got agreement from both sides on the terms of the Order. As it is, the terms of the proposed draft have been agreed by India, but it was impossible at the last two meetings of the Partition Council before 15th August to obtain the agreement of Pakistan. They have two objections:-

- a. They think that the provisional vesting of real and personal property should be a joint vesting in both Dominions. I am satisfied that this would cause considerable administrative inconvenience

in the management of property without any material advantage to Pakistan.

- b. Their more serious objection is to the proposal that India should take over liability for the whole national debt. Under such an arrangement Pakistan would become debtor¹⁵ of the Dominion of India for Pakistan's proportionate share on the whole debt. Pakistan advisers feel that this would put them in a weak bargaining position in any dispute about the ultimate distribution of assets, and in particular would weaken their claims on the existing cash balances of the Government of India. They also suggest that the proposal amounts to a reflection on the credit of Pakistan.

36. I am myself satisfied that arguments of commonsense and convenience are overwhelmingly in favour of India's taking over sole liability for the national debt.

37. I therefore propose, subject to concurrence of the Secretary of State when he has received my telegram giving the draft Order, to make an Order in my discretion in terms of the draft. But I am anxious, if possible, to convince Jinnah that this is the right course. I think it may be possible to carry him with me when I go to Karachi on two conditions. The first is that he is satisfied that reasonable terms will be arranged for the repayment by Pakistan to India of a sum representing Pakistan's share of the national debt. I hope to be able to bring this about. The second is that India should agree to allocate to Pakistan a reasonable share of the existing cash balances in order to tide Pakistan over its initial financial difficulties. At the moment, India has agreed to allocate 20 crores only and if this sum is not increased the matter will go to the Arbitral Tribunal. I am proposing to approach Sardar Patel in an effort to get this sum increased by agreement to a figure acceptable to Pakistan.

38. While I feel certain that the scheme I propose is the best, I am anxious as Governor-General Designate of India not to be thought to have favoured the interests of that Dominion. It is for this reason that I attach particular importance to being able to say that the Order has the authority of the Secretary of State as an impartial judge.

[Paras 39 to 42 omitted]

43. I have been discussing the defence of the North West Frontier with [Frank] Messervy, who is going to be Commander in Chief of the Pakistan Army. He has now sent me a most disturbing paper on the probable military situation in Pakistan immediately after 15th August. He points out that the total number of battalions available will be

reduced from the present figure of 67 (which includes 5 British battalions) to 35. A number of these, moreover, will initially be at half strength owing to the removal of their Hindu/Sikh companies without Muslim companies being available in replacement. Messervy suggested the following steps to mitigate the immediate danger:

- a. that the Pakistan Government should make a statement,¹⁶ appealing to the tribes to remain peaceful and orderly until new agreements can be made and assuring them of no reduction in their allowances;
- b. that the Pakistan Government should make it clear to Afghanistan that there is no question of any readjustment of the boundary now or in the future;
- c. that the Civil Armed Forces on the Frontier should be increased in strength; and
- d. that up to 10,000 demobilised Punjabi Musalman and Pathan infantrymen should be re-enlisted for the Regular Army as soon as possible.

I considered that, as I am at the moment still responsible for the situation on the Frontier, I should bring these facts to the notice of Jinnah. I am accordingly sending him a bowdlerised version of Messervy's paper.¹⁷ There is no doubt but that it is impossible to avoid a very considerable risk on the Frontier during the period immediately after the transfer of power.

[Paras 44 to 52 omitted]

53. I referred to the problem of the North-West Frontier Province in paragraphs 19 to 23 of my last Report.¹⁸ Just before Jinnah left for Pakistan (in my aircraft) he and Liaquat asked me what I was doing about the N.W.F.P. Ministry, as they were getting very worried. I replied that I had referred the matter to London as I did not wish to act in an unconstitutional manner. Liaquat then told me that he had evidence that Khan Sahib intended to declare the independence of "Pathanistan" on the morning of the 15th if still in power;¹⁹ but I have not heard any supporting evidence of this from any other source. I told them that I had it in mind to tell Lockhart to call on the Ministry to resign on the 11th and that if they failed to do so to dismiss them on the 12th. The new Governor, Cunningham (who was of course the Governor up to 1945) is seeing Jinnah in Karachi on the 11th, and me in Delhi on the 12th, and arrives at Peshawar on the evening of the 12th. He will be sworn-in on the morning of the 13th and his first act can be to form a new Ministry in accordance with Jinnah's instructions

in anticipation of the transfer of power on the 15th August. This proposal has been telegraphed²⁰ to the Secretary of State for approval. Jinnah did not like this delay, but finally shrugged his shoulders and said "I am in your hands in this matter".

[Paras 54 to 57 omitted]

58. Since dictating this report, this morning, a letter²¹ has come from the Prime Minister of Jodhpur, [Cadambi] Venkatachar (an I.C.S. man from the U.P.) saying that no sooner had the young Maharaja of Jodhpur assured me at the Princes' luncheon that he intended to accede to the Dominion of India than the Dholpur group persuaded him not to join the Union. Jodhpur was taken to see Jinnah²² in the presence of Bhopal and Zafrullah. Jinnah offered Jodhpur the use of Karachi as a free port; the free import of arms; jurisdiction over the Jodhpur-Hyderabad (Sind) railway; and a supply of grain to famine threatened districts, on condition that Jodhpur would declare its independence on August 15th and then join Pakistan.

59. A family Council, attended by some headmen, was held on the 5th August, where the majority were against joining Pakistan. The Maharaja still thinks Jinnah's offer the best and has wired to Bhopal saying that at his end the situation is satisfactory and that he will meet Bhopal in Delhi on the 11th. On the 7th August he left for Baroda to try and persuade the Gaekwar not to sign the Instrument of Accession. Meanwhile Bhopal is making attempts to prevent Jaipur and Cutch and Udaipur from signing the Instrument. I saw the Maharaj Kumar of Cutch this morning, and in return for certain assurances he has undertaken to sign the Instrument of Accession on behalf of his father, who had somewhat lightheartedly left for a visit to England on the day of my meeting with the Rulers in Delhi on the 25th July. What irresponsible people some of these Rulers are!

60. I have sent a telegram to the Maharaja of Jodhpur saying that I wish to see him at once. But what disturbs me most is that Bhopal should apparently be behaving as a friend to my face whilst engineering a break-up of my scheme behind my back. I shall confront him with this when he comes to Delhi.

M[OUNTBATTEN] OF B[URMA]

MIDNIGHT STOP PRESS

Jinnah has just telephoned his flat refusal to agree to the proposals²³ in paragraphs 31 to 38, so my Constitutional Draftsman, Cooke, and

the Pakistan Cabinet Secretary, Mohamad Ali, are flying down to Karachi tomorrow²⁴ morning to try and convince Jinnah that unless he agrees an economic war may start which would be disastrous to Pakistan.

¹See No. 385, *TP*, XII, 591-604.

²See Annex to No. 120.

³Enclosure to No. 120.

⁴See No. 154 and Annexure I to Enclosure to No. 188.

⁵Nawab Hamidullah of Bhopal.

⁶Princess Abida Sultana.

⁷By that time Jinnah had already sent his nominations for Governors of Pakistan provinces. See No. 237, Vol. III, 693-4.

⁸Also See No. 329, *TP*, XII, 495-8.

⁹See No. 9.

¹⁰Jinnah had asked Mountbatten if Bourne would serve temporarily as Governor of East Bengal with neither side committed to the appointment becoming permanent. See No. 357, *TP*, XII, 555-6. Also see No. 237, Vol. III, 693-4.

¹¹See Appendix VI. 3, Vol. III, para 27, 952.

¹²Not printed. See No. 163.

¹³See F. 48-GG/7-8 & 11, Cases No. PC/120/15/47 and PC/126/16/47. Not printed.

¹⁴On 10 August Mountbatten explained to Listowel the position regarding vesting of assets and liabilities and sought instructions for issuing an Order on the subject. See No. 422, *TP*, XII, 651-2. Also see No. 235.

¹⁵See Annex.

¹⁶See Appendix VIII. 4.

¹⁷The encapsulated version was not sent to Jinnah. See No. 488, *TP*, XII, para 5, 741.

¹⁸Appendix VI. 1.

¹⁹²⁰See Appendix IV. 13.

²¹Not traced.

²²Record of the meeting not traced but see No. 426, *TP*, XII, 659-62.

²³See note 13 ante.

²⁴9 August 1947.

Annex to Appendix VI.2
Charles Thompson to George Marshall
U.S. National Archives, 845.00/8-1347
[Extract]¹

[AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,]
CALCUTTA,
13 August 1947

DIVISIONS OF ASSETS BETWEEN THE TWO DOMINIONS

Mr. B. T. Thakur, Managing Director of the United Commercial Bank, is an exceedingly capable Indian businessman and one of the Consulate General's best contacts in the field of finance. During the course of a conversation with Vice Consul Nicholl today, Mr. Thakur

stated that he had just returned from Dehli where he had spent two weeks trying to advise the Government of India on questions relating to the division of assets. Mr. Thakur indicated that his job had been extremely difficult, primarily because officials seem unprepared at the moment to listen to the advice of businessmen. The final decisions will be taken by the Arbitration Tribunal, presided over by Sir William Patrick Spens, retiring Chief Justice of India.

In Mr. Thakur's opinion, Pakistan's financial condition at the outset will be precarious. Pakistan is already heavily in debt—according to Thakur, Pakistan now owes India about Rs. 2,000,000,000—and its sources of income are inadequate in comparison with the capital outlays and expenses which it will be called upon immediately to meet. Mr. Thakur indicated that Pakistan desired an Indian loan immediately but that the Government of India was unwilling.

In the case of his own bank, Mr. Thakur stated that he is continuing some of his branches in Pakistan but will close down others located in areas where he fears police protection may be inadequate.

[CHARLES THOMPSON]

¹This extract was appended as enclosure to despatch No. 1745 dated 13 August 1947 from Charles Thompson to George Marshall. Not printed.

APPENDIX VII

ACCESSION OF STATES

VII. 1

*Note¹ by Ali Yawar Jung**Monckton Trustees No. 29*

CAMP, NEW DELHI,
26 July 1947

H. E. the Viceroy had, as has already been recorded in the proceedings of the meeting at Viceroy's House on 11th July, promised a separate day for negotiations with Hyderabad.² We naturally took it to mean that while we would on that day give a reply to H. E. the Viceroy on the subject of accession, we would also negotiate Standstill Agreements the same day. We got the impression, however, on the 23rd that nothing had been fixed for the 24th because we had made it clear in the meantime both to H. E. the Viceroy and to Mr. V. P. Menon that accession was out of the question. They appear, therefore, to have decided for reasons ostensibly of convenience, since the discussions could only be on Standstill Agreements, to have them with Hyderabad along with the other States. Since no intimation was received on the 24th morning, the Prime Minister [Nawab Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari] sent a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, copy of which is attached.³ The immediate reaction was a telephone message from Sir George Abell to say that the Prime Minister was being invited to the Conference⁴ of the 25th and that he would shortly get the relevant papers. The Prime Minister said over the telephone that a separate discussion would be necessary and had been promised. Sir George Abell said that he would convey this to H. E. the Viceroy. That same afternoon while we were discussing what line to take, and had in fact decided to press for separate discussion, Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Prime Minister of Bahawalpur, visited Asoka House. He said that Congress propaganda both in the press and by word of mouth was aimed at the States which had decided to stand out and that all kinds of things were being said about Hyderabad in order to create the impression that Hyderabad would ultimately accede and thus demoralize the other States (I had myself the previous night and the same morning reported this to H. E. P. M. after certain contacts I made in Delhi soon after I came). He said

that if we did not go to the Conference and did not raise awkward questions there, there would be a landslide in favour of the States Department's view. He also said that isolation in the matter of negotiations would endanger the position of Hyderabad and also result in letting down the other States which were looking to Hyderabad for leadership.

The Delegation then decided, after full consideration, to send Mr. Reddi,⁵ Mr. Rahim⁶ and myself as Representatives of Hyderabad to the Conference. It was also decided to make Hyderabad's attitude clear by a statement in the Conference and to ask for negotiations separately from the States which had decided to enter the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Reddi, Mr. Rahim and I, therefore, went to the Conference and so did the Prime Minister of Bahawalpur, as well as the Constitutional Adviser⁷ from Junagadh who was going to follow the same line. I learnt soon after arrival that no speeches would be allowed after the Viceroy's speech but only questions which the Viceroy himself would answer. I, therefore, suggested to Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad that we might frame questions in such a way as to make our attitude clear and also create doubt in the minds of States which had so far been found to be in the pocket of the States Department. Here are the four questions I put at different times after the Viceroy had finished his speech:

1. A Draft Standstill Formula⁸ had been sent to us and we had said that we accepted it as a basis of discussion. Now, a second Draft, called a Revised Draft (actually sponsored by Congress) had been circulated at the last moment. Which one of them was now sponsored by the States Department for negotiations? The Viceroy's reply was that the formula which we liked and had accepted was the one sponsored by himself as the Crown Representative (implying thereby that the States Department was sponsoring the revised formula). The object of the question was to state that we preferred the first formula and to elicit a reply which would show that the less favourable formula emanated from the States Department.

2. The Negotiating Committee⁹ appointed by the Viceroy consisted both of States which had joined the Constituent Assembly and of States which had not joined it. We considered that the approach of States which had joined would naturally be different from the approach of States which had not joined it. Therefore, the two should be allowed to negotiate separately, and not in one bunch. Would this be possible as it appeared to be necessary? I said that Hyderabad had made its line clear that it would not join the Constituent Assembly and it would, therefore, negotiate only with those States which had similarly not joined the Assembly. The reply given by the Viceroy was that

there would be no difficulty about it and that it was a matter which could easily be adjusted by His Highness the Chancellor.¹⁰ (The object of the question was to state our viewpoint as well as to stress the fact that we had made our attitude clear on the subject of the Constituent Assembly; the question was also designed to state our view that we would not negotiate along with those States which are represented in the Constituent Assembly.)

3. I said that even whilst negotiating only along with those States which had not joined the Constituent Assembly, I could not conceive of negotiations with Hyderabad or any particular State not ending up with separate, individual negotiations discussions [*sic*] of problems peculiar to that State either on account of its size, population and resources or any other reason. Was it contemplated that such separate, individual negotiations on individual problems would take place? The Viceroy replied that there was nothing against it and if the need arose there would certainly be such individual discussions. (The object of this question was to state that we expected a separate discussion with Hyderabad individually on problems relating to Hyderabad alone, like Postage, Currency and the like.)

4. I said that the Negotiating Committee proposed by the Viceroy consisted of States like Bhopal and Travancore which had decided not to accede. I said that His Excellency knew Hyderabad's attitude on the subject of accession and it was clear that we were not interested in discussing accession and were interested only or mainly in discussing the Standstill Agreements. That being so why have States like Hyderabad been represented on a Negotiating Committee which had accession as the first subject on its agenda to discuss? The Viceroy said that no one could compel any Member of the Negotiating Committee to discuss a matter which he did not wish to discuss and the choice would be that of the Member concerned. (This question was raised in order to remove all doubts as to how we stood on the question of accession. It came as a surprise to many as propaganda had gone round no doubt inspired to the effect that Hyderabad had decided to join. The Maharaja of Dungarpur¹¹ came afterwards and asked me whether I was speaking authoritatively or not and I said I was. He said he felt encouraged and wished Hyderabad good luck.) Subsequently I went with Mr. Reddi and Mr. Rahim to Bikanir House where a meeting was taking place of Princes and Representatives of States. This was by permission of the Prime Minister and was necessary as I had to convey to the Chancellor our decision that we would not discuss accession and also that we could not negotiate along with those States which had decided to join the Constituent Assembly. I duly conveyed this information to the Chancellor

at the meeting after which the three of us returned.

I may add that the Prime Minister did not attend either the Conference or the meeting at Bikanir House as it was thought best that he should not identify himself fully with either and that representatives of the State at both meetings should be on the level of Ministers rather than of the Prime Minister himself.

ALI YAWAR JUNG
Constitutional Affairs Member

¹No. 240, TP, XII, 356-8.

²See No. 61, TP, XII, 85 for Standstill Agreements. Also see Annexure I to Enclosure to No. 178, Vol. III, para 8, 447-8.

³See IOR, R/3/1/138. Not printed.

⁴See Appendix VII. 19, Vol. III, 993-8.

⁵P. Ventakama Reddi, Member of Nizam's Executive Council, 1947.

⁶Syed Abdur Rahim, *ibid*.

⁷Not traced, probably Abdul Majid Khan, Law Member.

⁸See Appendix to Annexure II to No. 83, Vol. II, 158-9.

⁹See note 4 above, 997.

¹⁰Nawab Hamidullah of Bhopal.

¹¹Maharawal Lakshmingsingh Bahadur.

VII. 2

Nawab of Chhatari to Louis Mountbatten¹

IOR, R/3/1/139

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER, HYDERABAD,
CAMP NEW DELHI,
26 July 1947

Your Excellency,

I am writing to thank Your Excellency for my nomination, as Representative of Hyderabad, on the Negotiating Committee² proposed by Your Excellency and announced at the Conference yesterday. On 11th July Your Excellency had kindly agreed to a separate discussion for Hyderabad³ but, if that causes any inconvenience, Hyderabad would, as an alternative, like to negotiate its Standstill Agreements along with those States which have not joined the Constituent Assembly and separately from those which have joined it. This is because of our view that the approach of the latter States will be different from the approach of States, like Hyderabad, which have not joined the Constituent Assembly.⁴

In view of the above and also as the above Negotiating Committee

has to discuss the problem of accession—a matter in which Hyderabad is not interested—I hope Your Excellency will not mind my not participating in the Committee.

I need hardly assure Your Excellency that Hyderabad desires fully to assist in the working out of satisfactory Standstill Agreements and, in general, to cooperate with the rest of India in avoiding a breakdown of the administrative machinery after August 15.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID

¹No. 241, TP, XII, 359.

²See Appendix VII. 1, note 4.

³See *ibid.*, note 2.

⁴See Appendix VII. 1.

VII. 3

Minutes of Viceroy's Sixty-fifth Staff Meeting¹ Mountbatten Papers

[Extract]

SECRET

[THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
28 July 1947]

PRESENT

Louis Mountbatten

H. L. Ismay

R. V. Brockman

George Abell

A. Campbell-Johnson

V. P. Menon

V. F. Erskine-Crum

Item 4

THE STATES

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he was still confident that Hyderabad and Travancore would accede to the Dominion on the three Central subjects. Rao Bahadur Menon said that, so far as Hyderabad was concerned, he was more pessimistic. However, it was probable that sufficient States would join for the purpose in view. So far as Indore was concerned, he advised that the Viceroy should take no steps towards summoning the Maharaja² in order to induce him to join. He considered it extremely probable that the Maharaja himself would approach the Viceroy on the subject before the end of July.

However, a useful link in this connection might be the Maharaja of Kolhapur.³

¹No. 256, TP, XII, 375.

²Yashwant Rao Holkar.

³Shri Shivaji VI.

VII. 4

*Walter Monckton to Louis Mountbatten¹
Mountbatten Papers*

SECRET/PERSONAL

LAKE VIEW GUEST HOUSE,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
28 July 1947

My Dear Dickie,

I have had long and intimate talks with H. E. H. [Nizam of Hyderabad] on the question which you discussed with me,² namely, what chance there was of Hyderabad acceding to the Dominion of India before the 15th August. The whole subject has been discussed from every point of view and I am quite satisfied that H. E. H. has definitely made up his mind not to accede. I am sure that nothing—not even a visit by you—has the smallest hope of modifying this attitude. The truth is that the Muslims in the State would undoubtedly revolt if he acceded now. On the other hand, I do think that, in spite of great opposition from influential quarters within the State and outside it, he is quite likely to be willing to offer by treaty substantially all that could reasonably be asked of him. I cannot, of course, commit him to this by a casual letter but I am faithfully recording my own appreciation of the position. The local *Ittehad*, supported by our mutual friend³ from Delhi, are attacking me hard. But so far H. E. H. is not moved by it.

I shall probably be returning to Delhi about Wednesday [30 July] and will ask for an interview. But I honestly cannot advise you to come here. I think the association of Hyderabad with the Indian Dominion is inevitable in the interests of both, but I believe it can't be rushed. The difficulties, as I am discovering to my cost, are real and intractable.

Yours ever,
WALTER

¹No. 257, TP, XII, 377-8.

²See Appendix VI. 4, Vol. III, para 21, 957.

³Not traced.

VII. 5

*Charles Herbert to Lancelot Griffin*¹

*IOR, L/P&S/13/1843*²

D. O. No. 84-R
TOP SECRET

THE RESIDENCY, HYDERABAD,
BOLARUM,
28 July 1947

My dear Griffin,

HYDERABAD AFFAIRS

I am writing this letter with the object of describing the situation in the State with reference to the present constitutional changes since an appreciation of the existing position may be of interest. I propose also to attempt to forecast how events may develop after the 15th August in the various differing circumstances which may then exist.

2. The dominant factor in the situation is the communal feeling between Hindus and Muslims. This has recently increased considerably and is now very intense, particularly in the towns. In the countryside it is not so much in evidence partly because the large majority of the villagers are Hindus and, partly perhaps at the present time, because most of the country population is too much engaged in work in the fields to have much time to attend to other matters. Were serious communal rioting to occur at any point however it might well spread throughout the State. Even now all political questions are considered almost wholly on a communal basis. A constant recollection of this fact is essential to a correct appreciation of the present state of affairs and to any accurate forecast of the course which events may take in future.

3. In these circumstances the division of British India into communal units greatly increased the difficulties of the Nizam and his Govt. in solving the problem of the State's future political relationship with the rest of India. So long as the whole country remained a single unit in some parts of which Muslims predominated and in others Hindus, there could be no reasonable objection to the State joining the rest of India under some such arrangement as that described in the Cabinet Mission's Plan.³ The problem in the State was merely an extension of the All-India problem. The position was wholly changed by the division of British India on a communal basis. Thereafter the Hindus in the State clamoured for the inclusion of the State in the Union of India, while the Muslims agitated for it to remain independent or to join

Pakistan. In those circumstances had the Nizam announced his intention of acceding to the Union of India he would have outraged the feelings of his Muslim subjects: had he elected to join Pakistan he would have alienated his Hindu subjects—in addition to leaving many of the State's administrative problems unsolved. Thus the reasons by which in his recent *firman*,⁴ he justified his decision to remain independent of both the new British Indian units were not merely sophistical arguments but a statement of cold hard fact.

4. The problem of the State's future relationship with the Union of India by the territories of which it is completely surrounded, however, remained unsolved. The Nizam, in his *firman*, had indicated his desire to negotiate on this subject and as a basis for such negotiations Monckton suggested⁵ that the State should agree to enter into a treaty with the Union of India by which, in return for certain concessions, the Govt. of the latter would be allowed to conduct the State's foreign relations and defence against external aggression and to be responsible for its through communications. This plan, while, for practical purposes, it fulfilled the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission that the three subjects in question should be administered by the Federation, did so by a method which had a reasonable chance of being accepted by both communities. On the one hand, it avoided the accession of the State to the Union of India—which, as I have pointed out, would almost certainly have been resisted by the Muslims: on the other, it afforded a means of solving the problem of the State's future relations with the Union of India in a manner which might be acceptable to Hindu opinion. It was probably the only method of achieving a practical solution of the difficulty by peaceful means. The plan at first seemed to have a good chance of being adopted by Nizam's Govt. as a basis for negotiation: subsequently, however, objection was taken to it by the non-official Muslim member⁶ of the Council on the ground that it merely conceded indirectly the position which accession to the Indian Union would have yielded directly. This view was first put forward by the Muslim member in question in Delhi during the recent visit⁷ of the State's delegation of which he is a member to that place. The other members of the delegation appear to have adopted a non-committal attitude being, no doubt, characteristically unwilling to commit themselves until they knew the Nizam's reaction to the proposal. Meanwhile objection to the plan is increasing among members of the *Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen* who apparently consider that the State's best policy would be to agree to negotiate a treaty with the Govt. of the Indian Union and

to enquire what subjects that Govt. desired to have included in it. Since, assuming the Indian Union to be prepared to negotiate a treaty at all, the principal matters with which it would deal are already well known, this suggestion is particularly fatuous and could only result in the State being left on the 15th August with its future relationship to the Indian Union wholly undefined. Up to the present the Nizam has adhered to his original opinion in favour of Monckton's plan, but it is uncertain whether he will continue to do so should Muslim agitation against it increase. If he changes his opinion and decides in favour of the policy suggested by the *Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen*, Monckton, upon whom some veiled attacks have been made in the local Muslim press, will I understand refuse to continue as his Constitutional Adviser.

5. The present position therefore is one of considerable difficulty and uncertainty. As regards the future should Monckton's plan prevail and be accepted by the Govt. of the Union of India as a basis for negotiation there is a reasonable chance of disturbance, at any rate on any considerable scale, being avoided. Should, however, no effective action to reach an agreement with the Union of India be taken in the near future there is a strong probability that an active agitation will be started by the State Congress and widespread rioting may result. It is unfortunate that both the State Congress and the *Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen* which represent the majority of vocal Hindu and Muslim opinion in the State are at present under the control of their more extreme members. Meanwhile many of those who can afford to do so are sending their families and valuables to places of safety outside the State in anticipation of the trouble which may come.

6. I will keep you informed of any further developments.

Yours sincerely,
C. G. HERBERT
Resident at Hyderabad

¹Secretary to the Crown Representative.

²No. 264, TP, XII, 387-9.

³Appendix III. 1, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.

⁴Enclosure to No. 109, Vol. II, 191-2.

⁵Appendix VI. 4, Vol. III, para 20, 957, and Appendix VII. 4.

⁶Not traced, probably refers to Syed Abdur Rahim.

⁷Hyderabad Delegation visited Delhi twice in July 1947. See No. 178, Vol. III, 439-52 and Appendix VII.1.

VII. 6

Wilfred Webb to George Abell¹
Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/94

MOST IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL
 2597-S

[SRINAGAR,]
 29 July 1947

No. 73. Viceroy's telegram No. 2989-S of July 28th.² Have conveyed His Excellency's message. His Highness says visit of either Gandhi or Nehru not only most inadvisable at this stage but most dangerous in potentialities from point of view even of India as a whole. There is no ban on entry into the state but it must be remembered that all public gatherings, processions etc. are banned in the interest of public peace. Kashmir Government will do their best to prevent untoward incidents during visit if it cannot be avoided but are not prepared to give any guarantee in this behalf.³ As for declaration regarding adherence to a Dominion His Highness says no decision has been arrived as yet.

¹Also see No. 280, TP, XII, 410-11.

²Mountbatten in this telegram had informed the Resident in Kashmir about Nehru's intended visit to Kashmir and that he should be "decently treated". See No. 260, *ibid.*, 380.

³Later it was decided that Gandhi instead of Nehru should visit Kashmir. See Nos. 269, and 277, *ibid.*, 397-9 and 405, respectively. Consequently, Abell in telegram 3050-S of 30 July, asked Webb to "emphasise to Kashmir Government that Viceroy hopes every possible precaution will be taken to ensure that there are no untoward incidents" which the Viceroy thought it should be possible to prevent. Webb telegraphed on 31 July that "Prime Minister assures me that every possible repeat, possible precaution is being taken". In subsequent telegrams he reported that Gandhu had seen Kak on 2 and 3 August and the Maharaja on 3 August, and that he was to see Begum Abdullah during the evening of 3 August. In telegram 83 of 4 August, Webb reported that Gandhi had reached Jammu safely and was to leave for Sialkot early the next day. In another letter Mountbatten informed the Resident in Kashmir that he was "glad to hear that Gandhi's visit has passed off so successfully." See IOR, R/3/1/94.

VII. 7

Nawab of Chhatari to Louis Mountbatten¹
IOR, R/3/1/139

PRIME MINISTER, HYDERABAD,
 CAMP NEW DELHI,
 31 July 1947

Your Excellency,

I thank Your Excellency for your letter No. 592/89 of the 29th July 1947.²

The Hyderabad Delegation has given full consideration to the matter and feel that no useful purpose would be served by my presence in the Negotiating Committee appointed by Your Excellency. For the reasons I have indicated in my previous letter,³ Hyderabad wishes to negotiate its Standstill Agreements along with those States only which, like Hyderabad, have kept out of the Constituent Assembly. Also, the State does not wish to discuss the problem of accession, having chosen the alternative of political relations permitted by the Memorandum of May 12,⁴ and accepted by the political parties under Your Excellency's Plan of 3rd June.⁵ I suggest for Your Excellency's consideration appointment of a second Negotiating Committee⁶ consisting of such States only as have decided to remain out of the Constituent Assembly.

It is assumed that the negotiations will be, as has throughout been understood, with the representatives of both Successor Governments and that the Agreements will be of a tripartite nature.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID

¹No. 296, TP, XII, 435-6.

²Not traced but see Appendix VII.1.

³Appendix VII. 2.

⁴Appendix X, Vol. I, Part II, 479-81.

⁵No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

⁶The Viceroy had proposed a Negotiating Committee for States during the Conference of Rulers and Representatives of Indian States on 25 July 1947. See Appendix VII. 1, note 9.

VII. 8

KASHMIR¹

Acharya Kripalani's² infructuous visit to Kashmir's vale of tears does not appear to have discouraged Congress land-grabbers and siren-voices are still straining hard to lure Kashmir into the net. Mr. Gandhi is probably waiting for the psychological moment when the resistance of the State authorities will have to be sufficiently worn down to allow the saint to succeed where the philosopher failed. An obviously inspired news-item has already mentioned a projected road-link between Kashmir and Hindustan;³ the air is thick with rumours of intrigues and counter-intrigues between the *Khaddar*-clad ahimsaites⁴ and the bejewelled court-flunkies,⁵ and in most of these intrigues there is sometimes an overt and sometimes a covert slant towards Kashmir. Kashmir is a Muslim land, it adjoins a most strategic stretch of the Pakistan Frontier, its people are wedded to the people of Pakistan by common ties of religion, culture and

blood, and the Dogra House rules it not in natural dynastic right but as a legacy from the British. It is the only State perhaps, which did not surrender its paramountcy to the British, when the British came, but acquired this paramountcy from them. Constitutionally this paramountcy should also lapse when the Power that conferred it has abjured her own overlordship. We do not intend, however, to indulge in legal hair-splitting. There are three straight alternatives before Kashmir. She can either declare herself independent or she can join either the Hindustan or the Pakistan Union. We consider that a declaration of independence in the case of Kashmir, though technically valid, would be a spurious and insincere declaration and the only object such a declaration can have is to consolidate the present brutal administration by a perennial bargaining for power with all the interested parties, namely, Hindustan, Pakistan and the British. It will mean putting into the hands of the ruling clique a blank cheque book which can be cashed at any counter and it will keep cashing it piece-meal and will use the cash to forge chains and fetters for the unhappy people that a freak of history has put in its power. The second alternative is the union of Kashmir and Hindustan and this union is as unthinkable as the union of the Pathanland with the land of Birla's millions. The Muslim League, or the Pakistan Government, unlike their Congress counterparts have not thought fit to hector and bully the States or to cringe and whine before them but our conception of the State is a comprehensive one and includes both the ruler and the ruled. An injustice has already been done to the Pakistan State by the unilateral reversion of Gilgit⁶ to the Kashmir *Durbar*. In this Muslim territory, the rights of sovereignty had been acquired by the British for a considerable period of time and during this period of lease, the rights should have devolved not on the Maharaja but on the successor authority, which in the case of predominantly Muslim areas, is represented by the Pakistan Government. The Pakistan External Affairs Department should certainly have been consulted before the decision was made. The accession of Kashmir to the Hindustan Union would be an injustice, far more flagrant and stupendous, and it is obvious that neither the Muslims of Kashmir nor of Pakistan will contemplate such a step with equanimity. In fact this procedure would be extremely dangerous for the future good relations of Pakistan and Hindustan for the Muslim people of Kashmir, a people compared to whom the Czarist serfs lived in aristocratic luxury are bound to rebel against their present inhuman degradation and if the Maharaja draws upon the armouries of Hindustan as he has been doing on the armouries of the British in the past, the Muslims of Pakistan will not be able to look on unmoved.

Despotic rulers and their advisers are not normally gifted with an unusual amount of foresight but if the Kashmir Court are, it should be obvious to them that their only guarantee of existence, inside the State, is a free and democratic Kashmir allied or affiliated to a free and democratic Pakistan.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 1 August 1947.

²President, Indian National Congress. He visited Kashmir in June 1947.

³On 27 July 1947, the Kashmir Government sanctioned a scheme for metalling the Kathua Road to link the State with India through Pathankot "which is the only outlet for the state to enter India". See the *Pakistan Times*, 29 July 1947.

⁴Buddhist, Hindu and Jainist philosophers who preach respect for all living things and avoidance of violence of any kind.

⁵See Annex I to Appendix VII. 15.

⁶The retrocession of Gilgit Agency to Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir took place on 1 August 1947.

VII. 9

REVISED INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION¹

Many States Likely To Accept Draft

NEW DELHI, July 31: A large number of states are expected to declare their acceptance of the Revised Draft of the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement² with the Indian Union tomorrow, it is reliably understood. These states will include Baroda, Gwalior, Mysore, Bikaner, Patiala, and the Rajputana States.

[*Paras 2 to 5 omitted*]

DRAFT³

The following is the final draft of the Instrument of Accession approved at today's conference: "Instrument of Accession"⁴—Whereas the Indian Independence Act,⁵ 1947 provides that as from the fifteenth day of August 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as India and that the Government of India Act 1935 shall with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modification as the Governor-General may by order specify, be applicable to the Dominion of India; and whereas the Government of India Act, 1935 as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession, executed by the Ruler thereof:

Now therefore I..., Ruler of...in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor-General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of.... (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India on the 15th day of August 1947 (which Act as so in force is hereinafter referred to as "the Act").

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947 unless such amendment is accepted by me by an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion Law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed or in default of agreement determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India

under any such future constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this... day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

[Signature of the Ruler]

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession, dated this... day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

[Signature of] Governor-General of India

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 2 August 1947. Also see Enclosure 1 to No. 313, TP, XII, 468-71. For editorial comments, see Annex I.

²For the terms of Standstill Agreement accepted by the representatives of the States, see Annex II.

³For the preliminary draft and its schedule which was circulated in the Conference on 25 July 1947, see Annex to Appendix VII. 19, Vol. III, 998-1000.

⁴The States Department of the Government of India invited only the 140 full-powered States to accede to the Dominion of India on the terms laid down in the Instrument of Accession. The 327 non-jurisdictional estates and *Talukas* situated in Kathiawar and Gujarat expressed a desire to be freed from the larger States to which they had been adjoined as a result of the Attachment Scheme of 1943 and to be administered by the Dominion Government as in the pre-attachment period. A revised form of Instrument of Accession suitable for their status and requirements was prepared for them. The rulers of some 70 intermediate States, located in Kathiawar, Central India and the Simla Hills, who exercised limited powers, were asked and subsequently agreed to accede on the basis of such powers as they exercised at the time of the lapse of paramountcy. See Enclosure 1 to No. 313, TP, XII, note 2, 469. Also see IOR, R/3/1/140.

⁵See F. 4/2-18, QAP. Not printed. Also see No. 164, TP, XII, 233-49.

Annex I to Appendix VII. 9

INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION¹

A few days ago we referred to an increasing ascendancy that reactionary and undemocratic forces are acquiring in the Congress camp. The agreement into which the India Government is entering with the States in order to extend its hegemony over the greater part of India represents the Congress in utter contrast with its 60-year old

professions. The revised draft of the Instrument of Accession,² to which 22 Indian States already stand officially committed illustrates the policy of weak-kneed surrender that the Congress has recently adopted *vis-a-vis* the States. We have already referred to some of the matters in which the Congress Government is bargaining away its ideology in order to have the doubtful satisfaction of getting its authority accepted. It is not the Federal Government but the Ruler who will administer the Federal laws in so far as they concern his State. The personnel manning the Federal services in a State will owe allegiance primarily to the Ruler and the Federal Government will have less than a vague and nebulous reality. In other words, the administration of Federal subjects in the States is least calculated to bring home to the vast majority of the people in the States the wider unity connoted by the Federal idea. The Instrument of Accession leaves unimpaired the Ruler's authority except in so far as he voluntarily surrenders it to the Centre, and has been so devised as to leave all the strings of the Federal authority in the Ruler's hands. All reference to Federal supervision is tactfully avoided so as not to offend against the princely sovereignty. This is the greatest concession that could be made by an avowedly progressive Governmental organization, called into existence towards the latter half of the 20th century, to an anachronistic autocracy, a living embodiment of the medievalism against which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been crusading with unabated zeal for the greater part of his life. The most tragic aspect of the entire transaction is that the States have acquired a veritable veto on the future constitutional progress and development of India. Under Clause 7 of the Instrument of Accession the Ruler of an acceding State is in no way committed to "acceptance of any future constitution of India". Nor is his discretion fettered in the matter of entering into arrangements with the Government of India under any such constitution. The advice given by the British Attorney-General, Sir Hartley Shawcross, to the States has gone home. Sir Hartley declared, during the debate on the Indian Independence Bill,³ that he had not the least doubt that the States would make their entry into the Union conditional upon the Union agreeing to stay in the British Commonwealth.⁴ Clause 7 of the Instrument means that if tomorrow the Dominion decides to sever the British connection, which right it undoubtedly possesses, the acceding States will consider themselves absolved of the obligation to remain within the Union. If the States have been tutored into extracting such an undertaking from the India Union, their stand is likely to compromise and qualify the independence that the latest Parliamentary Legislation confers upon India. Who says

that the Paramountcy has lapsed? Rather it has re-asserted itself in a much more subtle and effective form. We hope that the new Pakistan Government will avoid as far as possible the pitfalls of reaction that the Congress is deliberately stumbling into.

¹Editorial, *The Pakistan Times*, 5 August 1947.

²Appendix VII. 9.

³Enclosure 1 to No. 1, Vol. III, 2-25.

⁴Also see Annex I to No. 90.

Annex II to Appendix VII. 9

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE STATE OF... AND THE DOMINION OF INDIA¹

Whereas it is to the benefit and advantage of the Dominion of India as well as of the Indian States that existing agreements and administrative arrangements in the matters of common concern, should continue for the time being between the Dominion of India or any part thereof and the Indian States:

Now therefore it is agreed between the... State and the Dominion of India that:

1. (i) Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to matters of common concern now existing between the Crown and any Indian State shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India or, as the case may be, the part thereof, and the State.
(ii) In particular, and without derogation from the generality of subclause (i) of this clause the matters referred to above shall include the matters specified in the Schedule to this Agreement.
2. Any dispute arising out of this Agreement, or out of the agreements or arrangements hereby continued, shall, unless any provision is made therein for arbitration by an authority other than the Governor-General or Governor, be settled by arbitration according, as far as may be, to the procedure of the Indian Arbitration Act, 1899.
3. Nothing in this Agreement includes the exercise of any paramountcy functions.

[Signature of Representative of] ...State
[Signature] Secretary to the Government of India

SCHEDULE

1. Air Communications
2. Arms and equipment
3. Control of commodities
4. Currency and coinage
5. Customs
6. Indian States Forces
7. External Affairs
8. Extradition
9. Import and Export Control
10. Irrigation and Electric Power
11. Motor vehicles
12. National Highways
13. Opium
14. Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones
15. Railways (including police and other arrangements in Railway lands)
15. Salt
17. Central Excises, relief from double income-tax and other arrangements relating to taxation
18. Wireless

'Enclosure 3 to No. 313, TP, XII, 472-3. Also see Appendix to Annexure II to No. 83, Vol. II, 158-9.

VII. 10

Louise Schaffner to George C. Marshall

U. S. National Archives, 845.00/8-647

No. 850
RESTRICTED

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
MADRAS,
6 August 1947

SUBJECT: THE POLITICAL PICTURE IN HYDERABAD

Sir,

I have the honor to submit the following brief review of the political situation in Hyderabad State.

[*Para 1 omitted*]

INDEPENDENCE

H. E. H. the Nizam's claim to the status of an independent sovereign

is long and well-known. He has maintained that position throughout the rapid developments of the past few months and will probably try to maintain it as long as possible. His willingness to negotiate "stand-still" arrangements with either or both new Dominions does not prejudice his claims and at the same time is a conciliatory gesture toward the Indian Government, with whom the Nizam will have to live, in or out of the Union.

The press, of course, makes out a valid case both for and against independence. One article, in a Hyderabad newspaper,¹ assigns to Hyderabad "all the attributes necessary to function efficiently as a sovereign state according to modern conceptions"² and not only ranks it first among the Indian States but compares it favorably with many of the nations of the United Nations. The article then proceeds to validate this claim with very impressive statistics on size, population, revenue, education, as well as historic, geographic, and strategic considerations. The opposition press bases its arguments against sovereignty largely on the grounds of the Hindu population majority and on the contention that the Nizam never has been a sovereign ruler, that his ancestors were vassals, by right of succession, of the Mogul Empire, the Maratha Confederacy, and the British Empire, and now by the same token, the present Nizam is a vassal of the Indian Union! Although Congress Party reaction to the Viceroy's speech of July 25³ advising the States to join the dominions fills the press, comment from the rulers themselves, or their governments, is notably absent.

It is announced in the press that the jurisdiction of the Hyderabad Residency Area was turned over to the Nizam's government as of July 19 and that "the British Resident is under the protection of H. E. H. the Nizam's government" as of July 21. On the latter date a unit of the State Forces took over from an Indian unit the responsibility for the protection of the Residency. More recently, airfields in eight Hyderabad towns have been taken over from the R.A.F. by the Hyderabad Government. Three of these are reported to be major fields. This might indicate the Nizam's intention to proceed as far and as soon as possible before he is forced to do otherwise. It is possible that he hopes a *fait accompli* will achieve what no amount of negotiation would do.

With the passing of the August third deadline set by the Viceroy for the States to make up their minds about joining the Indian Dominion, time is running fast for the Nizam and his hand may be forced. The decision of Travancore to accede to the Dominion sets an example which may be difficult not to follow. It is reported in the press that the Nawab of Chhatari has been shuttling back and forth between Hyderabad and Delhi,⁴ and on July 31 stories appeared stating that Hyderabad had decided to join the

Indian Union.⁵ This report is categorically denied in a statement by Nawab Ali Yawar Jung,⁶ Hyderabad Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Member of the Hyderabad Delegation now in Delhi, which called attention to the press reports and said: "No such decision has been taken and, in fact, the Hyderabad Delegation has made it clear to the authorities concerned that Hyderabad does not contemplate joining either Dominion."

CLAIMS TO BERAR

The Nizam's hope for the retrocession of Berar will probably remain futile for the same reason that his own independence could become a reality. There is obviously no intention of the Indian Union or the British Government to return Berar to the Nizam. He has recently announced in the press that he will not use force in the matter, and if this statement is correct, the future of Berar as a part of the new Indian Dominion seems assured.

INTERNAL POLITICS

The domination of a population 88 per cent Hindu by a 12 per cent Muslim minority hardly coincides with any conception of democratic rule. The answer is ready-made: Hyderabad cannot conceivably be called a democratic state. When questioned recently as to whether the methods of control used by the Muslim rulers were those of Simon Legree,⁷ an American resident in Hyderabad said "Not quite that. Things are very much under the thumb of the few and there is every intention for them to remain that way."

The *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen*, the principal Muslim political party—the Muslim League—of Hyderabad, has gained more and more power within recent months. It is reported to have the unofficial sanction of the Nizam himself, and that one of the reasons for the replacement of Sir Mirza Ismail as Prime Minister by the Nawab of Chhatari was Sir Mirza's too-cooperative attitude toward the Hindus. The *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen* is accused in the press of fostering the independence of the State (by arms if necessary), of maintaining the ruling power in the hands of the Muslims, and of being the instigators of all sorts of violence and oppression designed to intimidate the "victim population". The responsibility for the riots which began [on] June 27 and continued for several days at a place called Warangal in connection with the celebration of Hyderabad Independence Day, and which resulted in the loss of 25 lives, injuries to 2000, and the destruction of property worth Rs. 500,000 (\$150,000), is laid jointly at the door of H. E. H. and the *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen* by the Hindu press. Just how far this is true has not been otherwise reported.

The American resident referred to above stated that in his opinion

the Nizam had the loyalty of the police and army as far as maintaining law and order were [*sic* for was] concerned and he thought that there would be little trouble in the immediate future. If it came to a show-down and real communal warfare, he would not be so sure. He thought that the Government wished to maintain the *status quo* generally and order and non-violence in particular. Late papers contain an official appeal for peace and order, particularly on August 15.

CONCLUSION

Although it is difficult to evaluate a picture seen only second hand and through the press, it would appear that the Nizam has been and is playing for time, making only such concessions as might make him appear in a more favorable light, and hoping that events will place him in a position to dictate his own terms.

Respectfully yours,
LOUISE SCHAFFNER
American Vice Consul

¹Not traced.

²Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

³See Appendix VII. 1, note 4.

⁴See Appendix VII. 5, note 7.

⁵On 29 July, Syed Qasim Razavi of *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen* alleged "Hyderabad delegation" to be "in complicity with Congress" and accused Chhatari and Monckton of acting against the State interest. See *The Pakistan Times*, 31 July 1947.

⁶See *The Pakistan Times*, 1 August 1947.

⁷Refers to a character in Harriet Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Here it means a slave-driver.

VII. 11

Minutes of Viceroy's Sixty-Eighth Staff Meeting¹ *Mountbatten Papers*

[Extract]

SECRET

7 August 1947

PRESENT
LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN

H. L. Ismay
George Abell
V. P. Menon
Douglas Currie
Walter Christie

I. D. Scott
A. Campbell-Johnson
V. F. Erskine Crum
Samuel Cooke²

ITEM 8

HYDERABAD

The Viceroy explained that the main reason why the Nizam of Hyderabad had not yet decided to accede to the Dominion of India was because, although the Muslims in his State represented only 15% of the population, they filled almost all the Government, Police and Military posts. Therefore it was against a revolt by them rather than against a revolt by the non-Muslims (although the latter represented the vast majority of the State's population) that he had to guard. The Nizam felt, and it was to be acknowledged, that it would take time to educate the all-powerful minority to the step of accession. Nevertheless, Sir Walter Monckton had reported that his conversations with the Nizam were going well. He was coming round slowly.

¹No. 369, TP, XII, 568-9.

²Constitutional Adviser to the Viceroy.

VII. 12

*Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel*¹

IOR, R/3/1/139

8 August 1947

Dear Listowel,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. My address to the Conference of Rulers and States Representatives on July 25th,² which was the particular subject of your criticism, has been held by everyone else, except the extreme Congress leaders, as a most statesmanlike statement; and, so far as I can make out, all the princes and States representatives warmly welcomed it, many of them having taken the trouble to write or see me personally to tell me so. On the other hand both Sardar Patel and I have been attacked in the more extreme Congress Press for selling the position to the Princes.

3. I took the opportunity, on the 25th July, to advise the Princes to align themselves with one or the other of the two Dominions, while I, in my capacity as Crown Representative, was still in a position to safeguard their interests and to obtain fair, and even generous terms from Sardar Patel, the Member in charge of the States Department and

the man who can deliver the goods on behalf of the Dominion Government that will come into existence on the 15th.

4. As soon as I turned my attention to the problem of the States, it became evident to me that their independence, based on the Cabinet Mission memorandum of May 12, 1946³ read with our June 3 statement⁴ would not be worth a moment's purchase unless they had the support of one or the other of the two Dominions, principally because of the wide gap that prevails, between the Rulers and the ruled. Barring a few States, the rest have no real military forces of their own, and such police as they possess, are hardly adequate even to deal with the internal situation. This has been proved conclusively by the recent riots in the Rampur State⁵ where the Muslim subjects of the Muslim Ruler, though in a minority, organised widespread riots and destruction of Government property and offices, by way of a protest against the decision of the Rampur Ruler to accede to the Indian Dominion, and where he had to call in aid from the Government of India. The aid was promptly given and the situation there is now rapidly returning to normal. You can imagine what would have been the position in Rampur, if this had occurred after 15th August and they had declared their independence, particularly if the riots had been organised by the Hindus who form nearly 90% of the population!

5. I foresaw the possibility of such a situation developing after August 15th and felt that the States in their own interests, must align themselves with one or the other of the two Dominions, the alignment being determined, as stated in Parliament, with due regard to geographical compulsions. I laid stress on these facts in my advice to the Rulers and told them that if they wanted me to use my good offices to obtain the best terms possible from the leaders of the Congress party, I would be available to them only up to August 15th. In order to achieve this object, I devised an Instrument of Accession⁶ under which States could surrender their sovereignty in respect of three minimum subjects of defence, external affairs and communications and yet retain their sovereignty in all other matters as also complete internal autonomy. All that the States were asked to surrender were powers which they never exercised during their entire association with the British Government and which they were not, by virtue of their limited resources and isolated situation, in a position to discharge effectively. Simultaneously with Accession, the Rulers were advised to enter into standstill agreements with the new Governments so that the existing arrangements could be continued until modified by mutual consent, thus avoiding the risk of chaos, dislocation or confusion.

6. In these efforts of mine to secure the best possible terms for the Indian States, I found a welcome accommodating attitude on the part of

both Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. It is known that these leaders have never been reconciled to the plan of partition, and they were naturally most anxious that the process of disintegration should not go further. This proved to be a strong bargaining factor in my hand and I played it so as to secure terms of accession which many Rulers told me in private that they had never expected. At the same time the terms are not unfair to the Indian Dominion and must tend towards integration of the country as well as internal stability which are so essential for progress and development in the difficult years ahead.

7. In all these negotiations and discussions there has been, of course, no question of any pressure or undue influence, but it would be doing a disservice to a friendly set of people like the Princes not to put before them a clear picture of what is likely to happen after August 15th, if they do not make friends with the contiguous Dominion, knowing as I do, their helplessness, as also the mounting momentum of agitation on the part of the people of most of these States.

8. I am glad to be able to say that even Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer who was the most truculent of the representatives of the Indian States until a short while ago, and who is placed in a better position than most of the States owing to the situation of Travancore, saw the unwisdom of standing out or of delay in making a decision on this vital matter, and agreed in his interview with me that Travancore would accede to the Indian Dominion on terms secured by me.⁷ The States that have not yet made up their minds so far are Hyderabad, Bhopal, Kashmir and Indore. Hyderabad sees the force of the wisdom of joining the Indian Union but is afraid of the reactions of its Muslim subjects who though only 13% are organised and powerful.

9. I strongly feel that if we leave the States without association with one or the other of the two Dominions, there will be plenty of justification for the allegation against us that while we unilaterally terminated all treaties and agreements, we took no steps for the safety and security of the States from either internal troubles or external aggression. It is therefore impossible for me to ask Patel to agree to an arrangement which while affording complete security to States, would not result in anything by way of *quid pro quo* to the Dominion; and all that Patel asks for is the integration of the country and stability which, I feel, he is entitled to have and which is not a high price to ask of the Indian States.

10. There is still another aspect from which we may look at the case. The Indian Dominion, consisting nearly of 3/4ths of India, and with its immense resources and its important strategic position in the Indian

Ocean, is a Dominion which we cannot afford to estrange for the sake of the so-called independence of the States. I have no doubt that you will agree with me that we should leave no stone unturned to convince the Indian Dominion that although we had to agree to the plan of partition, we had no intention to leave it balkanised or to weaken it both internally and externally.

11. The accession of Princes is bound to exercise a steadying influence on British Indian politics, and this by itself is by no means a small gain. Further, the Princes have without any exception been consistently pressing for the retention of their connection with the Crown and their association with British India cannot but help in the direction of retaining India within the Commonwealth.

12. There appears to be one more misapprehension about the Instrument of Accession which I must clear away here and now. It has been said that it may not be possible for States to accede unless they can see the entire picture of the constitution of the country. That however is not the position. Accession is for a temporary period while the Constituent Assembly is engaged in the constitution-making which is likely to take some months and during which period, however short it may be, we cannot expect the country to remain broken up and in a state of perpetual disturbance. But when the constitution is framed, the States will have another opportunity of judging how they fit in and whether they would like to adhere to the new constitution. The Instrument of Accession which the States are now asked to sign makes it clear that they are not committed to the constitution of the Union of India or even to any amendment of the Indian Independence Act⁸ or the Government of India Act, 1935, which may be carried out subsequent to the accession. The States will accede to the Dominion now knowing what the position is and thus there is no question of a State being called upon to accede in darkness or without a clear picture.

13. The importance of completing these negotiations by the 15th August is that I shall cease to be Crown Representative on that day and the States will have thereafter to make their own terms with the Dominion. It is clear that the compulsion of events will sooner or later force them into the arms of the Dominions. It is equally clear that once the present chance is missed the terms which the Princes will receive will not anywhere be as generous as the terms which I can secure for them now, while I am still Crown Representative. It will thus be seen that it is the States which stand to lose if they do not come under one or the other of the two Dominions by August 15th, regard being had to the explosive situation caused by suppression of their subjects for long years and to the disparity in the

standards of prosperity between the people of the States and the people in the contiguous areas of British India.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

¹No. 383, *TP*, XII, 584-8.

²See Appendix VII. 1, note 4.

³See Appendix VII. 7, note 4.

⁴See *ibid.*, note 5.

⁵See No. 385, *TP*, XII, para 5, 591.

⁶Appendix VII. 9.

⁷See Appendix VI. 4, Vol. III, paras 16-19, 955-7.

⁸See Appendix VII. 9, note 5.

VII. 13

*Nizam of Hyderabad to Walter Monckton*¹

Monckton Trustees No. 30

PRIVATE

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
9 August 1947

My dear Sir Walter Monckton,

In the letter² addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy, which you are taking to Delhi tomorrow morning, I said that in case the Indian Dominion does not accept my offer (contained in the above letter) I shall be compelled to publish it, in order that the people inside and outside the country (even beyond the seas) may know how just and proper my offer was. But on the second thought I consider it essential to publish this under all circumstances (which means whether it is accepted or rejected) under the fear that the Indian Dominion may say something detrimental to Hyderabad interests on the 14th August in their broadcast by simply hiding from the public what I said in my letter to His Excellency the Viceroy about my offer. So in view of all these things, I must publish this letter of mine by the 12th or 13th August at the latest in order to clear my position before the whole world. I trust you will tell His Excellency the Viceroy what I wrote to you in this letter.

Yours sincerely,
NIZAM VII
[MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN]

¹No. 388, *TP*, XII, 610

²Annex I to No. 90.

VII. 14

*Walter Monckton to Nizam of Hyderabad*¹*Telegram, Monckton Trustees No. 30*

IN CODE

[NEW DELHI,]
10 August 1947

Delivered Your Exalted Highness letter² to Viceroy³ and am having further interview tomorrow. Suggest no publicity for letters till after tomorrow's interview when I will telegraph. Do not anticipate immediate rejection of offer. Have asked for assurances about *status quo* in Berar and continuance of existing administrative arrangements whether or not formal standstill agreements are made. Shall have to remain in Delhi till Tuesday⁴ but will send report by Ali Yawar Jung to reach you tomorrow night. Respects.

WALTER MONCKTON

¹No. 421, TP, XII, 650.²See Appendix VII. 13, note 2.³Monckton met the Viceroy on 10 August. Mountbatten assured him that he will not be a party to any improper pressure on Hyderabad; was prepared to consider continuation of *status quo* in Berar; and will endeavour to assure continuation of the existing administrative arrangements. He also proposed to refer to special problems of Hyderabad in his broadcast on 15 August. See No. 420, TP, XII, 649-50.⁴12 August 1947.

VII. 15

*Wilfred Webb to George Abell**Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/94*

No. 85

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

[SRINAGAR,]
11 August 1947

Have just been informed that Kak has resigned¹ and His Highness has appointed Major-General Janak Singh in his place temporarily.

[WILFRED WEBB]

[Minutes By George Abell And Louis Mountbatten]

Reason not known to me.

G. E. B. ABELL

Please ask Webb for full background² to dismissal and whether Kashmir will now join one of the two Dominions.

MOUNTBATTEN

¹Also see *The Pakistan Times*, 13 August 1947.

²For different versions, see Annexes I, II & III.

Annex I to Appendix VII. 15

SECRET BEHIND KASHMIR'S INDECISION¹

Kak Trying For Standstill Agreement With Dominions

What prevents Kashmir from declaring her intentions is the question asked from every side as state after state takes her place in the new political set up. And so much more hangs upon her decision than upon the decision of noisy states like Travancore. Kashmir is an ace among states by virtue of her geography. Her silence, therefore, is mystifying in the extreme and most tantalizing for many. It is the intention of the present article to tear off the veil from some of this mystery.

And if I say that the present welter is composed of indecision and court intrigue and some astute piece of statecraft I shall not be far wrong. Only that would be thickening the mystery which I am seeking to solve.

MEN BEHIND THE SCENE

I shall do better by beginning with the powers with whom lies decision.

And herein Kashmir differs from the other States. Power at the highest level rests here with the ruler and is not shared with any of his *diwans*. His *diwans* wield vast powers in their own way but they are never sure of the ruler's confidence. They are never sure of tomorrow. The ruler's displeasure hangs like the sword of Damocles over them which might smite them any moment. And it does smite too—five *diwans* in three years is a salutary warning for ambitious underlings.

The present Maharaja is indeed credited with liberal views despite the treatment meted out in the state to popular movements. But of late he is known to have fallen under curious influences. The most powerful among them is that of a *Swami*. The *Swami* resides in the royal palace amidst sumptuous luxuries. He is variously described as a spiritualist of a high order, an astute agent of the political department of the Government of India and a shrewd mountebank. He takes credit for the fiasco of the Nehru campaign against the State and since

that event his influence with the Maharaja has greatly increased. But his leanings are unpredictable and therefore political circles both official and public, regard his presence in the palace with great dismay. Although the Maharaja is believed to belong to the Bhopal group of rulers essentially he stands aloof from them and is his own adviser.

POLICY OF DRIFT

The man in actual charge of things in the State, Pandit R. C. Kak manoeuvres a good deal but with one aim in view, viz., to secure his tenure of office and to utilize his position for the interest of his clique. In politics he confines himself, therefore, to a policy of drift that pays him for the time but leads the State nowhere. He counts upon the rivalry of the League and the Congress and by playing one against the other he hopes to keep both on tenter-hooks. He also hopes to ward off present danger by concluding a "standstill" agreement with Pakistan and the Indian union alike.

[Para 7 omitted]

INDEPENDENT KASHMIR

Their [Kashmiri Muslims] allegiance is shared by two organizations, the Muslim and the National Conferences, led respectively by Chaudri Ghulam Abbas Khan and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who at this critical movement are both locked in jail. Congress credit has fallen considerably in the State ever since that body retired from its fight in Kashmir and bartered all the claims of the people for a smile from the Princes. On the other hand the establishment of Pakistan has electrified the imagination of Kashmiri Muslims and filled their mind with new hopes. There is no escape from the fact that Congress has ceased to exist as a live force in Kashmir.

In this hour of triumph for their ideology the Muslim Conference has shown commendable restraint. The State is sandwiched between the great arc of Pakistan on three sides and by Muslim principalities of Turkistan on the fourth. And instead of favouring wild schemes the Muslim Conference leaders had offered their full support for maintaining the independence of Kashmir as a separate entity² under the aegis of the present Maharaja in return for grant of full responsible government. This was a gesture of goodwill towards the non-Muslim minorities and a great concession to them but instead of welcoming this move some of them started crying for the moon. The position has undergone a considerable change since the decision of the British Government to bring pressure on the States to come to an understanding with either of the two unions in matters of defence,

communications and foreign policy. The Muslim Conference therefore has demanded that this understanding can and should be made with their closest neighbour, the Pakistan State. Thus the Muslim Conference alone has given a positive lead in this fateful issue. Palace circles continue to make a close secret of their indecision. Mr. Kak is none too sure of his position and waits with baited [*sic* for bated] breath for a sign. The National Conference stands bewildered. They find they had been backing the wrong horse like the Khan Brothers in the N. W. F. P. Will they persist in their folly? It is idle to speculate over their next move, but I would hazard a guess. Sh. Mohammad Abdullah has something of the dramatic in him. He loves to spring surprises. His Quit Kashmir³ was such a surprise. He might spring one yet. He might steal a march over his political opponents and declare for an amalgamation of Kashmir with Pakistan and sweep the supporters of "maximum independence" off their feet. There is no other way left for him to retain his hold on the masses. He would certainly like out-Heroding Herod.⁴

IS INDEPENDENCE A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION?

Internal independence is a practical proposition for Kashmir. She is a solvent State and has been so for ages. She would have a favourable trade balance and she has the raw materials and water-power to build up big industry. She has also great mineral wealth and several untapped sources of revenue. She needs only a small but compact army for police duty. Defence is no longer a national but an international concern and it would not be inconsistent with the sovereignty of any State to have a co-ordination of its defence with a strong neighbour.

But I am straying off my path. The point I wanted to make was simply this that while Provinces and States are putting their houses in order we in Kashmir are reading horoscopes at the feet of *gurus* and *swamis*. Kashmir still gropes for her destiny.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 8 August 1947

²See Appendix VII. 6, Vol. III, 973-4. However, the fierce opposition of Congress to the independence of any Indian State persuaded the Muslim Conference that the State "must accede to Pakistan", see Appendix VII. 12, *ibid.*, 981-2.

³See No. 128, Vol. I, Part I, note 3, 253.

⁴Herod was a Roman King of Judea known for his cruelty. Obviously here it implies that Sheikh Abdullah would even be worse than Hari Singh—the Dogra Maharaja.

Annex II to Appendix VII. 15
Wilfred Webb to George Abell¹

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/94

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

No. 86.

[SRINAGAR,]

13 August 1947

Your telegram No. 3352-S of Aug. 12th.² Kak asked for permission to retire as he felt he had lost confidence of Ruler who he found had been corresponding with Congress through other channels. I believe break came because of indecision of His Highness to make up his mind either to join one or other Dominion, or in peculiar circumstances for Kashmir to come into the open and ask for agreements with both. His Highness, Dogras and Hindu communities incline towards India but bulk of population are Muslim and if consulted would probably favour Pakistan especially Mirpur, Poonch and Muzaffarabad area. Kak although Hindu clearly saw implication and felt that if Kashmir joined either Dominion especially India it would mean serious trouble.

2. Kak further was advising His Highness he must fix his Privy Purse and that autocracy must gradually give place to democracy. Kak unfortunately had his shortcomings in that he placed his brothers in the way of good business while Prime Minister thus benefiting whole family. His Highness's letter accepting his request for retirement stated that he had lost confidence of people.

3. I saw new Prime Minister yesterday, and he is aware of the situation and although inclining towards India as a Hindu, realises bulk of Muslims will not accept decision. He therefore wishes for agreements with both. Kashmir Government issued Statement³ last night that they welcome standstill agreements pending further negotiations with both Dominions. From this Press note it is apparent that they are not likely to join either Dominion at present.

4. Kashmir Government are in grave dilemma as a decision to join either Dominion will result in serious trouble that might also have repercussions outside State.

¹No. 456, TP, XII, 696-7.

²This telegram was in compliance with Mountbatten's Minute in Appendix VII. 15.

³Appendix VII. 18.

*Annex III to Appendix VII. 15
Margaret Kak to Stafford Cripps*

PRO, Cab 127/113

15 DENMAN DRIVE, HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB,
LONDON, N.W.11,
16 October 1948

Dear Sir Stafford,

[Para 1 omitted]

[2.] He [Pandit Ramachandra Kak, the then Prime Minister of Kashmir] resigned office at the beginning of August 1947. His resignation was brought about by two sections of people whose ultimate aims were distinct, though their immediate object, the removal from office of the Prime Minister, and the substitution of one more amenable to influence from without, was common to both.

[3.] In the summer of 1947, the first section was in the ascendant. It was headed by Swami Sant Dev,¹ a *Saddhu* of great age and undoubted shrewdness, who had attained a position of great influence in the Palace. He exhorted His Highness to rule as his ancestor, Gulab Singh, had ruled and encouraged the Dogra Rajput community to re-assume the position of pre-eminence which he believed to be their birthright. He also encouraged the idea of a confederation of Himalayan States, of which the Jammu & Kashmir State was to form the nucleus. In all these designs, he was to be the power behind the throne.

[4.] The second section consisted of those who wished immediately to accede to India, and who considered the State administration was strong enough to carry through such accession without any adverse effect on its unity or composition.

[5.] The then Prime Minister was an obstacle to both sections.² He realized that the dreams of the reactionaries, apart from their injustice, were utterly impossible, and he believed with entire conviction that to accede to either Dominion at that moment would precipitate a crisis which would lead to the breaking up of the State, since its inception, an artificial unit, into its component parts.

[6.] Both sections wished to take advantage of the other's opposition to the administration, and in the intrigues which led to my husband's resignation, both participated. A point then arose when he was forced to ask His Highness either to permit him to retire, or to declare full confidence in the policy the Prime Minister thought right and to put an end to the intrigues which had been brought to light without any possibility of challenge.

[7.] From this point, the politics of Kashmir cease[d] to concern my husband or his family, but in support of the truth of the assertion that two distinct sections were concerned in bringing about his resignation, it may be pointed out that contrary to all expectations, no change in policy was made by His Highness's Government after August 11th until the incursion of the Pathans at the end of October forced His Highness's hand, and caused him to accede to India and release the National Conference prisoners.

But that such policy was ineffective unless supported by administrative efficiency, justice and integrity of purpose was amply demonstrated by the revolt in Poonch and the sharp deterioration in the morale and general conditions of the State which followed immediately on the resignation of the Prime Minister, the installation of favourites in key positions and the sending away of such high officers as the Chief of the Military Staff, the Inspector General of Police and various Ministers.

[8.] The story of the treatment my husband has received since his retirement is as follows. On August 12th we went up to Gulmarg for a month's holiday, intending to make arrangements to travel to England in the autumn on a holiday visit to my people whom I had not seen for ten years.

[9.] While we were still in Gulmarg, we heard of trouble in Poonch and tension in Srinagar. It was no doubt in view of this unsatisfactory state of affairs that it was felt necessary to find material to justify the change of Prime Minister at such a critical time. His Highness's letter of August 11th¹ permitting my husband to retire was cordial, but by the end of August rumours reached us that frantic efforts were being made to explore every possible avenue, which might lead to the possibility of charges being made against my husband.

Enquiries and investigations were being carried on, not through official channels, but by private persons who nonetheless were allowed to make use of the services of Government officials and to call for Government records.

[Paras 10 to 20 omitted]

Yours very sincerely,
MARGARET KAK

¹See Annex I to Appendix VII. 15.

²On 14 July 1947, Ramdhar, General Secretary, AICC, informed Vallabhbhai Patel from Srinagar that the Maharaja had given his word that "Kak to go as soon as possible". See Durga Das, ed., *Sardar Patel's Correspondence*, Vol. I, *New Light on Kashmir*, 1971, 35.

³Not traced.

VII. 16

Louis Mountbatten to Nizam of Hyderabad¹
Mountbatten Papers

12 August 1947

I have received Your Exalted Highness' letter of 8th August 1947² in which you offer to negotiate with the Dominion of India for a treaty in which you would make provision for the conduct of Hyderabad's foreign policy in general conformity with that of the Dominion of India and for the contribution of troops to the defence of the Dominion and for suitable agreements about Communications. I recognise Your Exalted Highness' special problems in Hyderabad and your willingness to co-operate with the Dominion of India in these three essential fields. As you know, the anxiety of the Dominion is to achieve stability which they feel cannot be adequately secured unless all the States which are situated within their borders are prepared to come into organic union with them. I myself, as I have told Your Negotiating Committee and your Adviser, believe that accession to the Union would be to the mutual advantage of the Dominion and your State.³ But I fully understand your difficulties and I have no wish to hurry you to a decision. In the circumstances, although I shall cease to be Crown Representative on the 15th August, I have secured the assent of those who will be responsible for the Government of the Dominion to my continuing negotiations with Your Exalted Highness for a further period of two months, during which I hope we shall be able to reconcile our views.⁴ During this period the offer to accede on the terms which I have already proposed will (as a special exception) remain open in the case of Hyderabad.

[*Paras 2 & 3 omitted*]

¹No. 440, *TP*, XII, 679-80.

²See Appendix VII. 13, note 2.

³See Annexure I to Enclosure to No. 178, Vol. III, 440-52.

⁴See No. 385, *TP*, XII, para 18, 594.

VII. 17

Nizam of Hyderabad to Louis Mountbatten¹
Mountbatten Papers

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
 14 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am grateful for Your Excellency's letter of the 12th August 1947² which was delivered to me by Sir Walter Monckton. I have had a long talk with Sir Walter³ on the subject. It is a source of satisfaction to me that Your Excellency appreciates my readiness to co-operate with the Dominion of India in the three essential fields of External Affairs, Defence and Communications. I am also glad to see from your letter that there is no intention to interfere with the existing administrative arrangements or to disturb the *status quo* in Berar.

2. I know that Your Excellency will have understood from my letter of the 8th August 1947⁴ that I am not prepared to execute an Instrument of Accession. At the same time, I share your Excellency's wish to find a solution satisfactory to us all and I hope that continuance of negotiations will produce this result.

Yours sincerely,
 MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

¹No. 474, TP, XII, 721-2.

²Appendix VII. 16.

³See Appendix VII. 14, note 3. Monckton had another round of talks with Mountbatten on 11 August. Also see No. 434, TP, XII, 669-71.

⁴See Appendix VII. 13, note 2.

VII. 18

KASHMIR NOT TO JOIN ANY DOMINION¹
 State Will Welcome Standstill Arrangements

SRINAGAR, Aug. 14: A communique says: "The Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir² has wired to the States Relations Departments of India and Pakistan to say that the Jammu and Kashmir Government will welcome standstill arrangements with them on all matters on which these exist at present with the outgoing Indian Government. It has been suggested that existing arrangements should continue pending

settlement of details and formal execution of fresh agreements.³—APA.

¹*Civil & Military Gazette*, 15 August 1947. Also see Annex II to Appendix VII. 15.

²Janak Singh.

³Gandhi had earlier stated that "the will of the Kashmiris should decide the fate of Kashmir and Jammu." See Annex.

Annex to Appendix VII.18

KASHMIR WILL HAVE TO JOIN EITHER INDIA OR PAKISTAN¹

WAH, Aug. 6: Addressing his prayer gathering which consisted mostly of refugees living at the camp, Mr. Gandhi said, he was glad he had been able to visit the camp and see the patients in the hospital and keep other appointments in connection with his visit to the camp.

He had made up his mind not to hold any public meetings or address them but he was able to see the workers. He was also able to see the Maharaja Saheb and the Maharani Saheba and Prime Minister Kak Saheb.² He was sorry he was not able to see Sheikh Abdullah Saheb who was undoubtedly the leader of the Kashmiris.

He could say that on August 15, all being well, legally the State of Kashmir and Jammu would be independent. But he was sure that the State would not remain in that condition for long after August 15. It had to join either the Union or Pakistan. British paramountcy would terminate on August 15 and real paramountcy would then commence.

Mr. Gandhi referred to the paramountcy of the Kashmiris. They had one language, one culture and so far as he could see, they were one people. He could not distinguish readily between a Kashmiri Hindu and a Kashmiri Muslim.

He had the good fortune to read what was euphemistically called the Treaty of Amritsar, but which in reality was a deed of sale. He supposed it would be dead on August 15. The seller was the then British Governor-General and Maharaja Gulab Singh, the buyer. The treaty going, would the State revert to the British and therefore to England? If to India to which party?

He held that without going into the intricacies of law which he had no right to dilate upon, commonsense dictated that the will of the Kashmiris should decide the fate of Kashmir and Jammu. He hoped that the question would be decided between the two dominions, the Maharaja Saheb and the Kashmiris. If the four could come to a joint decision much trouble would be saved. After all Kashmir was a big state, it had the greatest strategic value perhaps all over India.—API.

¹*The Pakistan Times*, 7 August 1947.

²See Appendix VII. 6, note 3.

APPENDIX VIII

STATEMENTS BY M. A. JINNAH DURING THE PERIOD
26 JULY TO 14 AUGUST 1947

VIII. 1

JINNAH ASSURES SUPPORT TO INDONESIA¹

Pakistan Will Consider Dutch Attack An Unfriendly Act

NEW DELHI, July 26: Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General designate of Pakistan, today expressed deep sympathy for the people of Indonesia and assured Dr. Sultan Shahriar² that Muslim India and Pakistan would support Indonesia in every possible way in their resistance "against this uncalled for and sudden onslaught on the people of Indonesia by the Armed Forces of Holland".³

Mr. Jinnah issued the following statement after Dr. Shahriar called on him this afternoon:

I was very glad to see Dr. Shahriar today and I understand from him that the Dutch Government have committed a flagrant breach of the solemn agreement⁴ which provided that in the event of any difference of opinion or dispute, the matter must be referred to arbitration.

The action of the Dutch Government in declaring war against Indonesia, ignoring the arbitration clause and their resort to attack with Armed Forces, I am sure, will not be tolerated by the civilized nations of the world. Muslim India and Pakistan will consider this as an unfriendly act on the part of the Government of Holland which is calculated to crush the freedom of the new democratic Muslim nation of Indonesia. I am sure no right-thinking man and freedom-loving nation can approve of this unjustifiable act on the part of the Government of Holland, particularly democracies of the United States and the United Kingdom.

Our deep sympathies go to the people of Indonesia and I have assured Dr. Shahriar, as their representative, that we deeply sympathise with them and will support them in every way that is possible for us in their resistance against this uncalled for and sudden onslaught on the people of Indonesia by the Armed Forces of Holland.⁵ —API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 27 July 1947

²First Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic. During his visit to New Delhi he stayed with Nehru. See No. 302, TP, XII, para 42, 452.

³On 20 July, following the breakdown of talks between them for a cease-fire and for a joint constabulary, the Dutch armed forces resumed hostilities against the Indonesian people. See the *Pakistan Times*, 22 July 1947.

⁴Refers to the Linggadjati Agreement. See No. 138, Vol. I, Part I, note 4, 265.

⁵Also see No. 225, Vol. III, 648.

VIII. 2

NO FORCING OF LEADERS ON ASSEMBLY PARTIES¹

Jinnah's Appeal To Elect Right Men And Work As A Team

NEW DELHI, July 28: Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement:

There is a great deal of misapprehension that I am directly or indirectly trying to force leaders on the Muslim League Assembly Parties of the Punjab and Bengal, respectively, and some interested parties are using my name as to what my wishes are regarding who should be the Leader.

I, therefore, wish to make it quite clear that I have expressed no preference or desire to support any one as the leader of the Muslim League Parties, either in the Punjab or in Bengal. It is entirely the responsibility of the Assembly Parties and they should freely and fairly choose their leaders, whom they consider best.

ELECT RIGHT MEN

I understand that the dates for the Party meetings have already been fixed and I hope that they will elect the right men who will guide them and serve them selflessly and wholeheartedly. Whoever may be elected as Leader as the final result of a contest,² if any, the defeated candidate and his supporters must, in the interest of Musalmans and discipline, and in order to work as a team, remain loyal to the Leader that may be chosen finally by the Party, as long as he remains the Leader of the Party. They must give him the fullest co-operation and support in the discharge of his responsibilities and it is only thus that we will make the building of Pakistan, as one of the greatest States in the world, successfully.—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 29 July 1947.

²Mamdot was unanimously elected Leader of the West Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party while Noon withdrew his candidature from the contest. In the East Bengal Muslim League Assembly Party, Khwaja Nazimuddin was elected as Leader on 5 August 1947. See the *Pakistan Times*, 6 August 1947. Also see No. 254, Vol. II, 500-3 and No. 80.

VIII. 3

LEAGUE WILL NOT COERCE ANY STATE, SAYS JINNAH¹

NEW DELHI, July 30: In a statement issued to-day, Mr. M. A. Jinnah reiterates that the Muslim League has no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular course of action.²

I have been asked from certain quarters to indicate what the attitude of the new Pakistan Government is likely to be, in respect of the Indian States on the lapse of Paramountcy, says Mr. Jinnah.

I thought I had already made the position perfectly clear. The legal position is that with the lapse of Paramountcy on the transfer of power by the British, all Indian States would automatically regain their full sovereign and independent status. They are, therefore, free to join either of the two Dominions or to remain independent.

The Muslim League recognises the right of each State to choose its destiny. It has no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular course of action.

Should a State desire to join the Pakistan Dominion or enter into any understanding or a treaty, the Negotiating Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly when set up, or the representatives of the Government of Pakistan as the case may be, will be glad to negotiate the terms on which such association can be brought about. While it is desirable to conclude such negotiations quickly no definite time-limit can obviously be placed on their completion, as this will, in my opinion, amount to interference with the States' freedom of choice.

Meanwhile there is already a provision for a Standstill Agreement³ to fill up any void that may arise in the administrative field. This Standstill Agreement would take care of the immediate problems that may result from the lapse of Paramountcy.—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 31 July 1947.

²See Annex to No. 144, Vol. II, 316-7.

³See Appendix to Annexure II to No. 83, Vol. II, 158-9. Also see No. 198, *TP*, XI, 385-6, and Annex II to Appendix VII. 9.

VIII. 4

TRIBESMEN URGED TO JOIN PAKISTAN¹

Independence Will Be Respected, Says Mr. Jinnah

NEW DELHI, July 30: Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General designate of Pakistan, in a statement appeals to all the different elements in the Frontier Province and in the Tribal Areas to forget past disputes and differences and join hands with the Government of Pakistan in setting up a truly democratic Islamic State.

He assures the tribesmen that Pakistan would like to continue treaties, agreements and allowances until new arrangements were negotiated.

Mr. Jinnah says: The result of the referendum² in the North-West Frontier Province has shown that an absolute majority of the Pathans

is desirous of joining the Pakistan Dominion. The result, which was never in doubt, has been received with considerable satisfaction by the Muslim nation.

Now that all the referendums are over, we can start building the Pakistan Dominion.

So far as the Pathans in the Frontier Province are concerned, I have no doubt that they will enjoy in Pakistan the fullest freedom to develop their social, cultural and political institutions. They will have the same self-government as any other part or province of Pakistan.

As regards the Tribal Areas, I am very happy to acknowledge the great support they have freely given to their fellow Muslims in their demand for their own independent State. I wish to assure them on behalf of the Provisional Government of Pakistan¹ that we would like to continue after August 15 all the treaties, agreements and allowances until such time as the representatives of the tribesmen and of the Pakistan Government have met and negotiated new arrangements.

The Government of Pakistan have no desire whatsoever to interfere in any way with the traditional independence of the Tribal Areas.² On the contrary, we feel as a Muslim State, we can always count on active support and sympathy of the tribes.

We have every intention and desire to have most friendly relations with the Government of Afghanistan, our immediate neighbour, and other Muslim countries where before long we hope to have our own diplomatic and commercial representatives.

In the end, I would appeal to all the different elements in the Frontier Province and in the Tribal Areas to forget past disputes and differences and join hands with the Government of Pakistan in setting up a truly democratic Islamic State.—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 31 July 1947.

²Enclosure to Annex III to No. 79, Vol. III, 199-200.

³The details of the Provisional Government of Pakistan were released in a communique issued on 8 July 1947. See *IOR, R/3/1/160*. Also see Vol. III, xxxiv.

⁴See Nos. 336 and 349, *TP*, XII, 509-10 and 542-3, respectively.

VIII. 5

QUAID-I-AZAM REGRETS EXPLOITATION OF HIS NAME IN ELECTIONS¹

NEW DELHI, July 31: Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a statement issued today, says:

Pirzada Abdus Sattar, one of the Sind Ministers, saw me yesterday and informed me that my name is being used and it is being alleged that I have preference for someone to be the Leader of the Muslim

League Assembly Party. On the contrary, I have made it quite clear that it is the responsibility of the Party in the Legislature to choose its own Leader. I have made that clear already in the case of the Punjab and Bengal recently² and I regret that my name should have been or should be exploited by any one. This attitude of mine will be strictly adhered to in the case of Sind also and I will advise every Province where a Muslim League Party in the Legislature has been formed to choose their Leader independently, freely and fairly.

If there are any statements made or rumours circulated, I wish to say that there is absolutely no foundation for them. The Sind Assembly Muslim League Party³ is free to elect its Leader and the office-bearers of the Party whom they think best.—API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 1 August 1947.

²Appendix VIII. 2.

³See Appendix XIII. 16 and 17, Vol. I, Part II, 626-8.

VIII. 6

LET US START AFRESH AS TWO SOVEREIGN STATES¹ Jinnah's Message To Hindustan

NEW DELHI, Aug[ust] 7: "I wish Hindustan prosperity and peace." says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General designate, in a statement on the eve of his departure for Karachi.

He says: I am grateful to all our friends and those who have sent me their kind messages of greetings and good wishes on the establishment of Pakistan. I wish I could reply to every one of them individually, but having regard to the fact that I have received thousands of messages I am unable to do so and hope that they will excuse me, as it was impossible to acknowledge every message separately owing to the enormous pressure of work that we had to meet and give effect to the big issues involved in the division of India.

I bid farewell to the citizens of Delhi, amongst whom I had many friends of all communities and I earnestly appeal to every one to live in this great and historic city with peace. The past must be buried and let us start afresh as two independent sovereign States of Hindustan and Pakistan. I wish Hindustan prosperity and peace.

The time and place of Mr. Jinnah's departure from Delhi was secret, and the Viceroy's Dakota, in which he flew, took off from Palam airfield an hour and a quarter before the scheduled time.

Mr. Khurshid² will leave for Karachi on Saturday.

Mr. Jinnah was seen off by Colonel Currie, Military Secretary to the Viceroy, the Iranian Consul-General,³ and a few personal friends.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 8 August 1947.

²Private Secretary to Quaid-i-Azam.

³A. Motamedy.

VIII. 7

SPEECH BY QAUID-I-AZAM AT A DINNER PARTY GIVEN BY
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH AT THE KARACHI CLUB¹

[KARACHI,
9 August 1947]

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY DAYS

"Yes, I am Karachi-born, and it was on the sands of Karachi that I played marbles in my boyhood. I was schooled at Karachi", proudly declared the Quaid-i-Azam.

The Quaid-i-Azam said that he then found himself in London from where after passing law he returned to India. He was undecided what to do. But fate took him to Bombay, where he waited and waited for a long time for a brief. At last he got a brief. He went on in his own way not knowing what fate had in store for him. He now found himself in Karachi and was glad to be here.

The Quaid-i-Azam asserted that the new sovereign State of Pakistan which had been won by peaceful methods and without shedding a single drop of blood afforded him some satisfaction. In the course of his arduous work in that connection, it was the masses who came to him instinctively to help him and the intelligentsia came last.

The achievement was without parallel in history. He accepted the Governor-Generalship of the Dominion because he knew he was not the agent of an alien power but was the chosen representative of the people.

Continuing, the Quaid-i-Azam adverted to what he characterized as the sacred duty cast upon them for solving the problem of poverty of the people. He was no believer in the mission of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The task was difficult of course but they

must make earnest efforts to promote the interests of the masses without necessarily disturbing the equilibrium in the bargain. "We must be just to both," he added.

Adverting to the minority question, the Quaid-i-Azam declared that he was no believer in formulae and paper resolutions. They were capable of being interpreted and misinterpreted.

"Let us trust each other," roared the Governor-General designate and added, "let us judge by results, not by theories. With the help of every section—I see that every class is represented in this huge gathering—let us work in double shift if necessary to make the Sovereign State of Pakistan really happy, really united and really powerful."

Concluding, the Quaid-i-Azam acknowledged with gratitude the kind words said of his sister by the host of the evening. "Miss Fatima Jinnah is a constant source of help and encouragement to me." He revealed that, "in the days when I was expecting to be taken as a prisoner by the British Government, it was my sister who encouraged me, and said hopeful things when revolution was staring me in the face. Her constant care is about my health." He was gratified by the good words said of by her [sic] Mr. Ghulam Hussain to whom he expressed his thanks for his hospitality.

¹Jamil-ul-Din Ahmad, ed., *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, 1964, 397-9.

VIII. 8

JINNAH'S ASSURANCE TO TRIBESMEN OF BALUCHISTAN¹

KARACHI, Aug[ust]10: "Now that we have achieved our cherished goal and have started building the Pakistan Dominion, I desire to send my greetings to the tribesmen of Baluchistan and the Dera Ghazi Khan tribal areas. I wish to assure them on behalf of the Government of Pakistan that, after August 15, 1947, all agreements and allowances will continue until such time as the tribes can be consulted.²

"Till then there will be no change whatever in the laws governing Baluchistan and no interference with *riwaj* will be allowed.

"The tribes of Baluchistan have declared³ their firm resolve to enter the Pakistan Dominion and in that Muslim State they will receive welcome and help to prosperity and progress".— API.

¹The *Pakistan Times*, 13 August 1947.

²Also see Appendix VIII. 4.

³See Appendix VI. 1, para 15, Vol. III, 943.

APPENDIX IX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

The 3 June Plan provided for a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan. The venue of the inaugural session of the Assembly had, accordingly, to be decided upon. The Viceroy, whom Jinnah had sounded out, thought "Delhi would be the most convenient place".¹ Jinnah thought otherwise and wondered if Congress would agree to the Pakistan Assembly meeting in the Legislative Assembly Chamber at New Delhi. The Congress leaders, as foreseen by Jinnah, did not agree,² leaving the ML with no option but to hold the session at Karachi.

The Indian Independence Bill³ having become Act on 18 July 1947, the Viceroy announced the setting up of Pakistan Constituent Assembly,⁴ which met on 10 August in the Sind Assembly Chamber. Liaquat Ali Khan proposed, and Khwaja Nazimuddin seconded, that Jogendra Nath Mandal, a member of the scheduled caste, be elected temporary Chairman. On being elected, Mandal in his address, hoped that the new State "will bring to one and all of her citizens prosperity, happiness and peace". He declared that Pakistan "will be one of the most powerful, resourceful and magnificent States of the world".⁵ The Assembly also provisionally adopted Central Legislative Assembly rules and standing orders as well as rules for election of its President.

At the meeting of the Assembly held on 11 August, Jinnah was unanimously elected President. Following his address, on Liaquat Ali Khan's motion, the Assembly adopted the Pakistan Flag. A resolution for constituting committees to negotiate with representatives of the States and Tribal and Excluded Areas was also passed.

On 12 August, the Assembly adopted a resolution to constitute a Committee on Fundamental Rights and Minorities. The Assembly also resolved that the Governor-General designate be addressed as Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The President then nominated a Panel of Chairmen.

On 14 August, Mountbatten addressed⁶ the Assembly and conveyed the King's message of "greetings and warmest wishes". The Viceroy had earlier insisted on occupying "the seat of honour" on the plea that "the position of ... representative of the King" had to be safeguarded by him.⁷ Accordingly, two chairs were placed on the dais, the Viceroy sitting to the right of the President. Replying to Mountbatten's address, Jinnah pledged "to work for the welfare and well-being of all the communities".⁸

The official publication titled *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates* relating to the session in question already being available, only extracts from it pertaining to Jinnah have been included in this Appendix.

¹Appendix IX. 5, Vol. II, 924.

²See No. 255, *ibid.*, 504-5.

³Enclosure 1 to No. 1, Vol. III, 2-25.

⁴See No. 232, *ibid.*, 674-7.

⁵Also see Appendix IX. 1, note 1.

⁶See Annex to No. 257.

⁷See No. 174.

⁸See No. 257.

IX. 1

Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, KARACHI,
10 August 1947

Item 1

ELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

[*Not printed*]¹

Item 2

CHAIRMAN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

[*2 paras omitted*]

Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot help expressing on this momentous occasion my gratitude and admiration and the gratitude and admiration of the Muslims of India towards Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the great creator and architect of the State of Pakistan. I have every confidence that under his able leadership, under his astute statesmanship and through his untiring devotion to the cause of Pakistan, all prosperity and happiness will come to the people of Pakistan. It is needless for me to reiterate that the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, is the greatest statesman and one of the greatest men of the world today.

Today, gentlemen, it gives me much pleasure to declare that the election as Chairman of a member from a minority community augurs very well with the creation of Pakistan, because Pakistan today is the result of persistent and legitimate demand of the minority community, namely, Muslims of India....

[4 paras omitted]

[JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL
Chairman]

Item 3

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS AND SIGNING OF THE REGISTER²

Ladies and gentlemen, I would now request you to present your credentials to the Secretary³ who will call out your names one by one and sign the Roll.

[3 paras omitted]

[JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL
Chairman]

[After Jogendra Nath Mandal presented his credential and signed his name in the Register, the following members also presented their credentials and signed their names in the Register:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Liaquat Ali Khan
Abdulla-al Mahmood
Khwaja Nazimuddin
H. S. Suhrawardy
Kiran Sankar Roy
Nurul Amin
Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani
A. K. Fazlul Huq
Hamidul Huq Chowdhury
Abdul Hamid
Tamizuddin Khan
M. A. H. Ispahani
Dhirendra Nath Datta
Prem Hari Barma
Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty
Prof. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi
Maulana M[ohamma]d Abdullah-el Baqui
Khwaja Shahabuddin

Abul Masud Abdul Hamid
Azizuddin Ahmad
Ghyasuddin Pathan
Mafizuddin Ahmad
Dr Mahmud Husain
Dr A. M. Malik
Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya
Bhupendra Kumar Datta
Jnanendra Chandra Majumdar
Birat Chandra Mandal
Murtaza Raza Choudhury
Muhammad Habibullah Bahar
Nur Ahmed
Abul Kasem Khan
D[hananjoy] Roy
Sachindra Narayan Sanyal
Harendra Kumar Sur
Bhim Sen Sachar
Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan [Mamdot]
Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar
Ghazanfar Ali Khan
Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz
Malik Mohammad Firoz Khan Noon
Ganga Saran
Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din
Lala Avatar Narayan Gujral
Dr Umar Hayat Malik
Sheikh Karamat Ali
Nazir Ahmad Khan
Khan Sardar Bhadur Khan
M. A. Khuhro
Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rehman
Muhammad Hashim Gazder
Sardar Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezi]

Item 4

PROVISIONAL ADOPTION OF CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
RULES AND STANDING ORDERS

[Not printed]⁴

*Item 5*CONFIRMATION OF THE EXISTING ORGANIZATION OF THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT[Not printed]⁵*Item 6*RULES FOR THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY[Not printed]⁶*Item 7*RESOLUTION REGARDING NOMINATION OF A PANEL OF CHAIR-
MEN[Not printed]⁷⁵*Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Official Report, Vol. I, Karachi, 1947, 1, hereafter referred to as Debates.*⁶Out of 69 members elected to Pakistan Constituent Assembly only 58 attended the first session.⁷M. B. Ahmad.⁴⁷*Debates, 5-10.*

IX. 2

*Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan*ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, KARACHI,
11 August 1947*Item 1*

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS AND SIGNING OF THE REGISTER

I request those Members who have not presented their credentials and signed the Roll to present their credentials to the Secretary and sign the Roll.

[JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL
Chairman]

The following Members then presented their credentials and signed their names in the Register:

Fazlur Rahman – *East Bengal, Muslim*
 Mohammed Ali – *East Bengal, Muslim*
 Abdul Matin Chaudhary – *Sylhet, Muslim*
 Akshay Kumar Das – *Sylhet, General*

Item 2

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

In compliance with the provisions of paragraph 2¹ of the Resolution regarding the procedure for the election of the President, passed by the Assembly on the 10th August 1947, I have to announce to Honourable Members that 7 nomination papers duly filled in have been received by the Secretary nominating Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah for the office.

The names of the proposers and seconders are as follows:

Proposers

1. Ghyasuddin Pathan
2. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury
3. Abul Kasem Khan
4. Liaquat Ali Khan
5. Khwaja Nazimuddin
6. M. A. Khuhro
7. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani

Seconders

1. Abdulla-al Mahmood
2. Muhammad Habibullah Bahar
3. Nur Ahmed
4. Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar
5. Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan [Mamdot]
6. Sardar Bahadur Khan
7. Ghazanfar Ali Khan

All nomination papers are valid, and as there is no other candidate, I hereby declare Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as the duly elected President of the Constituent Assembly.

I would now request the President to take the chair.

[JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL
Chairman]

(Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah accompanied by Liaquat Ali

Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar went up to the dais and occupied the chair amidst loud applause).

Item 3

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. President, Sir. It is with the greatest pride that I rise to congratulate you on your election as the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Sir, you have been rightly described as the Architect of Pakistan, and what greater fortune could we have than to have you as the President of this Sovereign Body, to build the State which we have got through your devotion, untiring zeal, selfless service and unshakable determination.

Sir, as one who had the privilege of working with you in close association for over 11 years I can say with truthfulness and honesty that the achievement of the State of Pakistan is mainly, if not entirely, due to your services. It is indeed an unparalleled event in the history of the world that without bloodshed, without going through a bloody revolution, a State which is the fifth largest in the world, should come into existence. Sir, I know that we really are most fortunate that we will continue to have your guidance, and your assistance in building up the structure of the future State of Pakistan. Sir, it is not only that you are elected as the President of this Sovereign Constituent Assembly, but you will be having a dual capacity of not only being head of the Assembly, but also head of the State. I am confident that you would, while discharging your onerous duty, be always guided by that intellectual honesty which you possess. I have never found you wavering even in the most difficult circumstances and I am sure that it augurs well for the future State of Pakistan that we will have as its builder, the Architect who designed this State, which is the fifth largest in the world.

[ILIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

Mr. President, on behalf of the Congress Party in this Assembly, I offer our most sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as the President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Mr. President, in your most amazing career, one of the most brilliant that any Indian had, if I may say so without seeming to be patronising, you have received, Sir, ... you have received many tokens of affection. You have had triumphs in many spheres of life and when we compare all your achievements with the honour that this House is conferring on you, it may seem to be not very important. But, Sir, I for

one, congratulate you for having agreed to accept the Presidentship of this House. It is a wise decision. You who have been the dreamer of Pakistan, now that your dream has been realised, should, as my friend Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said, be the architect of its constitution. You should now have the opportunity and the privilege of giving shape to your dream.

As far as we are concerned, Sir, if the Pakistan which you have in your mind means a secular democratic State, a State which will make no difference between a citizen and a citizen, which will deal fairly with all irrespective of caste, creed or community, I assure you that you shall have our utmost co-operation.

[KIRAN SANKAR ROY]

[*Remaining paras omitted*]

Item 4

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Ladies and gentlemen, I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me—the greatest honour that it is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer—by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete Sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of a revolution of the greatest possible character.

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any

well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasise is this—remember that you are now a Sovereign legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this. You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

The second thing that occurs to me is this. One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering—I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think, our condition is much worse—is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. According to our judicial notions sentences are passed, and sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black-marketeers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of food-stuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

The next thing that strikes me is this. Here again is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things good and bad, has arrived this great evil—the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly brought to bear upon me. Wherever I find that such a practice is in vogue, or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is

unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgment there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct; may be it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the questions of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations there will be no end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities—the Hindu community and the Muslim community—because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalese, Madrasis and so on—will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain its freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; no body could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, no body could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this. Therefore we must learn a lesson from this. You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.² As you know, history shows that in England

conditions some time ago were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even so there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist: what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the nation.

Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair-play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words partiality or favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.

[M. A. JINNAH]

Item 5

MESSAGES OF GOODWILL FROM COUNTRIES ABROAD
[READ OUT BY THE PRESIDENT]

I have received a message from the United States of America³ addressed to me. It reads:

On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan I extend to you and to members of the Assembly the best wishes of the Government and people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake.

I am confident that the constitution you will present to the people of

Pakistan and to the world will reflect the steadfast devotion of the leaders of Pakistan to the principles of democracy and peace, and that it will serve as a living charter upon which may be based the political, social and economic progress of the people of your new nation. Your deliberations are being watched with deepest interest by the people of the United States and by freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

Here is another message from Australia:

The Australian Government sends its greetings and best wishes to the President and Members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on the occasion of the inaugural meeting of the Assembly.

It is the confident hope of the Australian Government that the attainment of statehood by Pakistan will be marked by increasing prosperity and happiness of its citizens and by a valuable addition to the influence for peace and progress in the community of nations.

Item 6

RESOLUTION REGARDING NATIONAL FLAG OF THE FEDERATION OF PAKISTAN

[Extract]

Sir, I beg to move:

That this Assembly resolves that the National Flag of the Federation of Pakistan be of the following description:

A dark green rectangular flag in the proportion of length to width 3 : 2 with a white vertical bar at the mast, the green portion bearing a white crescent in the centre and a five pointed white heraldic star.

The size of the white portion being one-fourth the size of the flag, nearest the mast, the remainder three-fourths being dark green. The dimensions of the crescent and star are obtained as follows:

Draw the diagonal from the top right hand corner to the bottom left corner of the green portion. On this diagonal establish two points—"A" and "B". Point "A" at a distance equidistant from top right and bottom left hand corners of the green portion, i.e. the centre of the green portion. Point "B" at a distance from the top right hand corner equal to $13/20$ th the width of the flag. With centre point "A" and radius $3/10$ th the width of the flag describe[s] the arc of a circle. With centre point "B" and radius $1\frac{1}{4}$ th the width of the flag describe[s] a second arc. The enclosure made by these two arcs forms the crescent. The dimensions of the five pointed white heraldic star are determined by drawing a circle $1/10$ th the width of the flag. The circle surrounds the five points of the heraldic star. The star lies with one point on the diagonal and pointing to the top right hand corner of the flag. The tip of this point lies on the diagonal at a point where the larger arc of the crescent, if completed, cuts the diagonal.

Sir, I have given description of how the National Flag of Pakistan is to be made, and ... (The Honourable Member then unfurled a specimen of the proposed National Flag in the House) ... I have shown to this meeting of the Constituent Assembly the dimensions of the flag and other instructions that are given.

Now, Mr. President, the Flag, it will be noticed, is not the flag of any one political party or any one community. The flag is the Flag of Pakistan Nation, of the Pakistan State which has to come into existence on the 15th of August. Sir, the flag of every nation is not merely a piece of the cloth. It is not really the cloth that matters, but it is what it stands for, and I can say without any fear of contradiction that this Flag which I had the honour to present to this House, will stand for freedom, liberty and equality to those who owe allegiance to this Flag of Pakistan. This Flag will protect the legitimate rights of every citizen. This Flag will protect and defend the integrity of the State. This Flag, Mr. President, I have not the least doubt in my mind, will gain the respect of all the nations of the world, because I am confident that once the Pakistan State is established, once we get an opportunity of working out the destiny of seventy millions of people, we will be able to show to the world at large that although we are a new State, yet we are a state worthy of the seventy millions of Pakistan. We are a State that will play its role honourably in the councils of the world and we will not be a state that will have any desire of conquest. We will be a State that will maintain and help in maintaining the peace throughout the world. We know what are the consequences of exploitation. We have been exploited for the last 200 years and we would be the last people to use our Flag for the purpose of exploiting other nations. Therefore, Mr. President, this Flag will be a flag of freedom not only for the peoples of Pakistan; this Flag will be an emblem of peace to help in maintaining peace throughout the world.

Now, Sir, as I visualise the State of Pakistan, it will be a State where there will be no special privileges, no special rights for any one particular community or any one particular interest. It will be a State where every citizen will have equal rights and equal opportunities. It will be a State where people will have equal privileges and those who demand equal privileges will have to share equally all the obligations of law on the citizens of the State. Therefore, Mr. President, as I said, it is not really the piece of cloth of the Flag that matters. It is not its colouring that matters, but it is what the Flag stands for and I can assure the Honourable House that as constituted, as I visualise the future constitution of Pakistan, it will stand for Freedom, Liberty and

Equality of all the citizens of the Pakistan State and for the integrity and independence of the Pakistan Federation.

[Part omitted]

I propose that these two Flags which have just been approved by the House be placed in the National Museum when that Museum comes into being and in the meantime they should remain in safe custody with the President of the Constituent Assembly.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Mover]

Item 7

RESOLUTION REGARDING APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE TO
REPORT ON THE RULES OF PROCEDURE, ETC.

*[Not printed]*⁴

Item 8

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE COMMITTEE ON THE RULES OF
PROCEDURE, ETC.

*[Not printed]*⁵

Item 9

RESOLUTION REGARDING APPOINTMENT OF
NEGOTIATING COMMITTEES

[Extract]

That this Assembly resolves to authorize the President to set up Committees in such manner as he may from time to time determine for the purpose of negotiating with representatives of Indian States, Tribal Areas, Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas, regarding their participation and representation in the Constituent Assembly.

[ABDUR RAB KHAN NISHTAR
Mover]

Item 10

RESOLUTION REGARDING TEMPORARY FIXATION OF ALLOWANCES OF MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY

*[Not printed]*⁶¹See *Debates*, 8-11.²In telegram No. 61 to the U.S. Secretary of State on 12 August, Charles Lewis, American Charge d'Affaires at Karachi, mentioned that Jinnah had pledged equal rights to the minorities in Pakistan and also affirmed that Pakistan would be a secular state. See *U.S. National Archives* 845, F. 00/8-1247, not printed.³The message from George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, was communicated to Jinnah by Charles W. Lewis, American Consul-General, Karachi.⁴⁵See *Debates*, 29-33.⁶See *ibid.*, 34.

IX. 3

*Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan*ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, KARACHI,
12 August 1947*Item 1*RESOLUTION REGARDING APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE ON
FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS AND
MINORITIES OF PAKISTAN*[2 Paras omitted]*

This Assembly resolves that a committee consisting of the President and the following members, namely:

Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar

Dr Mahmud Husain

Bhim Sen Sachar

M. A. Khuhro

Sheikh Karamat Ali

Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty

Ghazanfar Ali Khan

Prem Hari Barma

Fazlur Rahman

Begum Shah Nawaz

Birat Chandra Mandal

Dr Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi
Abul Kasem Khan
Jogendra Nath Mandal, and
the Mover,

be appointed to advise this Assembly on Fundamental Rights of Citizens of Pakistan and on matters relating to the minorities with power to the President to nominate not more than seven other members who need not be Members of the Constituent Assembly.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Mover]

Item 2

RESOLUTION REGARDING ADDRESSING [THE PRESIDENT]
AS QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

[*Para 1 omitted*]

This Assembly resolves that Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and Governor-General designate of Pakistan be addressed as "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan" in all official Acts, documents, letters and correspondence from August 15, 1947.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Mover]

Item 3

NOMINATION OF THE PANEL OF CHAIRMEN

I have nominated the Panel of Chairmen as follows:

Tamizuddin Khan
Dr Umar Hayat Malik
Sardar Bahadur Khan
Kiran Sanker Roy

Any one of them will preside over the Assembly in my absence when so requested by me.

[M. A. JINNAH
President]

IX. 4

Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, KARACHI,
14 August 1947

Item 1

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S ADDRESS TO THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

[Not printed]¹

Item 2

PRESIDENT'S REPLY

[Not printed]²

¹See Annex to No. 257.

²See No. 257.

Glossary

<i>Aameen</i>	So be it, uttered especially at end of a prayer
<i>Achhuts</i>	Untouchables
<i>Allah</i>	God
<i>Allaho Akbar</i>	God is Great
<i>Amir</i>	Leader
<i>Assalaamo 'Alaikum</i>	Peace be upon you (Muslim salutation)
<i>Ballam</i>	Spear
<i>Bania</i>	Hindu shopkeeper or money lender
<i>Barchhi</i>	Short spear
<i>Bigha</i>	A unit of measurment of land
<i>Bismillah</i>	In the name of God
<i>Charkha</i>	Spinning wheel
<i>Circars</i>	Territory
<i>Darbar</i>	Court
<i>Du'a</i>	Invocation
<i>Faqir</i>	Dervish; beggar
<i>Farman</i>	Royal proclamation or edict
<i>Gaddi</i>	Seat of succession
<i>Goonda</i>	Ruffian
<i>Gur</i>	Lump of unrefined sugar
<i>Hadis (Hadith)</i>	Saying of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)
<i>Haj</i>	Pilgrimage to Makkah performed on eve of 'Id al-Azha
<i>Haji</i>	One who has performed Haj
<i>Hartal</i>	Organized cessation of work as a mark of protest or sorrow
<i>Havaladar</i>	A low rank in Police / Army
<i>Hazangs</i>	Tribesmen; class of people
<i>Hazrat</i>	Venerable
<i>Hina</i>	Ground leaves used for dyeing hair or making colour patterns on palms especially of brides
<i>'Id (Eid)</i>	A Muslim festival
<i>'Id al-Fitr</i>	Muslim festival observed at end of Ramazan

<i>Iftari</i>	Eatables taken to end a fast
<i>'Ilaka ('Ilaqa)</i>	Area
<i>Insha Allah</i>	God willing
<i>'Itr</i>	Indigenous perfume
<i>Jamadar</i>	Junior Commissioned Officer in Army
<i>Jamilulmunaqib</i>	A man of good habits
<i>Janab</i>	Sir
<i>Jatha</i>	Contingent; gang
<i>Jihad</i>	Religious war in Islam
<i>Jirga</i>	Council of tribal elders
<i>Jami'a Masjid</i>	Mosque for saying midday prayers on Friday
<i>Kafir</i>	Infidel
<i>Khal</i>	Water channel
<i>Khalifa</i>	God's vicegerent
<i>Lathi</i>	Baton; truncheon
<i>Mali</i>	Gardener
<i>Malik</i>	Tribal chief
<i>Maroosi (Mauroosi)</i>	Hereditary
<i>Maulana</i>	Muslim religious scholar
<i>Messiah</i>	Saviour
<i>Millat</i>	Nation
<i>Mirasi</i>	A minstrel
<i>Mohallah</i>	Sector
<i>Mohtarma</i>	Respectable
<i>Mubarak</i>	Congratulation
<i>Mufti</i>	Plain clothes worn by a member of a uniformed force; A Muslim legal expert
<i>Mujahid</i>	Muslim warrior in defence of his faith
<i>Mujtahid</i>	One who after deep thought solves a problem involving interpretation of Islamic Law
<i>Mullah</i>	Muslim preacher
<i>Musahib</i>	Companion
<i>Naib Salar</i>	Second in command
<i>Nara-i-Takbir</i>	Exclamation acknowledging greatness of God

<i>Naunehalan</i>	The youth
<i>Panchayat</i>	Village council
<i>Patwari</i>	Keeper of agricultural land record
<i>Peshkashi</i>	Tribute
<i>Pie</i>	Coin of minuscule value (no more in circulation)
<i>Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu</i>	The mercy of God and His blessings
<i>Ramazani (Ramadan)</i>	Islamic month of fasting
<i>Rasool</i>	Messenger (Prophet)
<i>Sahib</i>	Master; respectful form of address
<i>Sahibzada</i>	Son
<i>Sajjada Nasheen</i>	Hereditary head of a shrine
<i>Salaam</i>	Salutation
<i>Salaam Masnoon</i>	Traditional Muslim salutation
<i>Salamat</i>	Safe; secure
<i>Sardar</i>	Chief
<i>Sehri</i>	Eatables taken to start a fast
<i>Shaheed</i>	Martyr
<i>Shahinshah-i-Pakistan</i>	Emperor of Pakistan
<i>Shari'at</i>	Code of Islamic Law
<i>Shree</i>	Mister
<i>Taluka</i>	Estate; agricultural unit
<i>Talukadar</i>	Landlord
<i>Tehsildar</i>	Official of Revenue Dept.
<i>'Ulama</i>	Muslim religious scholars
<i>Umara al-Muslimeen</i>	Leaders of Muslims
<i>Wassalaam</i>	And peace be upon you
<i>Wazir-i-A'zam</i>	Premier
<i>Zimmies</i>	Non-Muslim citizens of a Muslim State
<i>Zindabad</i>	Long live
<i>Zulm</i>	Oppression

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Zamindar 4

SOME SUGGESTED DESIGNS OF PAKISTAN FLAG



F-57-GG/8-Proposer: Tehseen A. Shah
(See Introduction, note 69)



F-57-GG/7-Proposer: Tehseen A. Shah
(See Introduction, note 69)



F-57-GG/6-Proposer: Tehseen A. Shah
(See Introduction, note 69)



F-57-GG/9-Proposer: Tehseen A. Shah
(See Introduction, note 69)



F-57-GG/10-Proposer: Tehseen A. Shah
(See Introduction, note 69)



F-57-GG/36-Proposer: G. D' Castellós
(See No. 182)



F-57-GG/32-Proposer: N.C. Nag
(See No. 189)



F-57-GG/33-Proposer: N.C. Nag
(See No. 189)



F-57-GG/34-Proposer: N.C. Nag
(See No. 189)



F-57-GG/30-Proposer: A.M.A. Siddiqui
(See Summaries of Documents not included, item 62)



F-57-GG/30-Proposer: A.M.A. Siddiqui
(See Summaries of Documents not included, item 62)



F-57-GG/30-Proposer: A.M.A. Siddiqui
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F-57-GG/30-Proposer: A.M.A. Siddiqui
(See Summaries of Documents not included, item 62)

DESIGN OF PAKISTAN FLAG ADOPTED BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
(See Appendix IX, 2, item 6)



There were plans in the offing for ethnic cleansing of Muslims in the Punjab and for assassinating certain leaders, including Jinnah himself. A human tragedy beyond the sweep of the imagination was just round the corner. A tidal wave of murder, rape, abduction, arson and plunder was to sweep East Punjab, as pre-planned, causing an unprecedented migration of people across the political divide. There were, naturally, reprisals on a large scale in West Punjab as well.

While Jinnah addressed himself to the prodigious task of putting together the apparatus of a new State, the Congress administration in India, with Mountbatten's willing assistance, was dragging the princely States into acceding to India with scant regard for demographic or geographical factors. Hell-bent on coercing the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Congress was wooing the Maharaja of Kashmir and bludgeoning Junagadh and other States into submission. At the same time, Kalat was claiming sovereign independence. In the Frontier, the Congress Ministry was staking a claim to an independent Pathanistan.

There was no royal road to the goal of a Muslim national homeland. It indeed was a rocky road, full of pitfalls and potholes. It was only his steely determination, supreme courage, pragmatic vision, cogency of argument and impeccable integrity that enabled Jinnah to attain what had seemed well-nigh impossible—Pakistan.

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